

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
SIXTEENTH SESSION
UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW
October 1951

VOLUME II
SELECT PAPERS

LUCKNOW
1955

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
SIXTEENTH SESSION
UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW
October, 1951

VOLUME
- - - - -

Edited by
K A SUBRAMANIA IYER, MA (LOND)
Local Secretary
AND
DR K C. PANDEY MA D LITT

LUCKNOW
1955

	PAGE
26 Samudragupta's <i>Aśvamedha</i> —Sri Jagan Nath...	209
27 The Indian Philosophy of History—Dr Radha Kamal Mukerjee ..	213
28 Some aspects of the Divinity of the King in Ancient India and Ceylon—Sri S Parnavitana ..	217

IX ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

29 New Reading of the Inscription on Sculpture No J 20 in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow—Sri K D Bajpai ..	233
30 An interesting Terracotta Seal in the Bikaner Museum—Sri Satya Prakash	236

X INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

31 पर्यायवचनविशेषः—श्री चाक्षदेव शास्त्री	239
32 Words denoting 'Emptiness'—Sri Hurbert V Guenther	251
33 हिन्दी में संयुक्तक्रिया का विकास—डा ०सरयूवल्लभ चट्ठावत	262
34 The story of Devadatta in the <i>Mahābhāṣya</i> —Sri Sukumar Sen	268

XI DRAVIDIAN SECTION

35 Some Jaina contributions to Tamil literature—Prof V R R Dikshitar	276
36 The Religion and Philosophy of <i>Cilappatikāram</i> —Sri M A Durai Rangaswamy	281
37 The <i>Āpastamba Dharmasūtra</i> and the <i>Dharma</i> portion of the <i>Tiru-Kural</i> —Sri A S Nataraja Ayyar	294

XII PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

38 The cult of Jagannātha, its lunar origin—Prof, B Kakati	299
39 The distinction between <i>Nyāikalpaka</i> and <i>Savikalpaka</i> in Indian Philosophy—Prof D N Shastri	306
40 An aspect of causality according to <i>Udayanācārya</i> —Sri Hem Chandra Joshi	326
41 The <i>Svātantryavāda</i> of Kashmir and the voluntarism of Schopenhauer—Dr K C Pandey	334

	PAGE
26 Samudragupta's <i>Aśvamedha</i> —Sri Jagan Nath ..	209
27 The Indian Philosophy of History—Dr Radha Kamal Mukerjee ..	213
28 Some aspects of the Divinity of the King in Ancient India and Ceylon—Sri S Parasavithana ..	217

IX ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

29 New Reading of the Inscription on Sculpture No J 20 in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow—Sri K D Bajpai ..	233
30 An interesting Terracotta Seal in the Bikaner Museum—Sri Satya Prakash ..	236

X INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

31 पर्यायवचनविशेषः—श्री चन्द्रशेखर शर्मा	239
32 Words denoting 'Emptiness'—Sri Herbert V Guenther ..	251
33 हिन्दी में संयुक्तक्रिया का विकास—डा. सत्यप्रसाद अग्रवाल	262
34 The story of Devadatta in the <i>Mahābhāṣya</i> —Sri Sukumar Sen ..	268

XI DRAVIDIAN SECTION

35 Some Jaina contributions to Tamil literature—Prof V R R Dikshitar ..	276
36 The Religion and Philosophy of <i>Cilappatikāram</i> —Sri M A Durai Rangaswamy ..	281
37 The <i>Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra</i> and the Dharma portion of the <i>Tiru-Kural</i> —Sri A S Nataraja Ayyar ..	294

XII PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

38 The cult of Jagannātha, its lunar origin—Prof B Kakati	299
39 The distinction between <i>Nirvikalpaka</i> and <i>Savikalpaka</i> in Indian Philosophy—Prof D N Shastri	306
40 An aspect of causality according to <i>Udayanācārya</i> —Sri Hem Chandra Joshi	326
41 The <i>Svātantryavāda</i> of Kashmir and the voluntarism of Schopenhauer—Dr K C Pandey ..	334

	PAGE
42 Karmayoga Tradition—Sri P C Divanji	337
43 Vṛtti or Psychosis—Dr P'T Raju	347

XIII. TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

44 Indian Art and Ideology—Sri Asit K Haldar	351
45. The origin and evolution of Goya Nāṭakam—Sri P Sambamurti,	359
46 Aṭṭuka—Dr Priyabala Shah	363
47 A study of Textiles and Garments as depicted in the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan—Sri Ratna Chandra Agrawala	371
48. Indian Music—Principal S K Ratanjanicar	390

XIV HINDI SECTION.

49. लोककाव्य का एक रूप—बादरी—डा० के. वा. मुखर्जी	403
50. बागरी भाषा—-प्रीचन्द्बकी मणि	418
51. प्राचीन हिन्दी कवियों की लोकरहित—डा० वि. प्र. मिश्र	426
52 भाषा का सामाजिक स्वरूप—डा० विरवन्धय प्रसाद	436
53 कबीर की कविता में विदेशी शब्द—डा० हरदेव बाहरी	442

XV URDU SECTION

54 Meer as a Marsiya Writer—Sri S Masthuzzaman	449
55 Some new material about Ghalib's character—Sri K. A Farooqui	461
56 Amr-ullah Tasleem—Lt-Col M B Beg	473

VI PĀLI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

57 The advent and Development of Tāntric Elements in Buddhism—Rev Shanti Bhikṣhu	487
B. Presidential address to the "Pāli and Buddhism" Section—Dr G P. Malalasekera	499
Statement of accounts of the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, University of Lucknow	511

PREFACE

We have great pleasure in placing before the All-India Oriental Conference the second and the final volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the sixteenth session of the Conference held in the University of Lucknow in October, 1951. Besides the select papers, the volume also includes the presidential address to the Pāli and Buddhism Section which, together with the papers submitted to that section, was not available at the time of the printing of the first volume. They became available only recently and that is why they are printed at the end of the volume.

We have to thank Dr. Wahid Muṣṭa, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Arabic, University of Lucknow, for correcting the proofs of the papers belonging to the Islamic Culture, Arabic and Persian, and Urdu Sections. His promptness in returning the proofs after correction has been of great help in the printing of this volume.

We are also grateful to Dr. S. V. Singh of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Lucknow for correcting the proofs of some of the matter included in this volume. But for this, there would have been unnecessary delay in the printing of it.

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER

K. C. PANDEY

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2-6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PRAT. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Śvetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disparities as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryāṅkavidyā*, the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, launches us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2-6 of this chapter, dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṭyana-exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanishadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age-worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ar* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful curio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो बहुस्यास्ता ब्रह्मज्ञाः श्रद्धा परती पतन्ता ब्रह्मज्ञानमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं. सूर्याचन्द्रसतीर्तदिनासौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths *pitṛyāna* and *devayāna* as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ar*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2-6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PRAT. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Śvetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disparities as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryāṅkavidyā*, the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, launches us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2-6 of this chapter, dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṭyana-exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkara and Rāmāṇanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanśadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age-worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ar* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful curio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो बहुस्यान्ता बलमानः श्रद्धा परती पतन्ता अजानानांमिहोत्रं सत्रं. सूर्याचन्द्रसतीर्तदिनासौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths *pitṛyāna* and *devayāna* as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ar*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

a remarkable similarity with the two works mentioned above specially in the metrical finish with the *Jas Br*. There are immaterial departures and deviations (e.g. अर्धमासा, प्रभुतात् in the first, अवोदयेन द्वादशमास, in the second, as in the printed text of the *Jas Br*) and allowing for bad transmission, one can note certain modifications which like lesser mechanical Uhas have served to give a new orientation to the tenor of the whole passage (e.g. माभिषिक्त with सा as an absolute particle and तन्म ऋतवोऽनुव आरभन्तम् I prefer आरभन्तम् to आभरन्तम् which keeps intact the Uha and language of the first verse and is akin to आनयन्तम् of the printed *Jas Br* text and take स तद्दिदेशप्रति तद्दिदेश as accepted by Renou as readings in both the texts). In the *Jas Br*, the world (loka) and the reborn beings (lokin) are not changes to be given the go-bye consistent with the spirit of the *Br* text, whereas in the *Kau Up* text, as in the *Jas Up Br* (III 21 28) these are immaterial and unwelcome, at best means or relays in the reaching of the final goal (c.f. *Jas Up Br* I 3 2, *Sotopotho* IX 2 3 6, XIV 6 1 4 8, and *Br Ar Up* III 1 4 8 V 10). In the second part (1 3 6) which is a directory of the path we have parallelisms and borrowings from *Chand Up* VIII 5 3 4 (in a sense the source of inspiration of the *Kau* I 3) III 1 4 1, *Br Ar* IV 3 8 15, V 10 1, *Prasna* V 5, *Jas Br* I 17-18, 42-44, *Sa, Br* (Aghunhasya X 1 1 3, X 1 4 14, X 2-3, X 4 2 1-18, X 4 3 1-3, *Ath Sam* XV 2 3 from *Vaj Sam* XV 15-18 and very probably the *RV* V, 47 VII 74. It is a pity that a bias against texts associated with sacrifices (e.g. *Sat Br* XI 2 7 1-5 (i), XI, II 3 2 (ii), XI 4 4 1 (iii)) has resulted in their being over-looked while as a matter of fact they afford us substantial help in restoration and interpretation of the text. It was an axiom with later commentators that an *Up*, even if it styles itself as a *Br Up* is not amenable to acceptance of the fundamentals of a yajna ideology. Even passages from the *Mbh* which provide considerable food for thought and enbalm the teachings of Vedic symbolism (e.g. *M Bh* I 3 144-147) (iv)

(i) सत्तसरो वज्रः ऋतवद्धिबज्र. मासा हवीषि. अर्धमासा हविष्पात्राणि
अक्षराणि परिधेही For another analogy vide *Taitt Sam* VIII 2 6 4 and
Jas Br 1 50 where ohan and ratri are two unaging
seas wolving out of the samvatsara and complying
with ita as in *Rg X*, 190

(ii) सो ह वा अग्निहोत्रे पन्मिथुनादि वेद मिथुनेन मिथुनेन ह प्रजायते ।
[c.f. also *Br Ar* I 4 17:—मन एवाऽस्त्वामा माजाया प्रायः प्रजाः and
c.f. also *Prasna* I 4, 15]

(iii) वक् इ वै प्रजायो द्वारोऽग्निर्वापुःपरचन्द्रमा विद्युद्वादिह्य ।

(iv) एव शुक्लपि नागात् यदा सेकुपक्षो नाकभश्च तदाऽपरयत् शिषी तन्मे
अधिरोग्य सुमे मे पदं वयन्तौ । तस्मिन्सन्ने कृष्या सितारव तन्तवश्चक्रे आपरयत् वदमिः
कुमारैः परिवर्तमानम् (An echo of *Rv* VI 91) अत्र संवत्सरः प्रजापतिरिति
श्रुतेः संवत्सररूपेण प्रजापतिं विरचामानं कृत्स्नसंसारभिमामिनं समष्टिजीवं स्तौति
(Nilakaptha) (in the *Kau*, passage the ritus are the kumaras here tho
Nilakaptha explains it as the six klesas of the Yoga philosophy).
तत्र वेदं विरचक्रे युवमौ ब्रह्मस्तत्तत्तु नृत्तान्पक्षं युवनामि वै ।

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

immortality, personal immortality) as is guaranteed in the brahmaloka in similar well-known texts [e.g. *Prasna* III 11,12, *Aut* III 4, *Katha* I 112]

(4) कौडीस सत्यमश्नीति for कौडि रसमसीति The question is parried with the necessary change in person This is clear from I 6 समाह .

(5) मुहुर्ता वैदिका in 13 [and मुहुर्तावैदिकानि with an allowable change in gender in I 4 the *Amarakosa* I 119 sanctions this in later usage even] for मुहुर्ता वैदिका A reference to *Jat Br* X 412 (v), X 4218 (vi), makes this reading unimpeachable [The change to इष्टिहा on the fancied basis of *Mundaka* I 27,10, which is the reading in commentaries (e.g. of *Sahkarānanda*) is certainly purposive as hinted at by Prof Renon] There is a covert allusion to bricks the materials from which the palace of Brahman is constructed—a point substantiated by references to the lakes, the river, the trees, the garden, the fort and the gate-keepers associated with a city of a region The *म* in वैदिका is accounted for by *Pāṇini* VIII 317

(6) सज्जन्त नरवानम् for सज्जन्त संस्थानम् or सज्जन्त संस्थानम्, the fantastic reading of *Sahkarānanda* Belvalkar's emendation सज्जन्त (AIOC Madras) and सज्जन्त (History of Indian Philosophy, II p 272) should better be modified to सज्जन्त in conformity with सज्जन्तानिमुपासीत (*Chāṇḍ* III 141) Moreover it will have a realistic application to the fort denoting surrounded by water

(7) पुष्पायआयाचयत (present tense dual) for वाचायवती and वयन्ति The *Mbh* references (I 3144,147) (vi) set all doubts at rest and suggest that there have been lacunae between आचयत, and वै व which we discuss when we take over the doubtful cases

(v) वाचन्ति वाच मे ज्योतीषि ज्ञायन्तो अ इष्टका । तस्य वा एतस्य सप्तसरस्य भक्षापते सप्तसरो वै प्रजापतिरग्निः अदोरात्राग्नि ज्योतीषि ता इष्टका इष्टका is generally used as feminine as *Pāṇini* 6365 testifies *Ītasmācandra* in his *lūgānusāsana* holds the same view The form इष्टक is not ungrammatical

(vi) स पञ्चदशाङ्गो रूपायपरयदास्तनस्तम्बो मुहुर्ताम् ..सद् वद् मुहुश्चायन्ते तस्मान्मुहुर्ता ।

(vii) अपश्यत्.. भूतान्यसज्जं भुवनानि वैव as cited in fn (iv), also *Mbh* 1358 गुणक वयन्ती नरसा सुवेमावधिर्वयन्तावसितं विवस्वतः । ||(=Rv. VI.9) विवस्वतः विवस्वन्तं सूर्यं सद्वा तद्द्वाराऽसितं कृष्णं शश्विजातं शुक्लं विवजातं च तन्मुस्थानीय तेन सप्तसररूपं पदे वयन्ती तेन च पदेन, सुवेसी सुमनी.. देवपितृवानी अधिरचयन्ती उपस्थापयन्ती । *Nīlakaṭṭha's* commentary)

(8) उद्गीथोऽपश्य for उद्गीथोऽपरश्च यः, उद्गीथोऽपश्य, उद्गीथ उपसी. The *Ath Sam* paraphernalia (XV 2&3) which is followed here closely with minor interchanges (e.g. अथ आहस्तस्तवो यश्च वि तिथञ्च । वेद आहस्तं मन्त्रोपवहैव सामासाद् उद्गीथोऽपश्य) prompts this emendation. Should we not read in both उद्गीथ उपश्य ?

The doubtful cases arise in connection with —

(I) the second quarter of the second verse. The *Jai Br* printed text reads द्वादशपदासंख्योद्घोषेन पित्रा. The generally printed reading of the *Kau* is द्वादशप्रयोदशमासो द्वादशप्रयोद्घोषेन. Apart from the violation of the metre (we should remember that the verses are in the nature of *dhās* made by an expert metrist), the grammatical anomaly on which Renou's analogy of द्वित्रा and त्रिचतुरा is of questionable application raises doubts about the actual reading. The *psi* was thinking of Rv I 25-8. Should we not read द्वादशप्रमाणसंख्योद्घोषो द्वादशेन पित्रा ? The nouns in प्रयोदशो and द्वादशेन as in the Rv passage noted and in त्रिचतुरात् and पञ्चदशाम् in the first verse are supplied by the dictum विशेषण-मात्रप्रयोगो विशेष्यप्रतिपत्तौ. The *Kau Br* (XXV 11) has दशान् वै संवत्सरो येष प्रयोदशो माससंख्योद्घोषेन सर्वं सवत्सरं आहो मवति. The metre is not thereby disturbed. But this is a bold emendation.

(II) विभु प्रमितम् (viii) in I 3. Some editions including that of Renou print this as a compound word obviously on the basis of the *Ch* passage where it fits in as an adjective to *āyatana* and follow Śaṅkara's interpretation. The upasargas are here interchanged from what they are in the *Ch. Up* (VIII 5 3), in which case following Śat Br III 1 4-7, Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra VII 14-18, and the Parisiśiṣṭa definition of *Vimāta*, Monier Williams' S.E. Dict. notes the sense of the building or hall has a more authoritative sanction. प्रभु (*Ch. Up* VII 6 1), refers to majestic potentates as Śaṅkara explains. विभु as rendered by Belvalkar is an item of enumeration and the Christian parallel in the symbolism also leads us that way, where the measurement as in the Parisiśiṣṭa is hinted. The root *मृ* is commonly used in connection with building and architecture and is, therefore, quite appropriate.

(III) दुष्पादपादावबलतो वै च जगानि. Belvalkar's emendation वैराजगानि is not very happy and is rather vague. The accepting of the equation of a later statement in this section of the *Up* (1 5 वैरूपवैराजो) which Renou picks up, does not help solution either. The mass materials point to

(viii) The order, manner of arrangement and technology in the *Kau* passage are almost on a par with what we find in the *Pras Up* (III 18) — उद्गीथिसाधितं स्थानं विभुत्वं वै च पञ्चधा । अस्यास्तं वै च मायस्य विज्ञापामृतममृतते ।

वै च जगानि as the reading Renou's conjecture (जगानि=जगन्ति) derives considerable support from the Mbh passage already mentioned (I 3 147) of which he is apparently unaware. There is one objection possible and that is that this is a rare form of the word. I am inclined to think that the reading was like वयसो भूतानि वै च जगानि (or perhaps in the analogous form वयस्यो भूतानि). With such an emendation introduces a new sentence which is, to say the least, a clumsy device. This can be avoided if we take the reading to be द्यावाद्यवन्स्यौ where द्यावाद्यवन्स्यौ may be connected with the previous as well as with the following portions by the कालादिगीतक maxim or to be द्यावाद्यवन्स्यौ to be construed with the apsarasas as well as is the case in Rv VII 74 5 8 (यमेन तत् परिधिं वयस्योऽप्सरस उपवेत् यमेन तत् परिधिं वयस्यन्) implying thereby a close similarity with the pre-occupations of one of the Fate Sisters in Greek mythology.

(IV) अम्बाश्चाम्बावतीश्च अम्बा नद्यः No dependable explanation of this line is forthcoming. अम्बावतीश्च (अम्बावद्वश्च is what the St Pet Dict seems to take it though that reading is open to question) is obscure. अम्बा in a Vedic passage as indicated in the Vedic Index is the name of one of the seven stars in the constellation Kṛtikā and by some stretch of fancy अम्बावती (in plural) may refer to the other attendant stars. The names अम्बा, अम्बादा, अम्बिका as in a Vāj Sam passage occur to our mind, but we are not sure. This introduces the difficulty, heightened by the absence of any finite verb in the clause concerned. In the Ch Up (VIII 5, 3) we have देवस्यदीप्यत्तम् which introduces an element of effulgence something like what we find in the account of the route to mokṣa in the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (III 166-168). In the Up passage we have a pool which might have been later turned into a river just as the seas are and nya appear here in the form of a lake.

The Vāj Sam passage (XXIII 8) and we may note that the Mbh (I 102 3 and I 105 37) knows Ambā etc as apsaropama and Suras-utopama read in the context of another passage there (XV 15 18) where we have a mention of apsarasas by pairs whom the commentator Mahidhara (XV 15) following old traditions which uvata notes, regards as attendants may explain the reading नृत्य not in the sense of dancing girls but of attendants in general. The difficulty however is that the word नदी as the reading suggested by Belvalkar is a new one in a Vedic text. (We have नद् in the Maitr Up IV 2, a Up of dubious date and authority). We need not take अम्बा as the reading as अम्बा is a well-known Vedic word (vide Kau Br XII 2, St Petersburg Dictionary and Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance). But the parallelism of this part of the passage with R V V 47 (ix) 5 and 6 (ix) is so striking that one would be tempted to think that in the last part of the sentence here we have three different types of mention of springs, streams and rivers corresponding to द्वे, अम्बे सातरः । The St Pet Dic thinks that अम्बे in the Rv passage and अम्बा of the Kan passage are identical. It is however more likely that अम्बा etc may be proper names and as

such in the singular number and well assort with **आवयत्** (which may be read as **आवयन्त्यौ** as integral part of the long sentence **आवयन्त्यौ मृतानि च**) The reading in that case with the filling up of the lacunae as proposed in III will be **आवयन्त्यौ भूतानि च देवजानि यथा आम्बायवी चाप्तरसी चाम्बयो नक्ष** The Nṛsiṃha P Tāpani's (III) mention of ambika as brahmayoni, the *Bahurc Up* account of the same (bālāmbikā) as brahminānda kalā and the Pūrāṇa cum Tantra concept of ambikā the Great mother, as in the Saptasatī irrespective of Her diverse manifestations are well-known But are we not taking too much of liberty specially as the mas material is hopelessly inadequate?

The tenor of the whole passage is the insistence on personal immortality like the quest for Vulcan or the unbinding of Prometheus in Western mythology Was it implied in Maitreyi's appeal **देवाह नामृताद्याम्** apparently covered over and renounced in Yajñavalkya's discourses? It is coterminous with *brahmaloka*, a vision of which with all its attendant pleasures and amenities, the acme of all imaginary desires **सत्या अमृता-पिबाना कामा** Chānd VIII 3 1-5, Katha I 1 12, 25 — स्वर्गे लोके न भय किंचनास्ति न तत्र ख न रजसा प्रमेति । उभे तीर्त्वाऽश्नायापिपसि शोकादिगो मोक्षते स्वर्गलोके ॥ (12) इमा शमा सरथा सत्पथी न रोह्य छम्भनीया मनुष्ये । (25) *Āitareya* (III 4)

अमुमिन् स्वर्गे लोके सर्वान् कामानापवा मृत सममवत् is met within more than one *Up* text It is not certainly (x) the transcendental world beyond desires as in Śaṅkara's interpretation in Bṛ Āi IV 3 31 The whole thing is couched in the idiology and phraseology of sacrifice (*āra=ṛta, ila, viatira— mite, muhūrta, islāla* etc), in which the active elements are the time forces, the *ritus as rtvijs* The spiritual essence as *Prajāpiti* and subsequently as *brahman*, strives to maintain its continuity after death (**मृत्यु**) which as **सवत्सर** or the Time ego (*Sat Bṛ X 4 3 1*) exhausts the Spirit eager for **अमुनसंस्तु** and (ix) as **प्रजापति** for he is in all and of all makes the spirit

(ix) इह वपुर्निवचन जनासत्वरन्ति यन्नवस्तस्थुराप । द्वे यदीं विभृतो मातुरन्ये हृहेह जाते ययो सवम्भ ॥ वितन्वते धियो अश्मा अपासि वक्ता पुत्राय सासरो वयम्भि । Sayana's note यथा यग्ने नियमनीये शुभममृते वा on the first and मोहमाना द्वास्तो वयो वपुश्चानीया हरमये (cf Yaska's interpretation as *raśm* (X 47) and the textual background on the second verse seem to connect these vague terms with **देवमसीव सत्** of the chānd passage **आपो वा अश्वयः** (Kau Bṛ XII 2 and Ait Br V 4 10) Sāyaṇa on I 23 16 **अश्वयो मातृश्चानीयाः** and on II 41 16 **अम्भितमे मातृत्वं भेदे** should be noted Vide also the rendering in Keith's "The Brāhmaṇa as of the Rgveda" (H O C)

(x) ये प्रजा सैषिरे श्रीरास्तेऽमृतस्य हि सैषिरे इमं मानवमावर्तं वावर्तन्ते **अमृतसंम्लवं स्थानममृतस्य हि आप्यते आपेक्षमेव आमृतस्य न साक्षात्सोच इति गम्यते** [Śaṅkara on Chānd *Up* V 10 1 2] The idea of *mukti* (eg *Śveta* I 6 7 12, *Prasna* VI 5 *Mundaka* III 2 8) is different Vide Keith-Philosophy and Religion of the Veda. (pp 583 84)

strive after devayāna leading to satyaloka and brahmaloka, the ultimate repository of prāṇa 9 Praśna (I 89) Satya and tapas that are introduced in I 2 are also insisted on in other Up as in Prasna I 15 The Kau's conception of satya as distinct from that of the statement elsewhere as in Chānd VIII 35 नाविष्वायमानि and असङ्को ह्यव पुण्व (Br Ār IV 4) is gathered from I 6 (किं तत् यत् सत्यमिति तत्त्वमिति) It is different from ātman in its own light and right absolved from desires (e g in the Br Ār IV 3 8 15, IV 4 19 and Tai Up Bhṛguvalli 10 5 and Brah mānandavalli 8 स एको मानुष आनन्दः सक्रामति and X यतो दासो निवर्तन्ते कुतश्चन) That this is no easy quest is clear from the pictures of the Brahmaloka which however abounding in sense-amenities in the shape of इक्षुवृक्ष etc irā standing for food, or strength (Nir VI 19, VII 8) is guarded by door keepers Indira and Pitrājāpati exacting compliance with duties and responsibilities (equation ita = āra hrada) a symbol of its being encompassed by the obligations (cf Sāma Sam II 229) of 108 moments in the shape of istakas constituting the edifice of the divine city, corresponding to 360 30 moments of Indian computation and is no mere routine duty but is the product of prajna, the palenquin of the throne of prāṇa round which has centered the full discourse (xi) which aims at inculcating the worship of prāṇa as the brahman as in Tai Up II 3, in which the mere reckoners of pros and cons (समप्रतिबिम्ब) are jouted out and thoughtful knowledge leads to desired goal (Kena II 4)

A full point by point exposition of the passage involves a collation of the materials of Vedic texts such as those noted above. So also does the unfolding of the details of the symbolism in the latter part which by no means is an idle phantasy and is a nice mosaic in which early Vedic thought has blended admirably with later speculations, elaborate and far reaching in their consequence. The passages in the Mbh already cited and other less known passages of that great epic, sometimes on a different analogy as that of a ratha (Chānd) e g VI 34 17 38 (I 120 7-13, II 37-43,) अदितिर्वितिर्दुर्मुखैश्च वै देवैर्देवताचमतर । उपतस्तुः प्रजापतिम् ॥ giving over and above an eschatology, on account of brahmaloka and the council chamber of Pitrājāpati and of Brahman) and of the Purāṇas in their changed ideology and phraseology (xii) [e g Vāyu VIII 124 127, Bhāgavata III 32, IV 29 18-40, V 17 11-14] have harped on a similar line of thought with emphasis on certain items which are prominent in the Kau passage हृदिहासपुराणान्नां वेदं समुपवृ ह्येव is a warning for all time. It is also not at all unlikely that coming as

(xi) एता भूतमात्रा प्रज्ञामात्राव्यर्षिताः प्रज्ञामात्राः प्राण्यैर्अर्षिताः । एष प्राण एव प्रज्ञामास्स नन्दोऽजरोऽमृतः । एष कोकप्राण एष कोकाधिपतिरेव सर्वेश्वरः । स स आत्मेति विद्याम् (Kau III. 9) Also At Up III 3,4 -यत्किमेव प्राणिनाम् स सर्वं तत् प्रज्ञानेन प्रज्ञाते प्रतिष्ठितं प्रज्ञानेनो लोकः प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म । स एतेन प्रज्ञा नास्त्वयामाहोकादुक्त्यामुक्तिम् स्वर्गो लोके सर्वान् कामान्पुण्याऽमृतः समभवत् ।

(xii) e g in the Brahmapurāṇa (Chaps 214-225 Anandasrama edn) A description.

it docs in a late phase of the Vedic period when as more or less in all phases of Indian thought, it incorporates a fusion of divergent streams of culture. Cowell's notes of about a century ago which could not but have been scrappy, Belvalkar's analogy of the literature of the Orphic Mysteries (History of Indian Philosophy, Vol II pp 272) and the modern scholar's attempt at investigating the parallelism with early Catholic thesis on the theme, thought, which in its turn inevitably draws much from Assyrian and Sumerian thought currents (*vis* St John's Revelation) read together bring in much food for discussion and may turn to be the searchlight illumining the dark corners of a little known section of this important Upanisad

Continuation of (va)

The *naraka*s (Chap 214 18 19) will serve by contrast to explain the symbolism of the *Kau* passage —

न तत्र वृक्षश्वाया वा न सहागाः सरासि च । न वायव्यो दीर्घिका वाऽपि न कूपो न प्रपा न समा । न मयदयो नायतनं न लघो न च पर्वता । न किंचिदाश्रयस्थानं विद्यते तत्र वरमेभि ॥ (The fancies of hosts of tanks, lakes, streams and rivers are common in both the accounts, and in St John's Revelation we read of the fiery lake of the nether regions) The same puṇḍra (Chap, 214 104-128) describes as well the journey of the Spirit through higher regions that are all studded with gems, diamonds etc and peopled with *gandharvas* and *apsaras*

(2) THE VEDIC CONCEPT OF METRES

by

DR. SHODHESHWAR VERMA

The Vedic concept of metres has no parallel in the history of human culture. No other literature or culture has conceived of metres as co partners with gods in the receipt of divine worship, as instruments of the creation of the universe, as playing active parts in the Politics of Mythology, and as being the support of all that ever exists.

The unique nature of the vedic concept of metres

As an independent category, metres have been mentioned for the first time in the Rgveda, 10.90.9, where along with *rcas*, the *yajus*, and the *Sāmans*, the metres have been mentioned as original creations in the universe (तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतं ऋचं सामानि जीहिरे । छन्दांसि जीहिरे तस्माच्चक्षुस्तस्माच्चक्षतः) This separate mention is notable, for though mention of *rcas*, as "verses" already suggests that metres must have existed in Vedic poetry, this separate specification shows that metres as an important crystallised and organised concept had a very ancient origin in the history of Indian thought. The function par excellence of metre, *vis* measure, has been definitely specified in R V 1.164.24, where it is stated that "every *rc-verse* is measured by metres like Gayatri" (गायत्रेण प्रतिमिमीते ऋकम्)

With the antiquity of this concept is closely associated the term used for metre, *vis chandas*—, the etymology of which had become a problem even for Vedic texts. Thus T S 5.6.6.1 connects the word with $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ —"to cover or protect", basing this interpretation on a legend in which the gods, being unable to approach a fire piled by Prajāpati, clothed themselves in metres. This covering enabled them to approach the intensity of the fire (ते छन्दाभिरात्मानं द्यादित्योवाचन्, तच्छन्दासां छन्दस्वन्) It is not clear how far this legend represented the germ of a later concept, *vis* the mellowing influence of metre when the Supreme Reality proved to be too dazzling to the Individual soul, but it certainly illustrates the protective aspects of metres to be dealt with in detail below. The Ś B 8.5.2.1 similarly derives *chandas* from $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ —, but the meaning attributed to this verb here is "to please", being based on the legend that Prajāpati, when freed from death after the creation of the world, asked for food. The Gods gave him food which was metres from one point of view. The metres pleased Prajāpati, and "as they pleased him, they are called metres (*chandāmsi*)", (यदस्या ऋक्षयस्तस्माच्छन्दांसि) The same semantic aspect of *chandas*—appears in Ś B 4.4.3.1, where the mutual gratification of metres and gods, has been

Etymology of Chandas

thus pointed out "whenever the metres, gratified the gods, then the gods gratified the metres (तद् यत्र चन्द्रासि देवान् समतर्पयन् चन्द्रासि देवा समतर्पयन्)

Yāska (Nir 7 12) similarly derives *chandas*—from $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ —"to protect" (चन्द्रासि द्वाद्वात्) and Durga (Nir 7 12) quotes a passage from a Brāhmaṇa which means that as the gods, afraid of death, protected themselves with metres, so metres are called *chandas*—पदेभिराराममश्नाद्यन् देवा मृत्योर्विभवतस्तच्छ्रुत्वा चन्द्रसवन्) cf a similar passage in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad 1 4, Rajwade निरुहणे मराठी भाषांतर, 1935, p 553 This possibly refers to the magical effects of verses, serving as "protective texts" (cf Weber, Indische Studien, 8, p 3), Vināyaka, while sticking to the same literal sense as "to guard", gives the interesting interpretation that *chandaññis* are so called because they guard the letters from going outside measure (चन्द्रासि यथाऽस्मादपन्ति अवातविषयेन बहिर्भाषनिवारणात्), on Śāṅkh Brāhmaṇa 11 5, cf, Weber *ibid*, p 3

According to Weber (I b, p 4) *chandas*—can be derived from $\sqrt{\text{chand}}$, not from $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ —Formally and psychologically, this view seems to be acceptable, for he refers to $\sqrt{\text{chand}}$ —listed in the Nighaṇṭu in the sense of *hāntiharmānah* "to please" Moreover, the root $\sqrt{\text{chand}}$ —agrees with the form *chandas*—better than the root $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ —And the meaning "to please" is not only consistent with the two legends mentioned above, but psychologically also the pleasant aspects of *chandas*—"metre" would be universally recognised

The syllabic nature of Vedic metres was recognized by the Rgveda, where in 1 164 24 it is stated that "the seven metres are formed of syllables" (अक्षरेण निमते सप्त वाणी) Generally, the number of prominent metres is said to be *three* in the Vedic texts, though sometimes the number is said to be seven

The R V 1 164 23 mentions the Gāyatrī, Tristubh and the Jagatī as the metres This three-fold concept of metre corresponds to the three-fold concept of the universe so predominant in Vedic thought Thus V S 31 18 speaks of the brilliance of *gharma* in heaven and in Gāyatrī, in the atmosphere and in Tristubh, on the earth and in Jagatī (वा ते वर्म दिवि गुह्य पादवास् ... वा ते वर्मास्त्रिदे गुह्य विद्वत्तन्मीमे . . वा ते वर्म दृविर्वा गुह्य वा जगत्वास्) A similar three-fold concept of metres has been represented by the three steps of Viṣṇu in V S 127 the three steps being "enclosed" by the Gāyatrī, the Tristubh and the Jagatī respectively

But R V also speaks of seven metres in 1 164 24 "the seven metres are formed of syllables" (अक्षरेण निमते सप्त वाणी,) Ś B 9 5 28 also

speaks of seven metres, though neither of these texts specifies the metres concerned

Though the Anuṣṭubh occupies a prominent place in later Vedic literature, it has been only hinted in R V by the adjectival form *ānuṣṭubhasya* in 10.181.1, in the phrase *आनुष्टुभस्य हविषः*, "of the offering (gharma—) accompanied with the Anuṣṭubh metre" V S however, definitely mentions the Anuṣṭubh in several passages, e.g. in 11.11 it is stated that Savitar dug clay out of the earth with the help of the Anuṣṭubh metre (*सविता पृथिव्या अन्धामरुद् आनुष्टुभेन कृत्वा*) For further details, cf. below "the Hierarchy of metres" pp 12—13

This prominence, accorded only to some of the metres, was not accidental, but was closely associated with the Vedic evaluation of objects in the scheme of Vedic life. The Gāyatrī, strictly connected with Agni, a deity that was the life and soul of the Vedic Sacrifice, came to occupy a position so great that the Gopāthā Brāhmana (edited by R. L. Mitra 1872) I.31 (p.17) speaks of "Gāyatrī, on which the universe rests" (*अस्यां सर्वमिदं ब्रूतम्*)

Again, the Tristubh metre is one in which the hymns to Indra have been generally composed. It appealed so much to the imagination of the Vedic Aryan in this respect that in A. B. 3.21 it is said that Indra claimed the Tristubh among metres.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Vedic metres is the place they occupy in Mythology. They are Co-sharers, with the gods, of the offerings in a sacrifice, § B 1.32.6 states that "the sacrifice is performed for the gods, the Seasons and the metres" (*स एव ब्रह्मस्तथायमानो देवेभ्यस्तावत् ऋतुभ्यश्चक्षुदोभ्यः*), the metres being thus one of the three shares of sacrificial offerings. V S 24.12 specifies the animals to be sacrificed to the various metres, viz. 3 sheep to Gāyatrī, 5 sheep to Tristubh and a 2-year old steer or cow to Jagatī (*प्रवचो गायत्री, पचावपसिद्भु मे दिशवाहो जगत्वे*). Vedic texts, however, suggest that this allotment of shares to metres had a history, that originally the metres did not enjoy this honour, for in T S 2.6.3.2 it is stated that the metres ran away from the Gods (saying) "we will not bear the offering if we have no share". The Gods then reserved the offering for the Metres, dividing it into 4 parts. T S 5.1.1.1 mentions a similar protest on the part of the Metres. The Gods then reserved for them an oblation to Savitṛ. Thus even this honoured position for Metres came from the Gods, not from man, suggesting the mythological origin of the honour accorded to Metres. T. S. 2.4.3.1—2 also mentions an *isth* called the *गायत्रीष्टि*, in honour of the Gāyatrī, while § B 3.4.1.15 prescribes a sacrificial cake on 9 potsherds to Gāyatrī + Om, suggesting that the metres had not only a share of the offerings, they were also directly worshipped.

T S 3491 speaks of Metres as "Minor deities" (*सुन्दासि वै देविका*) while Ś B 95139 speaks of Metres as "goddesses" (*सुन्दासि देव्य*)

V 5847 shows metres as representing various deities, thus Soma juice is addressed as "Gāyatrī for Agni, Tristubh for Indra and Jagatī for all the Gods" (*अग्नये स्वा गायत्री सुन्दस गृहामि, इन्द्राय स्वा त्रिष्टुप् सुन्दस गृहामि, विश्वेभ्यस्वा देवेभ्यो जगत् सुन्दस गृहामि*)

But there are other passages which raise metres higher even than the Gods. Thus Ś B 18214 states that "Metres are the Gods of the gods" (*देवाना वै देवा. सन्ति सुन्दास्वैव*), while in Ś B 324 1—2 it is stated that the gods owe their divinity to the Metres, for it was the Metre Gāyatrī which brought Soma and consequently divinity to them "Soma was in Heaven, and the Gods were here on earth" (*दिवि वै सोम आसीत् । अयेह देवा*) Ś B 39310 definitely states that "it was through the metres that the gods reached the heavenly worlds" (*सुन्दोभिर्हि देवा स्वर्गं लोकं समारनुवत्*)

The basic concept in these passages is the power attributed to Mantras, and as these Mantras were generally metrical, the one category metre, dehed in various forms, has been deduced therefrom as being the ultimate power to which the gods owed their divinity

The acme of the dedication of metres is reached when in Ś B 8239 it is stated that Prajāpati himself "indeed became metre" (*प्राजापतिरेव ह्रस्वोऽभवत्*) while in Ś B 10311 the whole body of Prajāpati has been depicted in terms of various metres "The Gāyatrī is the breath of Prajāpati, the Uspāh the eye, the Anuṣṭubh the voice, the Brhati the mind, the Paṅkti the ear" This view is not foreign to the concept of Śābala Brahmana if poetical inspiration ultimately originates from a superhuman source, there is no reason why verification also should not proceed from a similar source

Vedic metres, conceived as divine, animate beings, are predominantly the associates of various gods. The most important of their associations is that with Agni. In T S 2255 Agni himself is called *gāyatra*, because Agni, it is said, was born from Prajāpati's mouth along with the Gāyatrī (*गायत्रोऽग्निः*). Now the verses addressed to Agni are mostly composed in Gāyatrī, consequently the association of both was set up. But Ś B 6726 goes further, and identifies all the metres with the limbs of Agni (*सुन्दास्वाङ्गानि*). The ritualistic basis of this concept is evident, Agni being the indispensable element of nearly all Vedic Ritual, all metres were naturally associated with him. But side by side with this ritualistic basis, it is possible that this composite concept also included poetical and therefore metrical fervour, which was figuratively associated with Agni. The Tristubh is the next metre associated with Indra who "claimed it as his own metre"

(A B 321) as hymna celebrating India are almost entirely composed in the Tristubh metre and consequently "the Tristubh is the military order" (S B 1354). Again, very close is the association of metres with Soma, T S 6212 speaks of metres as "the retinue of King Soma" and it was a metre, viz Gāyatrī, which had brought down Soma from Heaven. Now this concept, which associates metres with Soma, suggests a connection between poetical form and inspiration, the latter being represented by Soma. A B 86 further associates the metre Uṣuḥ with Savitar, Bṛhatī with Bṛhaspati, Paṅkti with Mitrāvaruṇa and Jagatī with Viśve Devāḥ. Pingala in his *Chandaḥśāstram* (B I Calcutta, 1877), III 63 similarly speaks of Agni, Savitā, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Varuṇa, Indra and Viśve Devāḥ as the deities of metres (अग्निं सविता सोमो बुधश्चन्द्रश्चैव इन्द्रो विश्वेदेवाः). Next to the Gods, the metres are associated with the Sacrifice. T S 3121 speaks of the creation of metres after the sacrifice was created, and a legend in the same passage states that metres were originally more powerful than the sacrifice, but Prajāpati, in rescue of the Gods, took the strength of the metres and bestowed it upon the Gods. It was in the interest of the Divine order, that metres were forced to surrender their powers to the requirement of the Sacrifice.

The leading function of Metre, viz Measure, as pointed out by R V has been already mentioned above on p 1. Various functions of Metres. Many other functions have been attributed to metres, some of which may be noted as follows —

(1) The most notable function of Vedic metre is said to be their Protective Power, as one of the etymologies, discussed above, indicates. Thus in the Rājāsūya ceremony, the Yajamāna is made to ascend to various directions with a text from V S 10—10—14 "Ascend to the East, may Gāyatrī protect thee, ascend to the South, may Tristubh protect thee, ascend to the West, may Jagatī protect thee (प्राचीमारोह गायत्री स्वायतु, दक्षिणमारोह त्रिष्टुप् स्वायतु, पश्चीमारोह जगती स्वायतु)". S B I 25 1—6 gives a legend in which Viṣṇu was guarded ("enclosed") by the Gods with the metres "probably in order to defend him from the powers of darkness" as Kuhn, quoted by Eggeling S B (Eng translation) Part I, pp 59—6, suggests. Similarly V S 10 14 gives a prayer which runs "May Paṅkti protect thee (the Yajamāna)". A B 45 gives a legend in which Metres help Indra in order to drive Asuras out of darkness.

(2) Metres have notable acquisitional characteristics. It was by Metres, says T S 1754, that the gods won these worlds, by means of Metres Prajāpati recovered cattle (ibid., 1597). The steps of Viṣṇu were effected by Metres (V S 225).

(3) Metres are said to be desire-granting. Thua T S 3491—5 gives a long list of desires which can be fulfilled if offerings are made to metres. He who desires offspring, cattle, village, freedom from illness, brilliance etc should worship the metres.

(4) Metres particularly give power. Thus T S 44.12.3 speaks of "manly strength" proceeding from the Anuṣṭubh metre. In T S 3.3.7.1-2 Prajāpati is said to have taken the strength from the metres and bestowed it upon the Gods. In Ś B 8.5.2.1 metres served as a nourishment for Prajāpati himself.

(5) Metres have an elevating function. "It was through the metres that the gods reached the heavenly abodes" (Ś B 5.9.3.10 *कृद्वांसिर्देवा स्वर्गं लोकं समावसुवन्*), and it is by metres that men go to the celestial world (Ś B 6.5.4.7).

(6) Metres play a prominent and effective part in the Politics of Mythology. Thus Ś B 1.4.1.34 describes a legend in which Gāyatrī sided with the Gods in their struggle with the Asuras and the Gods won. A B 3.13 relates how the metre Anuṣṭubh fought for its right of the first place. Prajāpati had allotted the Gāyatrī to Agni but Anuṣṭubh to Acchāvāka. Thereupon Anuṣṭubh protested and so Anuṣṭubh was brought to the premier position in Prajāpati's Soma sacrifice. Ś B 1.6.4.2 relates how, after Indra had concealed himself after hurling his thunder bolt on Vṛtra, fearing lest he had not brought him down, Agni and Bṛhat among metres started for search of Indra.

(7) Metres serve as instruments of the creation of the world. Thus Ś B 6.5.2.4 (Cf V S 11.58) states that the Vasus fashioned the terrestrial world by means of the Gāyatrī metre (*एतद्गलोकम् वसवो गायत्रेण कृत्वासाधुर्वन्*). In Ś B 1.3.2.16 it is stated that from the Anuṣṭubh all this universe originates.

(8) Every metre is said to possess certain characteristics which it imparts to the user. Thus Ś B, 6.4.3.2 states that "for one who desires brilliance, he should conclude with a Gāyatrī verse, for one who desires cattle, with a Jagatī verse, for one who desires support, with an Anuṣṭubh verse, for one who desires, the sacrifice, with a Paṅkti verse. Cf T S 5.1.3.5 "The Gāyatrī is brilliance, the Anuṣṭubh the sacrifice, the Triṣṭubh power" (*तेजो वै गायत्री ब्रह्मोन्मुष्टं इन्द्रियं त्रिष्टुप्*). Cf A B 1.5 "Gāyatrī should be used by one who desires brilliance etc. (*तेजो वै ब्रह्मवर्चसं गायत्री*)

That metres are divine creations, has been definitely stated in Ś B 11.5.4.17 —

The Cosmology of Metres "Creatures are of two kinds, divine and human—these human creatures are born from the womb, and the divine creatures, being the metres, are born from the mouth" (*कृद्वांसि वै देव्यः प्रजास्तानि मुक्ततो जनयन्ते*). But while there is no difference of opinion on the divine origin of metres, the specific nature of their ultimate origin has been differently described. According to Ś B 1.7.10.17, Prajāpati first created from his mouth Agni together with the Gāyatrī metre, then from his chest and arms Indra and the Triṣṭubh metre. A similar view is expressed in T S 7.1.1.4, Agni and Gāyatrī being first created from his mouth by Prajāpati.

But Ś B 3 6 2 2—5 states that Suparṇi begot the metres, out of which the Gāyatrī fetched Soma from heaven (सा कृन्वाति सप्तवे सा गायत्री दिवः सोममाहरत्) The name Suparṇi "fair-winged" suggests that the basic concept of the original ancestor of metres represented a bird, and soaring being a characteristic feature of birds the name was befittingly applied to the vehicles of all soaring Poetry, viz Metres Moreover, T S 6 1 6 2 identifies this Suparṇi with heaven So this text also sticks to the divine origin of Metres A third origin of metres (though the Creator was Prajāpati even here) is said to be seasons Thus in Ś B 8 1 1 5 8, 8 1 1 2 5 it is stated "From out of the spring season he fashioned the Gāyatrī metre From out of the summer season he fashioned the Tristubh metre" (गायत्री क्षुद्रो वसन्तादतो निरममिमीत ऋदुम क्षुद्रो ग्रीष्मादतो निरममिमीत) etc This concept seems to be associated with the Vedic Ritual, in which all sacrificial activities were fundamentally, though partly, connected with the seasons, and the order of metres followed the order of the seasons

Closely related to Cosmology is Cosmic order, in which Vedic Metres played a conspicuous part Thus, according to R V 1 164 25, the Creator fixed the sun in the Heavens with the help of a Sāma based upon the Jagatī metre (सगता सित्वु दिव्यदस्तमायत्) Similarly Ś B 12 8 3 24 states that the sun shines, as it is established on the Brihatī metre The Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa 14 3 goes further and states that even the Divine order is founded on the metres, e g Agni with the Gāyatrī is fixed in this world of the Gāyatrī, Vāyu with the Tristubh is fixed in the world of the Atmosphere connected with the Tristubh Yonder sun as connected with the Jagatī is fixed in Yonder world connected with Jagatī This may remind one of the "music of spheres" in European literature Cf Addison's famous poem —

"The spacious firmament on high

And spread the truth from pole to pole"

But according to the Vedic concept here, the organizing factor was not music, but metre According to Weber (Indische Studien, 8, p 11) the Gāyatrī, Tristubh and Jagatī have been identified with the order heaven-atmosphere-earth in R V 1 164 23, but this verse is rather obscure. This identification, however, is clear in Ś B 18 2 10—13 and T S 4 2 1 1 In the former it is stated "the atmosphere indeed is Tristubh" (अन्तरिक्षम् ऋ वै त्रिष्टुप्) In the latter, the Gāyatrī represents the earth, Tristubh the atmosphere and Jagatī, the sky (गायत्रि क्षुद्र आरोहृ दृषिर्वीमनु विक्रमस्व... त्रिष्टुभं क्षुद्र आरोहन्तरिक्षं विक्रमस्व जागत क्षुद्र आरोहृ दिवसमु विक्रमस्व)

Though actual order given here is somewhat different from the one suggested by Weber, yet the correspondence of metrical order with cosmic order is evident

The unique importance which metres have acquired in Vedic literature may be partly explained by the conspicuous place which they occupy in Vedic Ritual. In various passages such as *Metres and Vedic Ritual* § B 4431—1828, 1346 it has been repeatedly stated that metres carry the oblations to the gods, and this has been explained by T S 2248 that Agni, with the help of metres, bears the oblations to the gods. This, in other words, means that metres were generally an essential feature of the Vedic sacrifice. Their connection with the sacrifice was held to be so close that in A B 3 25 27 it is stated that "the metres are the Sādhyā gods, they first sacrificed to Agni with fire" (*सुवृत्तिं वै साध्या देवास्तेऽग्निनाऽग्निम-चक्षन्*). This passage is a comment on R V 2-3-23, 24 where (*यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा*) occurs, which literally means "the Gods sacrificed to the Yajña with the Yajño". In T S 3371—2 it is stated that Prajāpati created the metres (immediately) after he had created the sacrifice. The peculiar development of Vedic metres was, therefore, an incident of the sacrifice. Moreover, metres have been identified even with the elements of the sacrifice in V S 3818, where the brilliance of *gharma* is said to be identical with that of the Gāyatrī, the Tristubh and the Jagatī. Similarly in § B 1329 metres have been identified with the after-offerings, as it is said there "the after-offerings are the metres". This clearly indicates that metres were held to be essential for at least some elements of the sacrifice. Again, T S 5344 speaks of the Gāyatrī as "the beginning of the sacrifice". Though this statement, as it stands, may not be technically correct, yet it indicates a metrical beginning as being the essential feature of the sacrifice.

That metres were believed to be of benedictory influence in the Ritual is further indicated by the prayer, during the horse-sacrifice, (V S 85) that "Vasus may anoint thee (the horse) with the Gāyatrī metre" (*वसवस्वाङ्गस्तु गावश्चेन सुवृत्ता*) etc. Even some isolated ceremonial functions, such as churning of fire, were believed to be the work of metres, as is detailed in V S 52 "I churn thee with the Gāyatrī metre" (*गावश्चेन त्वा सुवृत्ता सम्यसि*). Even the urn (*ukhā*) was produced, by the gods, with the help of the Anuṣṭubh metre etc., as described in V S 1158, while V S 424 speaks of the three "metrical" shares of Soma, in phrases like, "this is thy share in connection with the Gāyatrī (*य ते गावश्चो मातः*) etc."

By far the most fundamental aspect of Vedic metres is the imagery which has been used in representing them. The wealth of imagery used in this connection must be the creation of a highly imaginative people. Thus § B 8626—14 represents metres in a complete bird-shape: the Gāyatrī is the head, Tristubh the chest, Jagatī, the hips, Anuṣṭubh the thighs, Brhati the ribs, Uṣṇh, the neck, Paṅktu, the wings and Atichandas the belly of the supposed bird. While metres individually have been set up as separate and complete birds, e.g. note the legend of the Gāyatrī going up in the form of a hawk to fetch Soma (S B 6161—2, A B 325—27), the representation in § B 8626—14

Imagery in the concept of metres

presents metres collectively in the form of a single bird this composite concept is a single unit, representing all metres as one entity. One could easily follow the Gāyatrī as being the head of this composite image, for Gāyatrī, as pointed out above, was taken to be beginning of the sacrifice, but the reasons for selecting specific metres for specific limbs of the bird are obscure.

How vital and vivid was the concept of Metres in Vedic life could be appreciated by recalling T S 4.3.5.1 in which each metre is represented by a calf or cattle of certain age: thus the Tristubh is said to be a calf of 18 months, and Gāyatrī a calf of 2½ years, while the metre Satobhātī has been represented by a bull. It is difficult, in this age, to gauge the accuracy of this evaluation, but the conclusion seems to be unavoidable that the concept of metres must have been a very living force during the Vedic age. Again, the cosmic imagery used in the names bestowed upon metres could be realised by referring to T S 4.3.7.1, in which the various metres have been thus addressed: "Thou art Pāṅkti metre, Jagatī metre, earth metre, atmosphere metre, sky metre, seasons metre, nakṣatra metre, mind metre, speech metre, female goat metre and horse metre".

When metres have been declared to be the limbs of Agnī, imagery indicates a vigour in the concept of metres, suggesting, along with fervour, their close association with Ritual.

When in Ś B 13.2.2.19 it is said that the horse is of Anuṣṭubh nature and related to the Anuṣṭubh is the northern quarter (आनुष्टुभो वायव्यः आनुष्टुभेवा दिक्), one has only to compare Ś B 8.3.1.12 which, in the first instance, identifies the directions with the metres "the east being Gāyatrī, south Tristubh, west Jagatī and north Anuṣṭubh", and as the horse was then believed to have originally come from the north, it was said to be of Anuṣṭubh nature."

Again, metres have been spoken in terms of gold in Ś B 6.3.1.41, where it is said "golden is the one that consists of the metres" (हिरण्यमयी श्लेषा वा ऋग्यजुर्मया). The metres were thus something exceedingly precious in Vedic life.

Metrical imagery has been sumptuously used in the Vedic Ritual. Thus an enormous number of bricks for the fire-altar has been identified with Metres in V S 14.18 the bricks are called the Mā metre, the Prāmā metre, the Pratinā metre etc. In V S 12.5 n prayer runs "O fourth step! Mount Anuṣṭubh and traverse the directions" (आनुष्टुभं चतुर्थं आरोह्य दिशोऽनुक्रमस्व). Here the Anuṣṭubh metre has been imagined to be a super-spatial vehicle. Metrical imagery often shows a linguistic basis: thus in Ś B 12.8.3.12 it is prescribed that an offering should be made with Jagatī verses, for animals of Vāgata (movable) nature by means of the Jagatī he thus secures cattle for him. The metre Virāj, according to T S 7.1.1.1 is "the light of the metres, evidently from $\sqrt{rāj}$ —to shine". In V S. 15.5

there occur many mystical names of metres such as *Vayaskṛt* "life-giving", *chadik* "cover", which may similarly have a linguistic basis

There were gradations in all leading aspects of Vedic life, and metres could not escape them. Thus in T S 5 14 5 the Gāyatrī has been called a Brahmin and Tristubh a Ksatriya (गायत्री हि ब्राह्मण त्रैस्तुभी हि राजस्य) In T S 7 114—6 their cosmological order has been thus described —After Agni the Gāyatrī metre was created by Prajāpati out of his mouth, then the Tristubh metre from his arms, then the Jagatī metre from the abdomen, and the Anuṣṭubh from the feet. In R V 1 164 25 the Gāyatrī is said to exceed all other metres by virtue of its greatness (उत्तो मङ्गा प्ररिचिरे महिषा) In Ś B 18 210—13 it has been explained that the Gāyatrī, though the shortest of metres, became the first of the metres, because, by virtue of its power, it, assuming the form of a hawk, brought Soma from heaven. In T S 16 12 the history of this Soma acquisition has been thus detailed "Jagatī first flew up, but returned without obtaining it. Tristubh flew up, but returned with gifts and penance (only). The Gāyatrī flew up and brought back Soma." As regards the place of the Gāyatrī in Ritual, Ś B 13 46 states that when the first piece of wood is kindled with the Gāyatrī metre, it kindles the other metres as well. In the later Mahānārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, 34th verse, the Gāyatrī is called the "mother of metres" (गायत्री मूदसा माता) and "identical in form with the Supreme Being" (33) (गायत्री ब्रह्म परमात्म सरूपम्). The basis of this concept was partly the historical development of the Vedic metre from shorter to longer and more intricate forms.

But it is strange that while the Anuṣṭubh is said to have been created by Prajāpati out of his feet in T S 7 114—6, in 54 121 of the same Anuṣṭubh is said to be "the highest of metres" (परमा वा एषा ब्रह्मसा यद् अनुष्टुप्) Ś B 13 33 1 expresses the same view. Anuṣṭubh is the highest metre and the horse is the highest of animals" (परम वा एतच्छुद्धो यदनुष्टुप्). Evidently this view of the Anuṣṭubh is a later development and a statement in Ś B 13 2 16 "Anuṣṭubh is speech and from speech all this (universe) springs" (वाग् वा अनुष्टुप् वाचा वा इदं सर्वं प्रभवति) may throw some light on it. The word "speech" in this statement indicates that Anuṣṭubh during the later Vedic period was developed into folk-metre, as the tremendous development of this metre in later Sanskrit would support it.

The above study shows how metres were a living force in Vedic life, being cherished as givers of protection, power and material well-being. Their remarkable development was closely associated with the Ritual, and was thus an incident of the Sacrifice. But what makes the Vedic metres unique is their deification: they were not only held as a source of uplift, both of man and of the gods, but were also deified. The whole concept of Vedic metres is the fruit of a constructive and rich imagination.

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cunio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

Verse 7

कथा राधाम सखायः,

स्वोम मित्रस्यार्थेभ्यः ।¹

महि प्सरो वरुणस्य ॥

How should we sing, n friends,

A hymn that might be full and great,

Of Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman?

(a) *Rādhāma* is related to the non-Pāṇiniyan $\sqrt{rād̥h}$ 'to say' or 'sing' which may be a phonetic variant of $\sqrt{rās}$ 'to say' (Dhātupāṭha I, 627). A cognate and synonym of Eng \sqrt{read} and Gmn \sqrt{reden} , this $\sqrt{rād̥h}$ may be the real origin of the word *ā-rādhana*—'praise' or 'glorification' and *Rādhā*—, the Personification of Worship of Bhāgavata fame. *Sakhāyāḥ* 'friends', evidently refers to the poet's colleagues in the work of singing hymns (cf RV VIII, 70, 13 सखायः ऋतुमित्रैः कथा राधाम शरस्य । वपस्तुतिः where another poet seems to put, in the mouth of his colleagues, a similar question regarding their joint glorification of their patron, Sārā). Dayānanda alone has taken this word as a nominative form, obviously, not noticing its grave accent.

(b), (c) The translation takes the whole verse to be one simple sentence, the word *Psaras*—'a hymn of praise', qualified by the adjectives *stoma*—'full' and *mahi*—'great', being the object of the verb *rādhāma*. Skanda, the earliest available scholast has likewise construed the whole verse as a simple sentence, but has made the word *stoma*—in the sense of 'praise' the object of the verb *rādhāma*, taking the words *mahi*—and *psaras*—, in the sense of 'great' and 'beautiful', respectively, as adjectives qualifying the noun *stoma*. We may now quote him from his edition by Rājā : "कथा राधाम" (sic ०म) सखायैः सहे (sic ०हि) स्वोम मित्रस्यार्थेभ्यः वरुणस्य च । श्रीराम । महि महान्तम् प्सरः । रूपनामैतम् । सामर्थ्याद्वात्रान्तर्वातिमर्थ्यम् । रूपवन्तम् अथवन्तसो मनमित्र्यम् ॥"

1 The Direct Linear System of Vedic accentuation as set into vogue in our Concordance is employed in this paper for marking accents in the Vedic text-citations in Devanāgarī. For a description and evaluation of the several systems of Vedic accentuation see our 'A Vedic Word-Concordance', Vol I, pp LXIII ff and CXVIII ff (available, also, in reprint under the title, Vishva Bandhu Vaidika-svarāṅkenarīti-Prakāśa)

2 Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 8 (1935). The emendations suggested are ours.

Evidently, he had to take too much burden on himself in seeking to establish the impossible concord between his masculine noun *stoma-* 'praise' and his neuter adjectives *mahī-* 'great' and *psarā-* 'beautiful', more so in the latter case, because he knew that it was a neuter substantive. Apparently, Venkaṭa-Mādhava felt the difficulty of the situation and the futility of the attempt of Skanda to overcome it. Therefore, he took another course by splitting up the construction of the verse into two independent simple sentences, the first comprising the Pādas *a* and *b* and the second presuming a repetition of the Pāda *c* towards its being read, a second time, with the Pāda *c*. This course, comparatively less exceptionable though, could not be passed as quite smooth. For, it would connect the verb *rādhāna* with two different roots, namely, with *√rādh* 'to make' (*Dhātupāṭha*, IV, 16) for the first sentence and with *√*rādh* 'to praise' for the second sentence. Even admitting that there is a good case, on philological grounds, for the acceptance of the non-Pāṇinian *√*rādh* 'to praise', (compare our own translation), the construction proposed, to say the least, looks improbable, because it unreasonably attributes two meanings to one and the same verb and, further, delimits the two different predications, the first, namely, 'fashioning' to a song to the Gods Mītra and Aryamaṇ only and the second, namely, 'praising' to the great manifestation of the God Vāruṇa alone. Śāyana positively improved the situation by reading, first, the verse, short of the two neuters *mahī* and *psarā-*, as a principal clause and, then, by introducing an extra subordinate clause to which were appropriated the said two neuters. Says he, " मित्रादीनां त्रयाणां महि मह्यं, प्तरो रूपम् । अतस्तद्वचुरूपं, स्तोमं स्तोत्रं, कथा केन प्रकारेण, राधात्म साधयाम् ॥"

Plausible as this construction sounds, it suffers from its having to read too much from outside, for, otherwise, the two words *mahī* and *psarā-* would be left out unconnected. Indeed, in case the poet had intended this, he, in keeping with the usual Vedic mode of expression, might have read the Pāda *c* as वरुणस्य महि प्तरो हि त्रयाणम्, making the verse a *Brhatī* (Compare R.V. VIII, 70, 13 whose *Jagatī* Pāda *c*, उपस्तुतिं भोजं स्त्रियो अह्वय, which raises an *Uṣnik* structure on a *Gāyotrī* ground, would have offered an exact parallel). Dayānanda's construction again worsens the position by concurring the neuter *mahī* with the masculine *stoma-* (as Skanda had done) and following Śāyana in relegating *psarā-*, probably, as a neuter nominative, to an unwarranted ellipsis. Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner have taken the whole verse as one simple sentence, understanding *psarā-* in the sense of 'refreshment', 'food' and 'delight', respectively, but have not succeeded in removing the rather disjointed look of the Pāda *c*. For, it is not clear why the poet should have different offerings for the Gods, namely, a hymn for Mītra and Aryamaṇ and food for Vāruṇa. Or, is it intended that the hymn itself of Vāruṇa is figuratively described as his food? Even then, it would read better if the entire hymn, addressed jointly to all the three Gods, be likened to the well dressed food for all of them alike. It is, however, to be pointed out that if this represented the real idea of the poet, he would rather have fashioned his Pāda *c* somewhat like वरुणस्य वस्तेषां महि

प्रसर OR व प्रसा . . . That the poet was quite careful in making his words well concorded is evident from his another verse, similarly couched in the form of a question, namely, R V I, 43, 1 in which the neuter pronoun *Kad* is to be read with (*Rudrāya śantamāh*) *hyde*. Thus, it appears that the efforts made so far to iron out a smooth construction of the present verse have not fared well only because both the words, namely, the masculine *stoma-* and the neuter *Prasos-* were taken as substantives. So, the key to the solution seems to lie in taking one of these words as an adjective. And, the contiguity of the other sure adjective, namely *mahi*, which is neuter, helps the decision, as followed in our translation, to take *prasar-* as a substantive and, in consequence, *stoma-* as an adjective in the sense of 'full', and 'hymn', respectively.

This sense of *stoma-* is supported by the adjective *stoma-tasṭa-* which is read in connection with *mati-* 'hymn' (R V III, 39, 1 and 43, 2) and *Pitaras*, 'Manes' (R V X, 15, 9). In all of these occurrences, this word is used as an adjectival compound with the verbal noun *tasṭa-* 'fashioning' as its second member and with the accent of the first member as its usual accent (cf. Pāṇini VI, 2, 1).¹

1 A distinction, however, is to be noted. When used in reference to *mati-*, 'hymn', the word *stoma-tasṭa-* would indicate its 'profuse production', but when used in reference to *Pitaras*, 'Manes', it would indicate their 'profuse productivity'. This distinction springs from two different connotations here of the genitive case, namely, in the objective sense (*karmam*) in reference to *mati-* and in the subjective sense (*kartari*) in reference to *Pitaras* (cf. Pāṇini, II, 3, 65). The above distinction, only grammatical as it is, does not, however, affect the essential meanings, namely, 'profuse' or 'profuseness' and 'fashioning' or 'production' of the words *stoma-* and *tasṭa-*, respectively. Others have understood these words differently in their different occurrences without adducing any evidence in support of it. Thus, Venkaṭa Mādhava thinks that *stoma-* in R V III 39, 1 and 43, 2 means a (*Sāman*-adapted) verse (which, obviously, remains a verse, all the same), but in R V X, 15, 9 it means a verse-maker. Now it is a matter of common knowledge that the Vedic speech brings out the distinction between the homo-phonic sets of action and agent nouns by accenting them differently, e.g. *āpas-* 'deed' *apās-* 'doer' and *brāhman-* 'verse' *brahman-* 'verse-maker'. It is strange that Venkaṭa Mādhava who himself had laid great stress on the importance of accent as a key to vedic interpretation, should have thus paid scant attention to this subject. Sāyana, too, has followed him only with this difference that he changes the places of the two meanings, namely, 'praise' and 'praiser', allotting R V X 15, 9 to the former and R V III, 39, 1 and 43, 2 to the latter. Now to take up the exegetical aide, R V III, 39, 1 and 2, together, glorify the hymn of praise that is being offered to Indra: it speaks, outright from the heart, when it is being sung in assemblies, people forget sleep, it is ancient, having come down to us from ancestors who got its first flash from the heaven, it is dressed most beautifully and, finally, it is fashioned out so full and profuse

Etymologically, the word *stoma*, adj 'profuse' as met with in the R V passages cited above or n 'profuseness' as met with in Classical

that it must go direct to the heart of Indra and win His pleasure and friendship. It will be seen that replacement of the last attribute, namely, 'being fashioned out in fullness' whether by 'fashioned out in measures peculiar to particular *Sāman*s' after Venkaṭa Mādhava or by 'fashioned out by hymn-makers' after Sāyaṇa would take away from this eulogy one of its most vital expressions without adding any new poetic beauty to it. For, would it not be quite obvious and stale too, to speak of a song as 'sung by singers'? Moreover, Venkaṭa Mādhava's reference to any *Sāman* measures seems to be out of place, because the use of the pronouns *syam* 'this' (R V III, 39, 2) and *imāḥ* 'these' (R V III, 43, 2) clearly indicates that the object of glorification is no other than the present group of verses, including the glorifying ones themselves. For the same reason, Oldenberg's view in his Notes on R V that *stoma* here refers to *Sāman* chanting as distinguished from R̥K-reciting, referred to by √*sām*s 'to recite' as also read here, cannot be accepted. Dayānanda's gloss *stuti-vistṛta* (R V III, 39, 1) and *vistṛta-stuti* (R V, III, 43, 2) shows that he had an inkling of the idea of 'profuseness' (*vistṛta*) being wanted here, but too much familiarity with *stoma* in the sense of 'praise' (*stuti*) seems to have sidetracked him into mistaking *taṣṭa* for *tata* (= *vistṛta*). Others like Böhlingk-Rbth, Monier-Williams, Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner have hardly improved the position by advancing the tautological rendering purporting to be either 'a hymn produced for praise' (cf Griffith, R V III, 43, 2) or 'praise produced by a hymn'. It will be noted that the former of these two paraphrases is inadmissible, on grounds of accent, too, for in that case, the word would have been an Oxytone (cf Pāṇini VI, 1, 223 read with VI, 2, 45, 139, 144). To take up, now, the case of R V X, 15, 9 in which *Pitaras* are said to have struggled hard (*jahamāna-*) and at last, forced their way up (*iṣṭṛṣṭh* = √*dhṛṣ* 'force up' < *dōdhrṣṭh*) among the Gods, that is, became recognised at their hands as being, like them, worthy of worship by men. They succeeded because being conversant with the proper application of hymns (*hotrā-vid*) and capable of profuse production (*stoma-taṣṭa-*), they could pile up for use to conquer their rivals (the Gods) an inexhaustible store of hymns (*arka*). Venkaṭa's *stoti-saṁśṛta* 'well-prepared by angels' and Sāyaṇa's *stotro-kartṛ* 'makers of songs', followed more or less, by the other writers, as renderings of *stoma-taṣṭa*, being an attribute, here, of *Pitaras* do not indicate the relation of means and end that, as on our showing above, exists between the Pādas *b* and *a* to have been properly considered by them. It seems there is an allusion here to some mythological tradition that *Pitaras* who had attained, through their pious deeds, to their exalted position in the higher world of immortals by emerging, in a way, from their ordinary position among the mortals here, had yet to struggle hard to win proper divine recognition at the hands of the Gods and that, eventually, they did carry on that struggle and came out successful but they did so by entering the citadel of the heart of the Gods through their proper and profuse praise, in other words, by stooping to conquer them.

Sanskrit (See Amara II, 39, III, 141 and PW for many more references) does not appear to be related to \sqrt{stu} 'praise', but seems to be cognate with OIA *sthūr* (1)a—'thick', *sthavira*—'great', *sthavinman*—'expanse', *stamba*—'bunch', *stabako* 'ibid', NIA *sthūḥ*—'fat', *ṭhos*—'solid', *thok*—'whole sale', *thabbā*—'quantity', English *stack*—, *stock*—, *stout*—, *thick*— all being derived from $\sqrt{*sthū}$ 'to be bulky' and not from $\sqrt{sthō}$ 'to stand' as others have surmised (See, Walde-Pokorny, *sthavi*—, *sthavira*—, II, 606, 608)

According to Böhtlingk-Röth, *Psaras* is included in the Nighaṭṭu list (III, 7) of words meaning 'splendour' or 'manifestation' (*rūpa*). This inclusion, since rejected, in favour of the variant reading *marut*, by the several later editors of that text, is however supported by Devsarāja and one of the basic manuscripts of Sarip's edition. Besides, it has on it the stamp of a hoary authority in that, as observed above, Skanda (compare his remark *rūpo-nūmatat*) and, after him, Vekkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyana have accepted it. This, however, can mean only this that the compiler of Nighaṭṭu, probably, did read *psaras* in the sense of *rūpa*. But Böhtlingk-Röth and, after it, the entire line of modern Western scholars seem agreed on rejecting this meaning and suggesting, in place of it the meaning of 'eating', the word *psaras*, according to them, being derived from $\sqrt{psā}$ 'to eat' (Dhātupāṭha II, 45) and, obviously, not from $\sqrt{psā}$ 'to move' (Nighaṭṭu II, 14). The suggestion regarding the above meaning also appears, however, to have originated with the Indian scholiasts of yore who had surmised that *psaras*, when read in relation to Soma, meant 'drinkable', (see Vekkaṭa Mādhava on R. V. IX, 74, 3) and 'drinkable food' or 'drink' (see Venkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyana on R. V. IX, 2, 2, 96, 3, 97, 27)¹. They appear to have been inclined to derive the word from $\sqrt{psā}$ 'to drink', although, with full recognition that Soma was 'a drink' but, at the same time, 'a food' (*andhas*), too. In picking up the latter meaning as being the real one for every occurrence of the word, Böhtlingk-Röth seems to have welcomed the handy evidence of the said $\sqrt{psā}$ 'to eat' of Dhātupāṭha.

There are, however, a few occurrences of this word that clearly indicate that when it is used in the objective relation to \sqrt{vac} 'speak', its proper sense is 'praise' or 'song of praise'

Thus, R. V. IX, 2, 2 reads

आ वक्षस्व ममि प्सरो, बुक्तेवो दुहवत्सम् । आ योनिं घर्षसिः सद्ः ॥

Soma is being pressed and poured, in a hundred streams, in the vat below, producing a loud and charming sound. Pāda 0 refers to this

1 It is regretted that Skanda is not yet available on this portion of R. V. Probably, Venkaṭa Mādhava and, after him, Sāyana, who has copied from him to a large extent, both owed this interpretation, too, to Skanda.

sound as a great and bright song (*Prarab*) and urges Soma to sing it on (*ā vacyasva*)! Similarly, R V I, 75, 1, in addressing Agni, says —

सुप्रस सप्रशस्तम्, यचो देवप्रशस्तम् । इत्या बुद्धान प्रासति ॥

Accept our hymn, most extensive and most praiseful of the Gods as it is, do accept it, for we offer it as our oblations are poured into Thy mouth

1 The test of interpretation of this and other similar texts, being cited hereafter, lies in hitting at the correct meaning of the verb $\sqrt{v}vacya$ (compare *vacyate* R V I, 142, 4 etc for the determination of accent) R V IX, 97, 2 speaks of Soma as a great poet who is singing sweet songs (*māhān Kaviṃ uvacanāmi śaṃsati*) and urges Him to sing on (*vacyasva*) R V IX, 108, 10, addressing Soma as a great orator (*sudakṣa*—), asks Him to pour forth his song (*ā vacyasva*) like a poet (*vahnir na*). For this meaning of *vahnir*— compare R V III, 1, 1, 6, 2, 20, 1, V, 79, 4, VI, 39, 1, VII, 75, 5, 82, 4 $\sqrt{v}vacya$ 'to speak' or 'to sing' is likewise seen used in R V I, 46, 3, 142, 4 (*syam hi tvū matir mamāccha svithvavacyate*), 184, 3, III, 6, 1 (*kāraṇaḥ vacyamānāḥ*), 6, 2 (*vacyamānāḥ te vahnayaḥ sapta-jihvāḥ*), 39, 1 (*vidraṇi nātir hṛdā ā vacyamānācchāpātir stoma-taṣṭā jgāṇi*) X, 47, 7 (*mama stomaḥ caranti manasā vacyamānāḥ*), and in A V XX, 127, 4 (*vacyasva rebha vacyasva*). In all these cases, the textual and contextual position points to $\sqrt{v}vacya$ being connected with \sqrt{vac} 'to speak' and not \sqrt{vac} 'to move' as Skanda (*ē g* at R V I, 46, 3), Venkaṭa Mādhava, Sāyana (*ē g* at R V IX, 2, 2), Glasemann, Griffith and others have taken it to be. Geldner (see PG II, 258f) has also supported the latter view in an incidental discussion. $\sqrt{v}vacya$ is found used as an active transitive verb in most of its occurrences and as an intransitive verb in only a few of them. It could be explained as an alternative form of *vacas*— $\sqrt{v}vacarya$ and might not be taken as a passive or reflexive base from \sqrt{vac} (compare, R V I, 55, 4, IX, 99, 6 for similar use of $\sqrt{v}vacarya$, the latter occurrence, actually, speaking of Soma as 'one who is singing songs'). Obviously, being an oxytone base, it is not connected with the fourth conjugation. The present verse (R V IX, 2, 2), in asking Soma to sing, should naturally be employing the word *prarab* in the sense of 'song' that might be sung and not 'food' that could be taken in but not sung out. Moreover, as in the present case, if it meant 'food', the same could not lend itself to being sung by Soma, which was just a deific personification of that food itself. In fact, grammatically, a transitive construction like the present one could not permit the subject and the object to be distinct only in name, being, otherwise, essentially identical.

1 However extensive a hymn might be, its attraction for the Gods would be only in direct proportion to the measure of divine praise that it is couched in. Therefore, the poet here, naturally, refers to the profuse presence in his hymn of this most essential element of it. The adjectival base *deva-praras* is a *Bahuvrīhī* compound, duly preserving the accent of its first member, *deva*. Venkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyana,

being familiar with only two meanings of *psaras*, to wit, (1) 'a drink' or 'a drink-food' and (2) 'splendour' or 'manifestation' (*rūpa*), and seeing that their hymn, consistently with its purely man-made Phonetic content, could neither contain in itself any food for the Gods nor embody in itself the splendour that belonged to them, were apparently, at their wit's end to read a sense in this word. So, they dismissed, outright, the familiar meaning namely, 'a God' of the word *devo*, and took it in the purely adjectival, but unfamiliar sense of *dīpta* 'shining'. It is not evident why Skanda, whom they had frequently followed at other places was ignored by them here. But it was, certainly, to their own disadvantage, for he had fared better, anyway, in paraphrasing the word as *devasya agneḥ rūpaṁ yukta—asteṣāgni-rūpo prokṛtāna*. He is so near the mark that one wishes that it had occurred to him that the meaning of *prokṛtāna* 'description', which he felt like reading from outside could be directly conveyed here by the word *psaras* itself. Böhlingk-Räth and, after it, other modern scholars, inclined to take *psaras* in the sense of 'food', have not explained how the word *deva-psaras* with such renderings as Monier-William's 'serving the Gods as food' and Griffith's 'food to the gods' could be taken as an adjectival compound and how, if it is not that, could it preserve the accent that it has done. Indeed, under their general interpretation, the word, in its relation to *vacas* as in the present text and, also, in its relation to *Sdma* as in the texts being noticed below, could not but be a *Tatpuruṣa* compound and not a *Bahuvrīhi* compound as, on the contrary, it actually is. For, *vacas* 'hymn' might be a substitute of the Gods' real food, namely, *Soma*, but could not be 'that something else which could provide them with their food'. Similarly, *Soma*, being itself their real food, could not be said to be 'that something else which gave them their food'. Indeed, it is the presence of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound itself that is a pointer to the really intended meaning, namely, 'praise' or 'a hymn of praise' of the neuter base *psaras*—when read in a context of *√vac* 'saying' or 'singing' to please some one. Etymologically, this base might have developed, phonetically, out of *√*pra-svar* 'to speak well of' or 'sing of' < **pra-svaras*—< **pasaras*—And, OIA, *√ślāgh*, NIA *√sr* (1) *śh-na* and Pers *√srāidan*, and, possibly, OIA, *√śams*, *√stu*, *√śloka*—, Pers *√stāidan*, all meaning 'praise' might have been cognates of said *√*pra-svar*, the initial **p* (< **pra*) having dropped off from them. The neuter base *psaras*—which is read in R V IX, 74, 3, 96, 3, 97, 27, 104, 5, 105, 5, probably, in the sense of 'favour' or 'grace' to be received by the worshipper at the hands of the God or Gods and not in the sense of 'food' or 'nourishment' for the worshipper or the God or Gods, as the case may be, appears to be, etymologically, a cognate of *√pra-sad* 'to be pleased' < **pra-sadas*—'favour' or 'grace' and, therefore, distinct from the present homo-phonous base.

Verse 8.

मा वी जम्भ मा व. उपपन्नम्,

प्रति बोधे देवयन्त्रम्

सुगौरिद् व ज्ञा विवासे ॥

(Comrades), to him of ye, I don't retort,
Who vilifies and to cursing does resort,
But, with words sweet, him of ye I do address,
Who, towards Gods, full of fervent devotion is

The poet feels that his worship of the three Gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa would become most pleasing to them if he could have a large number of people¹ with him for that purpose. But, at the same time, he wants to be extremely cautious in the choice of comrades who, it would seem, surround him in abundance. He knows that the Gods are pleased with those of sweet and sincere speech and dislike those of vile and impure speech². So, not prepared to mince matters, he tells his companions quite plainly and forcefully, too, that while he would welcome, at his side, those whose main interest of life lay in sincere worship of the Gods, he would have no truck with those who instead of engaging themselves in worship that would be its best use, wasted the divine gift of speech by filling it with blasphemy.

The negative particle *na* in Pāda *a* is repeated to emphasise the firmness of the speaker's above resolve to avoid the company of those of impure speech³. The enclitic II Person pronoun *vaḥ* in Pāda *a* as well as in Pāda *c* is a genitive of specification (*nirbhāṇa*, see Pāṇini II, 3, 41). Syntactically, it cross-references *sakhāyāḥ* of the previous

1 That collective worship would gather a momentum of influence over its object is indicated by R V VIII, 70, 14 in a context that, as noted above, bears a good deal of resemblance with the present one.

2 Compare the sentiments expressed on this topic in R, V, I, 174, 7, III, 55, 7, V, 49 5, VII, 18, 9, 10, 88, 7, 8 etc.

3 Vekkaṭa Mādhava seems to have confused one *mā* with the enclitic pronoun *mā*?

verse, for it is out of them that the speaker wants to pick up his most congenial collaborators to glorify the Gods⁴

4 Skanda is not available on *vah* in Pāda *c*, but, in Pāda *a* he takes it as a genitive of possession. Apparently clumsy as his construction "युष्माक देवान् हृष्टयन्तः" (where *yusmad*— and *deva*— must be identical) would be, it should be simply unthinkable that one devoted to the Goda (*devayāt*—) could be, at the same time, carrying in him the taint of cruelty (*√han*) and cursing (*√śap*). Venkaṭa Mādhava saw the above incongruity and construed *devayāt*— as referring to the speaker himself and *ghnāt*— and *śapat*— as referring to his foes. But in thus construing, he worsened the position of *vah*, which he took as an accusative. His paraphrase "(वो)युष्मान् (देवयन्त) देवान् कामयमानो भवन्ति, तन्", evidently, could not connect, as he wanted to, *yusmad*— and *devayāt*—. The idea in his mind could have been conveyed by the single base *yusmayat*— (see, R V II, 39, 7) and not by the two separate words as found used here. Śāyana, seemingly, overcame the above difficulty by taking *vah* as a dative of report, objectively connected with the verb *√prati-vac* (compare R V VIII, 100, 5 for similar idiom). It is, however, not clear from this construction why *vah* should not refer to *sahkṛāyas*, already under address in the context and should refer to the Gods, under address in the previous Trca but not in the present one. From his rendering of Pāda *c*, in which he apparently construes *vas* with the Gods, it would seem that, in Pādas *a* and *b* too, Grassmann has classified the Gods themselves into two groups, namely, those who are used to kill and curse and those who are sincere and truthful, and made the poet declare that he would hold in high esteem only the latter class of the Gods. Thus, according to him, *vah* would be a genitive of specification in Pāda *a* and an accusative in Pāda *c*. This construction, though, grammatically, agreeing with our own, is the more unacceptable, because it not only makes the speaker address the Gods in place of his companions who were already under his address, but, also, unwarrantedly makes *prati-vac* 'to retort' or 'to report' and *devayāt* 'devoted to the Gods' mean 'to hold in esteem' and 'sincere', respectively. He might have taken his cue from certain ancient texts which appeared to draw a line of demarcation between Varuṇa, who lorded it over all that was bound or blocked in any way, on the one hand, and Mitra, who was supreme where light of every kind prevailed, on the other (For the relevant texts, see Haṁsarāja Vedic Koṣa, pp 471ff, also, Durga on Nirukta III, 16). But as should be evident from those texts, they can have no bearing on the present context which holds the three Gods, equally, in the highest esteem and does not hint, at all, at any of their distinctive traits of character or fields of action. Rājawāde takes *vah* in Pāda *a* as well as Pāda *c* as accusative, standing for the Gods. The reference here, says he, is to certain non-Aryan people who would hate, kill (i.e. break the images of) and defile the Aryan Goda. To say the least, this interpretation presumes too much and, from the purely grammatical point of view, is utterly inadmissible, because it pays no heed to the accentual and syntactical aspects of *devayāt*— in reading it as if it were *a-devayāt*— and in making it related, as a transitive verb, to *vah*.

The translation of *ghant-* in Pāda *a* implies that $\sqrt{*ghan}$ 'to revile' from which the present base is derived is different from the familiar \sqrt{gh} (*h*) *an* 'to kill'. The context characterised by the description of a blasphemer as pitted against a God worshipper and the general precept to shed the company of the former of the two and the contiguous presence of $\sqrt{śap}$ in its familiar sense of 'cursing' or 'swearing' should support this postulation. Knowing as the speaker does that the Gods are deadly opposed to people given to blasphemy¹, he answers the question as posed by himself in v 7 by declaring to his people towards reassurance of the Gods that he would shun, at any cost, the company of those whom the Gods did not like on account of their blasphemous nature. Thus, the familiar \sqrt{gh} (*h*) *an* 'to kill' can have no place in this context. O I A $\sqrt{*ghan}$ 'to revile' is indicated by O I A *ghana-* 'the vulgar' (compare Monier Williams' reference to *Subhāṇṭavali*)².

Sumna- as used here in relation to $\sqrt{vṛṇā}$ 'to address', or 'converse' means 'sweet word' (compare, R V I, 106, 4, III, 3, 3, 68, 3, VI, 15, 7, 48, 12, VIII, 9, 21, X, 132, 2). $\sqrt{mnā}$, which is the radical element in this word, means 'to say' or 'to praise' (being a phonetic variant of \sqrt{bhan} 'to say' or \sqrt{pan} 'to praise')³.

$\sqrt{vṛṇā}$ is not read in Dhātupāṭha. Nighaṇṭu (III, 5) reads it in the sense of 'attend on' or 'worship' (*paricarana-*). Against the evidence of Padapāṭha, which does not treat it as a prepositionally composite verb, modern Western scholars have generally taken it as a compound of the preposition *vr* and \sqrt{vas} 'to shine' or 'to dwell'. Moreover, in the present context as also elsewhere where it is read $\sqrt{vṛṇā}$ does not seem to have either of these two meanings. On the other hand, the meaning 'to address', 'speak to' or 'invoke', as adopted in our translation and may be said to be in essential agreement with Nighaṇṭu's suggestion, fits in every where. Our meaning assumes that this verb is a basic reduplication of $\sqrt{*vṛṇā}$ 'to say' or 'to praise', being a phonetic variant (and not a wrong substitute as Monier-Williams thought), of $\sqrt{vṛṇā}$ which Dhātupāṭha (IV, 571) has read in that sense, both being ultimately connected with the familiar $\sqrt{bhṛṇ}$ in the same sense⁴.

1 Compare, R V I, 129, 6, 152, 2, II, 23, 8, III, 41, 6, IV, 5, 12, V, 53, 14, VI, 61, 3, 72, 1, VII, 31, 5, VIII, 70, 10, 78, 6 etc.

2 O I A *ghanṭā-* 'a bell' is derived from $\sqrt{ghanṭ}$ 'sound' (Dhātupāṭha X, 236). Likewise, O I A $\sqrt{*ghan}$ 'sound' would be suggested by *ghaṇṭā-* 'a bell', 'a musical instrument' (see Amara I 4) and Panj *ghaṇṭ-* 'throat'. Similarly, it is implied, O I A *ghana-* 'the vulgar' should point to its source, namely $\sqrt{*ghan}$ 'to revile'.

3 Its meaning *obhṛṇāso* 'repetition' (as read in Dhātupāṭha I, 954), looks like a phonetic development from **abhr-bhṛṇā-* 'repeated reading'.

4 Detailed discussion of the reduplicative process of this verb and the determination of its suggested meaning in reference to its occurrences in a fairly large number of Vedic texts might form the subject of a separate treatment elsewhere.

Verse 9

चतुरश्रं चिद् ददमानात्,
 विभीषात् आनिधातो ।
 न दुक्तेनाय स्पृहयेत् ॥

A man would fess him, indeed,
 who, luck'st though, is vile-worded;
 For, none would like hang foully 'dressed

a, b The poet now proceeds to conclude the determined declaration, made by him in the preceding verse, that he must not associate with those of blasphemous speech. For this purpose, he makes use, in a way, of what will be called a General Proposition, known to dialectics as *sāmānya-dāstra*—and to rhetorics as the *arthāntaranyāsa* Figure of Speech. Thus, he affirms that any sensible person would follow a course of action similar to the one which he has set to himself in v 8. For, argues he, in his mind, if for the sake of filthy lucre, with which, at the most, a blasphemer, provided he happened to be a wealthy person, could help him to some extent, some one did not mind clinging to him, he must not forget, that while he might be getting some money, he would surely be losing his soul itself by continuously listening to or being addressed with foul language.

Coturok 'four' refers to the particular throw of dice known as *Kṛta*—, in which all the four dice used in the game should fall obversely. Or, possibly, it refers to the same throw in another form of the game, played with a much bigger number of dice, when dice thrown should come out to be divisible by four. This all-obverse¹ or quadri-multiple throw indicated the best luck to the thrower².

Dadomōna—'holding' is from non-Pāṇinian √*dad* 'to hold', being a phonetic variant of √*dodh* 'to hold' (Dhātupāṭha 1, 8). R V IV, 26, 6, in referring to the divine hawk (*tyena*—) as holding (*dadomōna*—) Soma (*aṇiṣu*—), also, uses the same √*dad* 'to hold'.

The 'holding' in our verse, however, has the sense of 'possession' or 'control' and, hence, 'a title to what this possession or control is bound to lead to, namely, wealth etc as conveyed by the term 'good fortune'.

1. Compare the NIA idioms '*sīdhō paromō*' and '*ulā paromō*' which, literally, mean 'to fall obversely' and 'to fall reversely' but convey the sense of 'being favourable' and 'being unfavourable', respectively. Apparently, these idioms spring from the meanings attached to the obverse and reverse casts, respectively, of dice.

2. Compare, Dhātupāṭha III, 10 which refers to the use of √*dā* 'to hold' in the sense of √*dō* 'to give' as well, indicating this phonetic variation in the opposite direction, i.e. *d > dh*. Also, compare Yāska (II, 2) '*daṇḍo dadāter dhūroyati karmasā*' etc."

Caturah dadomōna—, in the present context as already discussed, means 'one who has on him a perfect smile of good fortune' This derivative idiomatic expression seems to owe its origin to the game of dice, but the game as such, however, does not appear to be directly referred to here in any way¹

mdhōtu— 'reviler', 'blasphemer' —*tas* (ablative sing.) seems to be the pivotal word in the present verse because around it revolves the conclusion, in general terms, of the topic commenced in v 7 and brought to a head in v 8, namely, that the best way to please the Gods with hymns in their honour would be to sing the same in chorus, untainted by the association with it of the blasphemous Thus taken, it is derived from $\sqrt{m}dh$ 'to revile' which, barring the familiar phonetic or, may be, merely manneristic variation $d < dh$, is identical with $\sqrt{m}d$ (Dhātupāṭha 1 896), and $\sqrt{m}ind$ (Ibid, 66) and $\sqrt{m}ed$ (Ibid, 897) 'to revile' Under the Pāṇinian morphological plan, this word is formed, in the seose of 'agent with the suffix *tu* with the indicatory (*anubandha*—) *k* and *n* or *p* to explain its low-graded and initial radical accent In this way, it becomes an extended cognate synonym of *md*— 'reviler', the object of so much contempt in R V² There is another way, less probable though, of arriving at the same meaning of this word by taking it as a Bahuvrīhi compound of *m* 'base' or 'foul' and ($\sqrt{d}dhā$ 'speak' >) **dhātu*— 'speech'³

The latter derivation will be agreeable to Padapāṭha which treats the word as a compound it is difficult to say, with what second member—our postulate⁴ or the oblique infinitive *dhātos*, as taken by almost everyone else who has dealt with the present text

The enclitic *ci* is taken here as a 'particle of comparison' (*upamā*—) in Nighaṇṭu (II, 13), but the above contextual construction

1 Compare *Kṛto*— > *Kṛtu*— 'lucky' or 'fortunate', (see, Apte) which in its actual use has lost all direct reference to the *Kṛto* throw of dice

2. See F N 2 to p 11 above

3 For indications of the postulate $\sqrt{d}dhā$ 'speak', compare its familiar use in both senses of *abhi-dhāna*— namely 'saying' and 'name' and *vi-dhāna*— and *vi-dhi*— 'statement' of something as binding' *Dhenā*— 'speech' (see Nighaṇṭu I, 11) is also derived from this radical through the change *dhā > dhī* (Compare Yāska VI, 17) The grammatical term *dhōtu*— also, seems to have come into vogue from its original sense of 'verb' or 'description', each separate *dhōtu*— surrounded by the varied morphological elements, having severally stood as the primary descriptive or predicative nucleus to denote a different object or situation

4 Our second derivation bases itself on Bahuvrīhi compound and not on the prepositional compound *m* $\sqrt{d}dhā$ —the suffix *tu* (*n*) in the sense of 'agent', because, in that case, the word should have borne accent on the radical syllable *dhā* and not, as we have it, on the prepositional member *m* (compare Pāṇini VI, 2, 50)

shows that it should rather be taken as an adverbial or conjunctive particle in the sense of *opī* 'even though', 'although' or 'notwithstanding that'¹.

ō in Pāda *b* is a particle of emphasis and suety (*avadhāraṇa*—) as Yāska has correctly taken it (III, 16) in paraphrasing it with *eva* and, accordingly, it is not an ablative-bound adnominal preposition as all others have apparently taken it. Indeed, the metric defect in Pāda *b* suggests the surmise that this ō might rather be a phonetic transformation of the emphatic particle *oho* (through *da*)².

The view that the phrase *caturāḥ dadamāno*— meant 'a gambler' (*katava*—) which might have been implicit in Nighaṇṭu (II, 13) was first stated, explicitly, by Yāska (III, 16). It has since been accepted, more or less, by almost all later writers who have treated the present verse in any connection³. But a gambler 'throws' and does not 'hold' the dice. He, however, can 'hold' what the dice might have favoured him with. So the phrase refers rather to the situation of the dice having already not only been cast but won too. As already indicated above, it only figuratively speaks of an affluent person as 'one who had scored Fours (*kṛtā*—)'⁴. Such a person would not ordinarily merit being avoided or shunned by those around him unless he had misbehaved. Yāska knew that the context contained a forceful ban on association

1 Compare, for similar and other uses of this particle, Yāska I, 4 "ācāryasit etc." Also, see Oldenberg's footnote to p. 43 of his R V—Notes.

2 Rājawāde (Nirukta, Vol. I, p. 495) has come forward to remedy the metric defect by reading *nidhā-pūteḥ* in place of *nidhātōḥ*, giving the unwarring sense of 'wealth' to *nidhā*— which itself has not the least bearing on the context.

3 See, however, Rājawāde (Nirukta, Vol. I p. 495) for the view that *caturāḥ dadamāna*— might mean 'one who gives away the four oceans of wealth' (compare, R V IX, 33, 6). Benfey, Ludwig and Bergaigne (*La Religion védique*, III, 158), also, did not favour the phrase being taken in the sense of 'a gambler' (see their surmises referred to by Griffith).

4 Compare Yāska's paraphrase *dhāravataḥ*— Keith and Oldenberg saw this hurdle in the way of this interpretation and attempted to overcome it in their own way, the former by taking *√dad* to mean 'attempting to throw' (see, JRAS, 1908, p. 826, fn. 1) and the latter by reading here a reference to somebody else who 'holds' the dice for throwing them on behalf of a gambler (see, R V Notes). But the difficulty seems to have persisted because neither the one thought of any need of explaining how *√dad* could be made to yield the sense of 'attempting to throw' nor the other bothered to see what indication there was, if any, of there having existed 'a holder of dice' as distinct from 'a player of dice'. Moreover, it is to be pointed out that neither Yāska's 'dicer' nor Oldenberg's imagined 'dice-holder' could be properly described as 'holding the fours' till it had been determined after the actual throw that it was that which was known as *Kṛtā*— in which the number

with a blasphemous person as is evident from his paraphrase of pāda b (*evom eva durukhād bibhyāi*)¹

Therefore, probably, taking his cue from R V X, 34, 13 (*okṣar mā divyeh*) and other like texts which speak ill of dicing, he thought that 'a gambler' (*kṛtva*—) would be a suitable meaning for *caturoḥ dadamāna*— in the present context, obviously, overlooking that 'a gambler' (*kṛtva*—) as such could not always be, as has been shown above, a 'holder of Fours' in the real sense of the phrase. But impelled by the force of the Nighaṭṭu tradition that *cat* here was particle of comparison, he was

'four' was supreme. Thus out of the two parties to the game, that alone could be said to be 'holding the Fours' whom the dice had favoured with that enviable position (compare, R V X, 34, 6 where this favour on their part is expressly stated in terms strikingly parallel to those of the present passage, *ā vdhā* 'to grant' as said of the dice being most appropriately represented by *vdad* 'to have' as said here in relation to one whom they had favoured by falling *Kṛta*— *wisc*, that is to say quadruply). It may be added here that Geldner's reference (see his R V Trans, fn to I, 51, 9) to A V VII 50, 2 (*caturoḥ dadamāna*—) could be said of a gambler when he has not yet actually scored the *kṛta*— throw. For, read in its context, the text referred to is to be headed by the verb *samastu* and construed as a prayer "May *kṛto* come well within my grip", evidently, envisaging the situation following and not preceding the *kṛto* throw (Compare, for support of this construction, verses 8 and 9 of A V VII, 50 itself which, refer to *kṛto* as the most cherished result of dicing which, obviously, must be distinct from the action of mere 'holding' of dice in the hand before their actual throw. The verb *ā vdhā* in v, 8 when read with the same verb used in R V X, 34, 6 as already cited would mean 'to grant' or 'to favour with' and not, merely, 'to put' or 'to place'.)

1 Apparently, he has used the word *durukhā*— in Pāda b as an adjectival noun, meaning 'one of foul speech' and, probably, understood *durukhā*— read in pāda c, also, like that (compare, R V VIII, 2, 18 where *svapno*—, an agent noun, is, likewise, objectively related to *√spṛh* 'to like'). As such *durukhā*— will be taken as a Tatpuruṣa compound with its second member formed in the sense of 'agent' and carrying its accent intact (Compare, Pāṇini VI, 2, 139, 144). But Skanda and Durga have taken *durukhā*— as an action-noun which, however, is to their disadvantage, for, proper comparison, if wanted, could be between 'a gambler' on the one side, and 'a reviler' and not 'the action of reviling' on the other. Also, these writers as well as the Western scholars who have followed them have construed *√spṛh* 'to desire' in the sense 'to desire to speak' which is unwarranted, because this verb refers, objectively to a person or thing that the speaker is anxious to have or appropriate obviously, from outside himself and not from within himself. Our translation, which does not institute any kind of comparison, will construe equally well with *durukhā*—being taken in either way, but it has taken it as an action-noun on the basis of its use as such in R V I, 147, 4 which offers a parallel contextual setting.

in no mood to wait and see if some other meaning of this particle might die better connect Pādas *a* and *b* to each other and give that force to their meaning which the context so much needed. It is, however, passing strange but rather unfortunate that what amounted to Yāska's miraculous contribution to the interpretation of the present verse has remained unnoticed and, therefore, unused so far. For, as has been remarked above, [*evam*] *eva durukhāt bibhīyāt* is, really his paraphrase of pāda *b* and has not been added from outside the text for the purpose of just forestalling what would actually be the content of Pāda *c*. The sentence-structure demands that if Pāda *a* contained, as Yaska believed that it did, the mention of the object of comparison (*upamāna*—), namely, a dicer (*astava*—), Pāda *b* must complete the simile by mentioning 'the object to be compared' (*upameya*—), namely, a blasphemer (*durukha*—). Yāska's heading his paraphrase of Pāda *b*, and not Pāda *c*, with *evam* 'so' conclusively indicates that he completed his simile by taking, we might say, Pāda *a* as its 'as-wing' and Pāda *b* as its 'so-wing' and emphasised the same thing over again, in general terms, in Pāda *c*. In fact, if he had intended to take *nidhātōḥ* as an ablative infinitive or ablative of a verbal noun from *n* *√dhā*, as Skanda and Durga who have commented on his work and Vekkaṭa Mādhava, Śāyana and all other writers who have commented on this verse have done, so to say with one voice, he too, like them must have construed *ā* as an adnominal preposition governing the following ablative form and not paraphrased it, as he has done, with *eva*, thus making it 'a particle of emphasis'. Also, in that case, he could not but have given, as Skanda and others have done, a separate paraphrase of *nidhātōḥ*. It is possible that Yāska's Vedic text read *nidhātōḥ* and not *nidhātōḥ* and that, therefore, he considered the derivation of the base **nidhān*— from *√nd* 'to abuse' to be too evident to need any further treatment than the supply of its paraphrase *durukha*. This would mean that the reading of unfamiliar *dh* in place of familiar *d* in this word might have misled Skanda and other later writers into wrongly connecting it with *n* *√dhā* 'to bind' or 'to deposit' which, really does not fit in with the interpretation proposed by themselves¹.

1 Only Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra XV, 17, 18 in the entire range of Vedic literature employs *n* *√dhā* in connection with dice which are mentioned there as having to be placed, on behalf of a King, by some one else appointed for this purpose, in a particular position. Evidently, this could not mean 'throwing' of dice as practised in the regular game. While the Vedic meaning of *n* *√dhā* is characterised by 'fixity of position' or 'security' (compare, R V I, 163, 5 etc for use in this sense of its verbal forms and derivatives like *nidhā*— and *nidhāna*—), the 'throwing' of dice, to the contrary, is mentioned as marked by their 'bumping' reaction which seems to be expressed, in a consolidated manner, by *n* *√vaṣ* which, radically, may be a cognate of *√bump* 'to jolt' (compare, R V X, 27, 17, 34, 1, 5, 9). To conclude, a regular throw of dice, the meaning which Skanda and others wanted *n* *√dhā* to express in the present passage, was not known to Vedic idiom. Its apparent equation with *nidhāna*— in the sense of 'end' or 'death' (see, Monier-Williams) need not be taken seriously.

II—IRANIAN SECTION

(4) INTERPRETATION OF SOME AVESTAN AND PAHLAVI WORDS AND PASSAGES

by

ERVAD MANECK FARDUNJI KANGA

In this paper I have selected the following words and passages from Avesta and Pahlavi texts which have not been properly explained by scholars in the field of Iranian Studies. As it is difficult to reproduce the orthographical peculiarities of Pahlavi words in transcription, I have taken recourse to the system followed by Prof. Ch. Bartholomae in *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, "the indispensable instrument of all our studies." The words and passages under discussion are —

- I Patačanbyō—Čitak Handarž : Pōryōtkēšān 31 (Pahlavi Texts I p 45)
- II Apar Xēm ut Xrat : FarroXv-mart, Sec. 20-21 (Pahlavi Text II p 166)
- III (a) ā-š (Pahl Vend I 1, II 21, III 14),
 (b) Av ubjyāite (Pahl Vend VII 52 commentary)
 (c) Xvazārak or huzārak (Pahl Vend XIII 45)
 (d) Unān (Pahl Vend XVII 2)

I The Av word *patacanbyō* occurs in the Pahlavi Text¹ Čitak Handarž Pōryōtkēšān, 31 by way of a quotation from some Avestan passage which is now lost to us. Mss J and K 29 give the reading *patačanbyō* and Mss U₂ and P show reading *patičanbyō*. Bartholomae cites from the Gaṇjī Šahrkān a word in Av script which he takes as dat. pl. of *pati Čant* — "Which man is *patičanbyō*? Who after his father "ō škambr mātār šavēt NP pas uštād," which can hardly mean anything but "posthumous." Freeman reads the word *patičanbyō* and derives it from √Čand—, Čandēntan, hal-čandag, to move, to shake and leaves the word untranslated by remarking that the word is doubtful³. Nyberg reads the word *patn - Čanbyō* without offering any etymology and meaning⁴. Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana reads

1 Pahlavi Texts ed. by Jamasp Asana I p 45 l 16

2 Z. Air. Wb. 179

3 Pand. Nāmaki Zartōšt W Z K M 20 p 262

4 Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi und Glossar by Nyberg S V

patičanbyð like Freiman but offers no explanation of the word in the translation and the glossary of select terms⁵ Mr J C Tarapore translates the word under discussion by "doomed" without giving any etymology and remarks that this word cannot be etymologically understood⁶ I myself have left this word unexplained when I published this work 'Čitak Handasži Pöryōtkēšān in 1944'⁷ Prof Herzfeld has made an attempt to explain this difficult word He says "The explanation is based on the phonetic similarity of C Ir Čamb—and M Ir škanb-, and the inverse correspondence of O Ir šk M Ir Č It is written with the Č, which takes the place of Z-without exception—in M P fračant < frazanti, "progeny", e g, insci Pinuzabad, l 5 mtrnšy vð frēndyn" Mihrnarsch and his progeny," also in the Pahl Psalter patičant-seems to be M P patizant, comparable to frazanti and apī Zan Oa"⁸ But he has not arrived at any meaning whatever

I derive the word thus pata-(patā, ptā, pata; Pahl pēt⁹)=father + Čan (cf skr पितृ, Pahl Čamiš, Čamišn) meaning, testicles + byð abl pl suffix and I translate "from the testicles of the father" If we follow the variant reading pati - Čanbyð, it would then mean 'from the testicles of the master or husband' Av pati-skr pāti-means "master, husband, lord" This meaning suits the context very well In order to justify this meaning of the word I give the transcription and translation of the passages in which this word is quoted

Čē martōm patacanbyð ka hač pōšt : pīar ō škanb : mātar šavēt, ašok-aš Astvidāt mēnōkthā band ē andar ō grīv apakaoēt, tāk zīvandak drahnāš ān band nē pat mēnōk : vēh ut nē pat mēnōk : vattar hač grīv bē kartan nē tuvān, bē pat ān : Xvēš hu-kumšnīh < i > āo : ahrō β pas hač bē vittršnīh ān baud hač grīv bē ōftēt, ut ān : druvand pat ān : ham band ō dōžax nyēt¹⁰

5 Ganji Šāhikān p 141, p 14

6 Pahlavi Andarz Nāmak by Mr J C Tarapore p 7 and p 59

7 Čitak Handasži Pöryōtkēšān tr into English with notes by Ervad M F Kanga p 10 f n 19

8 Herzfeld, Zoroaster and His World Ch XXIV p 359 f n

9 Horn, Neupersischen Etymologie 286 p 64 Bartholomae (Air WB 905-06, note 1) has noted that Geldner has adopted the reading patar throughout even though good mss have pītar

10 Pahlavi Texts ed by Jamasp Asana p 45 Sec 31-32

Further¹¹, when the seminal fluid¹² <from the testicles of the father> goes from the spinal chord of the father to the womb of the mother, Ast-vidāt¹³ casts a noose invisibly into the neck, one cannot remove that noose from the neck till the end¹⁴ of his life, neither through the good spirit nor through the evil spirit, but that noose falls off from the neck of the righteous after the passing away, on account of his good deeds, whereas (Ast vidāt) drags the wicked to the wicked-existence by means of the same noose¹⁵

II—Apar Xēm ut Xratī Farrox-mart Sec, 20-21

I have selected Sec 20 and 21 only from the Middle Persian Text 'apar Xēm ut Xratī Farrox-mart' for discussion at this conference. I give below my transcription and translation of these two sections and discuss some important words, which have been misunderstood upto now. Prof. Pagliaro in his monograph on "Note di Lessicografia

11 The word Čē, which introduces the sentence, means 'further, well, moreover', cf. Šāyist Nē Šāyist by Tavadia p 28 f n 8 and p 159 S V and Indo-Iranian studies by Tavadia p 93

12 I have translated the word martōm as 'seed of the man' i.e., seminal fluid, in its literal sense and not in its ordinary sense of "man" as hitherto translated by Freimann, Nyberg, Bartholomae etc. It is derived from mart + tōm < tōhm, Av. taoxman, O.P. taumā, Pāz. Oum, 'Seed, sperm origin', cf. Andreas-Barr, Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi Übersetzung der Psalmen p 62

13 Av. astō vidātu—lit. bone-breaker divider of the body, is the daēva of destruction, from v-dā-with vi-pref, to destroy, see my Čitāk Handarzi Pōryōthēšān p 10. f n 20

14 Lit. length, see Horn, N p Ety 121, Salcmann, G Ir Ph I 278 and Manichaäische Studien 155, Barth Air Wb 774 and Tavadia-Šāyist nē šāyist p 7

15 Compare Vendidad XIX 29; vizarš dēv nām, rōšān bast nayēnēt druvandān : dēv-yasnān : āhōk-zivisnān martōmān [hat, har kas-ē pat band-ē andar gartan dštāt, ka bē mīrēt, ka ahrōš, ā-š hač gartan bē dštēt, ka druvand, ā-š pat ān ham-band bē ō dōšax' āhanjēnd] Cf. Pahlavi Vendidad by B T Anklesaria p 383 l 5-9 where he wrongly reads vādīnēt for nāyēnēt, āhō-zivisnān (= "living immortal lives") for āhōk-zivisnān, as for ā-š and hanchēnd for āhanjēnd respectively, see Freiman, Pand Nāmaki Zartāšt p 263 f. n 1

Pahlavica¹⁶ has treated of a part of Sec 20, whilst discussing the Pahl word *viyāpān kartan*¹⁷, but I differed from this learned authority entirely. Prof Pagliaro transcribes and translates Sec 20 in the following strain "Martom eč i kūr viyāpāu kē pat bun i kār start ut val-xrat uš har gāh pat frahang i gētihān pat pēš + startak har rōč Kamar be aparāzand u afrank zānand andar bun dārvār gurg dārand ... <<un uomo cieco e distratto che sul piano dell'azione è confuso ed i cattivo discernimento e sempre nel sapere pratico è a priori confuso (di quei tipi che) ogni giorno riattano la volta e rompono le decorazioni e sul pavimento di legno tengono il fornello . . . >>

I beg to give my transcription and translation of these passages (20) Martom-ič i kōr niyāzān, kē pat bun i kār start vitārt hač iš, hač gās pat frahang vištāxv pat pēš stūtāk, har rōč kamar bē ašrāzēnd, ut ašrang ōzanand andar hun, šālvār, dōrēn dārēnd, mōčak tang i paštāk, i saxtak, sahič kamar uiktēnd, ut sinak stašar mānēndicu-mān nēst kas handāznak (21) Kōr pašēmān ān rōč bavēnd i ka pat dāt i Xvēs hačāštār šavēnd, kē Xvāstak Xvart i pētar kart ut handōxt, i dūtākān yāft, Xvāp bāt šūt, kē pilak i ktāk niktēnd i sirak a-nām, kētāk Xōšk pāšak i kandak, kē andar mān ut mēhn niktēnd, čiščīš dī<an> i gart andar Xumbra i Xōšk i tuhtk vēnēnd, kē andar bun māndāk, dužāfrīk <ut> nām i škastak, ka frāč š nišast ut hanjaman rasēt, opī-šan zang a-zōr ut škastak hač vitārtih i Xvēs tarsēnd, nēst ašzārth i pēšak, ašzār pat dunār nē višēt nč pat vaxs ut nē pat rāzak

Translation (20) Also the blind and needy men are those who in the beginning of the work (are) stupefied and turned away from it, everytime they are proud of their knowledge and praised beforehand, everyday they raise up the waists and humiliate at the outset, they put on pairs of trousers and narrow shoes of Morocco leather and watch their stiff resplendent waists and keep chests stiff (thinking) that there is nobody like us (21) The blind become repentant that day when they go most downwards by their own laws, who devoted, enjoyed and squandered the wealth, which (their) fathers made and accumulated and which was acquired by the members of the family, who peep into the bottom of the purse for a small coin and (find) no trace (of it), the sections of which (are like) the dry bottom of a moat, who survey to see various things in the houses and mansions but find dust in empty dry utensils, who at the outset are repentant, cursed and ignominious, when they come to the assembly and occupy seats in the front, their legs are powerless and broken and they entertain fright on account of their distracted nature, they have no skill of (any) profession and they profess skill neither in 'Dēnārs' nor in their interest nor in (their) architect

16 Estratto della "Rivista Degli Studi Orientali" Vol XIX 1941 289 ff

17 Ibid pp 289 292

Notes

- Nyāṣān** The needy, solicitous, necessitous, derived from Av yās with ni-pref., Skr नि + याच्. Pagliaro reads it viyāpān and translates "distratto"-distracted. The word viyāpān, Av vi-āpa, vivāpā means desert, wilderness, barren waste. See my Pahlavi yašts p 101
- Vitārt** Past-part of inf vitātan, caus of vitartan, to cause to pass, proceed, to move away, to cross, Av vi+tar- meaning turned-away (from it), Pagliaro reads u vat-Xiat and translates "di cattivo discernimento" of wicked judgment and reads the following word hač iš as ii-š
- Vistax** The Editor of the text rightly suggests the reading in the f n vistax, meaning, proud, cf N Pers Gustax, Armen vstah 'confident' in which višt could be compared with Budh Sogdian 'Wyšik' "agitation," Benveniste, Notes in 229 p 70 Pagliaro reads the word gētihiān and translates "worldly, pertaining to this world"
- Stūtak** Praised, glorified honoured, eulogized, from inf stūtan, Av stav-, cf stāyitan, Pagliaro reads staitak with a sign-+ and translates "confuso," i.e., confused, confounded
- Šalvār** Šalvār, trousers, c f Messina, Ayātkārī Zāmāspik, Ch 1212 "ušan zanān pa šalvār vastart hēnd u marzišn vas kūnēnd Messina translates it in Italian "calzoni", meaning, pyjamas, trousers. Pagliaro reads it "dārvār, "pavimento di legno"
- Dō-rēn** Lit means 'two-fold', made up of dō, two+ rēn, suffix for multiplicatives (G Ir Ph I 1290) which Neiryōsang translates by skr "gunam", fold, c f Unwala, Hōm yašt p 73 f n to pāra 16 (45), cf yasna XI-9 where Av uyē is translated dō rēn and Pahl Vend V-28 dō-vēn Darmesteter (Et Ir pp 150 151) says that the Persian suffix rn is added to the ordinal numeral, but in Pahlavi this suffix is added to the cardinal and adds further that the letter i which precedes rn is wrongly written for letter v. Salemann (Mid Pers Gram p 65) remarks that the suffix rēn is doubtful as regards its origin and use. Pagliaro reads the word "gurg" and translates "tengono" "lupo" meaning "wolf"
- Sahik** Pers Sahi "resplendent, showy" misunderstood and misapplied as "erect" in Persian, vide Henning's monograph on "Two Manichaean Magical Texts p 47, BSOAS 1947 Vol XII, part I cf Handarž i ōšnār Dānāk by Dhabhar p 10 ut ēē harvisp-ākāših ut harvisp-dātārīh ut harvisp-dānišnīh i Xrēs ēš-ē ēn sahištār aržōmandtar ut sūlōmandtar dāt = for He on account of His own omniscience and all creatorship and all-knowledge created this thing which is more resplendent, more precious and more advantageous. Here Dhabhar translates 'sahiktār'

by "more straight", which is not appropriate in the context. See Dhabhar, Pahlavi Rivayēt accompanying Dāstān Dēnik p 91 ahrāšihētōn *sahik* ut vazurg ut aīzōmand = righteousness is so resplendent, grand and precious. In the footnote Dhabhar gives the meaning of *Sahik* as "straight," which does not suit the context. Stig Wickander, in his "Der Arische Männerbund" pp 16-17, has transcribed and translated the whole passage commencing from ahrāših ētōn *sahik*.

There he reads the word '*sahik*' with a question mark and translates "cihaben" (?), which is not correct.

Māndah or *mānīk* repentent, faulty, defective, from inf mandan, to repent, see Horn, Neupersischen Etymologie 96b, p 215. This word occurs in Pahlavi Texts II p 148, Kārnāmak, Artaxšēr-i-Pāpakān (Antia, Ch II 26, Sanjana Ch I 43, Ankdesaria Ch II 26) and Nirangistān (Anatol Waag p 84, Bulsara p 394).

- (a) Pahlavi Texts II p 148 *māndah* ō ratān garzitan = to repent of sins or faults to the spiritual-leaders
- (b) Kārnāmak ut nun-ič bōzišn gōš, pat pētik *māndah* hangāi = and now give the explanation, regard it as the fault of (your) father
- (c) Nirangistan ku har, kē andai yazišu fišt *māndayīh* kunēt aš pātfrās garzēt = "and, any who might allow defect in the Holy Thanksgiving Service shall confess that to him and shall implore him to be prescribed the retribution (therefor)" (Bulsara)

Waag (ibid p 126) compares the word with NP mānda and translates "auslassung" and quotes in support of it Bartholomae's discussion of the phrase mānday garzitan "eine Auslassung, eine Unterlassung begehen" (Zur Kenntnis der mittelpersischen Mundarten 2 32 140 ff).

Here the meaning 'repentent' defective (of character) suits the context well. Probably the word is an abbreviated form of pašuman, derived from pati-manah = having a repentent mind. Horn (NP Ety p 69) derives it from OP pati-māna (Skr pati-man) to requite, to pay cf Hubschmann-Persische Studien p 40 312.

Dnšāfrīk 'Cursed, from duz, Av duš-, OP duš-Arm LW dš (Horn, NP Ety 565 p 126) + āfrīk from āfritan, to bless, hence the word means "cursed".

Višet He opens, inf višātan, to open, to conquer (Frahning, Pahlavik by Junker p 83), See Salemann, Mid Pers Gram p 130.

Rūsak Architect, making, Manich Mid Pers r'z, cf vičtakthā-
i-Zātsparam 29 2 rāz-i-kērōk kē kstak dēsēt, i.e., a skilful
builder who builds a house, rāz i kērōk=skilled architect
(Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems in the IX Century Books p 84
and 94, See BSOS IX 87) This word is wrongly trans-
lated by "bribe" and is compared with Pers tāz This Pers
word means a deceit, deceptive attitude and the meaning 'bribe'
hitherto assigned by some scholars is not appropriate

Pastak : *Saxtak* "of morocco leather", cf Pahl text draxt i
Asūrik, 35 mōžak hēm saxtag, see Prof Henning's paper on
"A Pahlavi Poem" p 644 fn 4, reprinted from the BSAOS,
XIII 3 1950

III I have selected only four words for the purpose of discussion
in this Conference from Pahlavi Vendidad by B T Anklesaria, who has
failed to transcribe and translate them These are —

(a) ā-š (Pahl Vend I 1, II 21, III 14) Mr Anklesaria reads it
a-s and omits translating the sentence in Frakart II¹⁸ I read it ā-š, ā
meaning 'then', frequent in Pahlavi as correlative <* ād, Y Av āat¹⁹
It is regularly followed by an enclitic pronoun, ā-š, ā- -mān, ā-šān, or
-č, čī, ā-č, ā-čī, 'then also', for examples see Bartholomae-Zum
Sasanidischen Recht Part III p 23-24, Part V-8, 25, 38, Zur Kenntnis
der mittelpersischen Mundarten I 8, IV 14

Vend I & I Com ēn ku martōm ān gyāk ku ō zādēt, yī-š ō
parvarēnd, ā-š vēh sahēt, ku nēyaktai <ut> āsāntar, ēman dāt= this is
that place where man is born and whereon he is nourished, then he
feels it best, i.e., most excellent and comfortable, this I created

Vend II 21 Yim ān : ōhrmazd guft āšnūt, ka-š apāyist difan,
ā-š dīt= Jamshed listened to what Ohrmazd has proclaimed, when he
ought to see, he saw it

Vend III 14 Ksrēman ētōn kunēt yī-š pat gōmēa apāyēt šōstan,
ā-š X^{var} ō bun = When one makes (the body) so polluted that it is
necessary to wash by means of bull's urine, then (there accrues) to the
stock one X^{var} 20 sin

(b) *Ubyyūte* The word occurs in Pahl Vend VII 52 commentary,
Prof Darmesteter remarks "Sec 53-54 (of the Avesta Vendidad)
belong to the Pahl commentary, they are composed of disconnected

18 Pahlavi Vendidad p 1

19 Bartholomae, Zum Sasanidischen Rechtsbuch IV 46

20 A degree of sin, cf Šāyist Nē Šāyist by Tavania p 13, §16

quotations, part of which refers to different deeds by which a Tanāfur sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins²¹. The sentence 'yat hē avat paourum ubjyāite' is quoted by the commentator in the commentary from some Avestan nask which is now lost to us. Daatur Darab Sanjana and Dastur Hōshang Jamasp Asana give the reading of the word ubjyāite without any variants²². It is strange that Mr B T Anklesaria gives the reading "Uba Jyāite" and he translates the quotation thus "When both his may go (even) so much²³". His translation is quite vague and unintelligible. Ervad Kavasji Kanga takes it press subj 3/1 atm from √ ubj, to press down, to destroy²⁴. Bartholomae derives the word from √ ubj, to weigh²⁵ and compares it with Skr Ubj²⁶. This meaning of Bartholomae suits the context better. The quotation runs as under Gōgūšnasp gufi ē pat sitōs ēvat pat dit bē-štvrēt Yat hē aval paourum ubjyāitē = Gōgūšnasp said know that at the time of Sitōš²⁷ one will go for the other his (good deed) outweighs²⁸ so much. It may be noted that Mr Anklesaria has kept the word "tanī" in his Pāz transcription. The word tanī is not a Pāz word and it is the ideogram of Ir dit see Junker, Frahang i Pahlavik p 118. See Pahlavi Vendidad p 128 l 7 and l 14 words "vad" and "askahūnēt" are kept in his Pāz transcription. These two words are ideograms and their Iranian forms are 'tāk' and 'vundēt' respectively.

21 Sacred Books of the East Vol IV Second Edition, 1895 p 89 f n 3 Darmesteter has left untranslated these quotations, which form paras 53 and 54 in Westergaard's Edition of the Vendidad. Ervad Antia has followed Westergaard cf Vendidad Text p 74.

22 Pahlavi Vendidad by Sanjana p. 126 l 18 and by Jamasp Asana p 278 l 7.

23 Pahlavi Vendidad by Anklesaria p 175.

24 Avesta Dictionary p 104. 25 Barth Air Wb 605. 26 Grassman Wb 259-60.

27 i.e. at the dawn of the fourth day, for details, see Tavania, SNS 10H.

28 Darmesteter (S B E Vol IV p 270) translates the sentence thus

"Gōgūšnasp says during the sitōš, sin and merit are compared."

Yad hē avad paourum ubjyāitē—"if it outweighs so much."

"If sin outweigh the merits by three Srōshō-karanām, [he shall stay] in hell till the day of resurrection." Compare Artāk Vīraf Nāmak VI 9-11.

(c) *huzārak Pahl Vend XIII 45*

Mr Anklesaria reads this word "hu-chihara" and "hvāzār" respectively and translates "good cheerfulness" and "forbearing". The correct reading and meanings of this word have been pointed out by Prof Bailey in the Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies, Vol IX p 91, where a number of references are given. He reads it "Xvazār, Xvazara" and translates "small, little, few". Mr R C Zachner has discussed this word fully²⁹. He reads huzārak and agrees with Prof Bailey's interpretation. To the references cited by Bailey and Zachner I add one more from the Pahlavi Text *Čitak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān*, 54³⁰. The reading huzārak is now assured by Mid Pers Turfan hwz'ik, cited by Henning. The sentence runs thus hu-ānōh Čēgōn āsrōn, ku pat Xvazārak apar pat rāmān bē šavēt = well-satisfied like the priest, i.e., he is contented with a little³¹. From this it will seen that Mr Anklesaria's transcription and translation are far from correct.

(d) *Unān (Vend XVII 2) ētōn ān apar iōšēnd andar unān [andar sūtāk] aivāp andar iēšān (andar diēm)*

Mr Anklesaria (Pahl Vend p 340) reads "aūn" and leaves it untranslated in the sentence quoted above. He reads "nētūn ān awatōšēnd andar-aūn,—(andar sūra),—(ayūp andar) iēšēt (rēsakān)—(andar,)" and translates thus "thus thereby are left over small pieces of hair in 'aūn'—(in crevices),—or (on) the hairs of the beard,—(on twisted locks of hair) "

The word is to be read unān, meaning 'rifts, holes' and this meaning is further supported by the Pahl gloss "sūtāk", holes. It is the mere transcription of Av word unāšb fēn, meaning "earth-hole" (Reichelt, Avesta Reader p 152 and 224³²). Dastui Jamesp Asana (Glossarial Index p 229) reads ūnā and says "meaning uncertain". See Pahl yasr 71 9 unik, Pahlavi translation of Av word upas ma-adj

29 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Jan 1940 pp 35-45

30 See my *Čitak Ilindarž i Pōryōtkēšān* p 14 ān i ēnhazārak sar, kē dēnvaltiš amai ut mazdayasnē Xvazār ut dēn adātih frahist, Freiman (Pahl Nāmak i Ziwōšt p 277) read ačārak wrongly.

31 Compare Anklesaria's translation (he is) well-contented like the athravan (that is, with good cheerfulness he becomes over joyful)

32 Barth An Wb 401 and Z An Wb 29

'living' the earth, under the ground, and *mānēnd* Pahl *yasna* 10-15= they make a rift³³

I read the *drim* as *drēm*³³ and compare with Av Word *drīway* subs fem "mole, birth mark and derive it from *inf darrīlan*, to tear Mr Anklesaria has shown "iam" in Pahl characters and left it untranslated

I translate the quotation under discussion thus in this way they are left over in burrows [in holes] or in the tendrils [in the moles]

33 See Dhabhar Pahl *yasna* and *Visparad Glossary* p 52 and p 185 also *ibid* Pahlavi *Visperad Kāda I f n 2* p 296 See A Waag, *Nirangistan* p 99 "andar ō un (andar ānē sūiāy), ayāβ andar kaḍārcē *darm*", compare Vend XVII 2, See Bulaia, *Nirangistan* p 455 Ch IX 1

(5) THE PAHLAVI WORD FOR 'MONSTER'

by

DASTUR HORMAZDYAR MIRZA, UDVAOA

1 In B S O A S XII pp 41-43, Dr W B Henning has given a very illuminating note on the M P T word pšqwč, occurring in a Manichaean magical text. Quoting evidences from Iranian and foreign sources, Dr Henning has come to the conclusion that this word means 'a griffin or a monster like a griffin'. Dr Henning has pointed out that besides M P T the word, in various modified forms, occurs also in Pahlavi, in the Talmud, in Armenian, and in Georgian.

2 In the Manichaean magical text (Henning, B S O A S XII pp 39-47), the Spirit of Fever is described as a figure having three forms and wings like a pškwč [pškwč 'griffin']. But, as Dr Henning remarks, the comparison is not clear. Dr Henning quotes Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dadistān i Dēnik p 22 10, where the Pahlavi word bškwc occurs. This Pahlavi passage will be discussed later. In the Talmud the word occurs as pušqansā, and it is 'traditionally explained as a female raven'. According to Dr Henning, Armenian pškwč translated the Greek word for 'griffin'. Dr Henning quotes Marr for the statements that 'in the Armenian Geography the pškwč has 'bird pškwč' is among the strange animals of India', and that the word occurs in Middle Armenian as pasguč, and 'in an unpublished medieval dictionary it is glossed by bone-swallower (Ossigrage)'. In Georgian the word occurs as p'askunji with variants, and it translates the Greek word for 'griffin'. According to Marr, quoted by Dr Henning, 'in late medieval versions of the Shah-name p'askunji renders Pers Simury, and it is 'in body like a lion, his head, beak, wings, and feet are like those of an eagle, he is downy, some of them are four-legged, some two-legged, he carries off elephants, hurts horses, there is also another kind, which is quite like an eagle, but very big'. Dr Henning notes that Ossetic pakondzi (a loanword from Georgian) is a winged creature with seven heads', and that in 'an Ossetic tale recorded merely in Russian the same beast is called Paskond'. According to Dr Henning, Mme Trever describes the monster as 'the winged dog of the Ossetic epic', and recalls 'a Ukrainian beast Paskuda'. Dr Henning recalls also 'the ordinary Russian appellation paskuda 'monstrosity'.

3 On the strength of what has been stated above Dr Henning notes four chief forms of the word pušqansā, pškwč (with bškwc),

paskuč, and p'askunj: As to these forms of the word, Dr Henning remarks

'Armenian and Georgian may have come from Middle Iranian
 • *pašku* (n) č/, but —*šk*— is strange. The Aramaic may have come from Iranian or vice versa, —*š*— can be —*č*— in either direction. Perhaps an Akkadian word?'

4 This short paper is intended to suggest a possible etymological explanation of the word. As shown below, the word occurs twice (in two forms) in Pahlavi, and from the context in which the word is used in Phl it appears that the Pahlavi word means 'a monster, a noxious creature of the Evil Spirit, Ganāk Menōk

5 In Phl two forms occur

- (1) *bškwč*—Pahl *Rivāyat Dānistān i Dēnik*, edited by Ervad B N Dhabhar, p 22 10. The original initial p— is here changed to b— due to Mod Persian influence
- (2) *pšgwnč*—*Mēnōk i Xrat*, edited by Ervad T D Anklesaria, p 91 4, note 45, edited by Dastur Sanjana, p 46 16

6 The word *pškwč* may be explained as a compound word *pš*— + *—kwč*. The first component may be explained as derived from Av *fšav*—, *fšu*— (Bartholomae, *Altir Wb* 1029, Kanga, *Av Dic* p 329), a modified form of Av *pasav*—, *pasu*— (*Altir Wb* 879, *Av Dic* p 329) 'animal'. The second component part may be explained as a derivative of Av *kaxuzi* (*Vidēdāt* XXI, 17), a term denoting the class of a daēvic creature, as explained below. Hence the word would mean 'an animal of the daēvic group, a despicable animal, a contemptuous animal, a monster'

7 The Av *fšu*— occurs in the compound *frādat-fšu*— (*Yas* 14, 24, 36, 49, 63, 76, *Gāh II* 6), and the second component thereof, namely *fšu*—, is generally translated into Phl by *fšak*, *pašak*, *fšah*, etc. see Pahlavi *Yasna*, edited by Ervad B N Dhabhar pp 6, 14, 22, 30, 39, 45, and *Glossary* pp 77, 85, *Zand i Khurtak Avistāk*, p 49. But in these cases the Phl word is a component part of the name of the Yazata, and may, therefore, be regarded as mere transcript of the Av word. Moreover, other Av compound words containing *fšu*— as second component, namely Av *kammafšva*—, *drvašfu*—, *frašfu*—, *matfšu*—, *haurvašfu*—, the second component is translated by Phl *ramak* 'flock'. Hence one can, with justification, object to this word being taken as an ordinary Phl word with general sense of animal. But in *Vidēdāt* VII 4, Av *varatafšō* is translated into Phl *vartak fšakih* (*Hoshang* p 300), and *vartak fšōkih* (*Sanjana* p 137). Similarly, in *Yas* XXXIX 1 Av *pasukanam* is translated *pasvikān* (*Dhabhar* p 173). Moreover, the

derivatives of this Av-Phl word are preserved in Mod Iranian dialects, as noted by Paul Horn, *Gründriss der neupersischen Etymologie* p 287. We can, therefore, argue that the word *fšak*, *pašak*, or *pasak* is attested in Phl, though it is very rarely used.

8 As to the second component word—*kwš*, it can be explained as derived from Av *kaxuzi* (*Vidēvdāt* XXI-17). The word in this case is used in the sense of an evil creation, and it occurs in the same context as *ayehe* (which is obscure), and *yātmaiti jah* 'a sorceress'. In the Phl *Vidēvdāt* the word is translated as *xvarreh kastār* 'decrease of glory', and explained *ahrmān* 'Evil Spirit'. Bartholomae, *Altir Wb* 432, explains the word 'Bezeichnung einer Klasse weiblicher Wesen der daēvischen Schöpfung'; and translates 'verächtliche Gauklerin, Gaukler', *Skt kuhaka*—*Kāga*, *Av Dic* 123, explains 'name of a Diu, or an evil spirit', and quotes Hailez recalling Mod Pers کج *kakh*, and کج *kaj*.

9 It appears that the Av word *kaxuzi* is preserved in various forms in Mod Pers as *kakh*, *kaj*, *kaz*, *kaž* or *kuž*, and *kūž*, and also in other Mod Iranian dialects, as noted below.

(1) Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*,

- p 1016 کج *kaj* 'crooked, curved, wry, distorted, bent'
 کج باز *kajbāz* 'unfair play, fraudulent'
- p 1017 کج حواس *kaj khvāsh* 'deceitful'
 کج دل *kaj dil* 'crooked in mind, perverse, ill-natured'
 کج دم *kaj dum* 'having a crooked tail, a scorpion, a dragon'
- p 1018 کج زنده *kakh zhanda* 'an evil spirit, a demon'
- p 1027 کز *kazh* 'crooked' etc.
 کز بیان *kazh byān* 'giving a wrong or perverse explanation'
 کز بیان *kazh bīn* 'squinting, malignant'
- p 1028 کز گاو *kazh gāv* 'the mountain-ox of Tibet with a bushy tail, the sea-ox'
- p 1061 کز *kūzh* 'crooked, curved'

(2) Lorimer, *Phonology of the Baluchī, Badakhshānī, and Madaglashtī Dialects of Modern Persian*, p 106 Baluchī *kaj*, *kaž* 'crooked'

(3) Grierson, *Ishkashmī, Zebaki, and Yazghulami—An account of Three Iranian Dialects*, p 84 *Ishkashmī kaž* 'crooked'.

10 In connection with these Mōd Iranian words, we may quote the following sentence from chapter 23, on the Xarfastars, the noxious creatures, of the Saddai Bundešesh, edited by Ervad B N Dhabhar, p 93 کړښه که آرډا پکارى مړر خړاښه + 93

'a *Kusa* which is called ant in Arabic' See also B N Dhabhar, Persian Rivayats p 520 Furthermore, in Persian Rivayats, کړښه karkūza is mentioned as one of the noxious creatures, see M R Unvala, Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat, p 272 9 B N Dhabhar, p 268

11 As shown above, Avesta and Pahlavi words give both -š- and -s-, as in Av fšav- and pasuka-, and also in Phl fšak, pašak, and pašvikān. Thus, therefore, clearly explains the 'strange -sk', as noted by Dr Henning, in the Armenian and the Georgian forms of the word. Moreover, in common with Mōd Pers š kuž, and s kuž, the word pškwe is written in various forms with -u-, long or short. The Phl word, therefore, should be read pašküž, baškūž, or paškunž, with the meaning as settled above.

12 According to the literal meaning of the Avesta word kaxuži 'sorcerer, sorceress,' as given by Bartholomae, the Mid Iranian word pašküž should mean 'an animal, or a noxious creature which is a sorcerer.' This idea of a noxious creature being a sorcerer is not unknown in the Iranian literature. In connection therewith we may quote 'Great Bundahišn, edited by Ervad T D Anklesaria, p 144 15ff

ētōn gōwēt ku xraftar hamāk yātūk u mār yātūktar, bē hayar-š (as in D H) ōzat uē mirēt (read for) māt ān-š hast kē zahī pa čašm dārēt pa nikuriēn mōrtōn bē ōzanēt čigōn ka gazit ēstēt, ān-š : hast hač dūr (as in DH) gyāk gāw u gōspand u asp u mart apāč ō xwēš čhanjēt ōpārēt, u aždahāk ān-š bavēt, u-š hand čand dušūākūh patīš kē bangōšitak : vināškārān anākūh kunēt

kastar xraftar [1] gilak yātūk-dēnīh rāy xvarišnīk čīš i pa dūrih hač ō nihēd bē šavēt, čvar ku nē pa bōš vēnišn (as in DH) bē pa yātūktūh awiš apāyēt

'It is said that the noxious creatures are all sorcerers, and the serpent is a greater sorcerer (than other noxious creatures), unless it is killed, it does not die. The serpent is also that (creature) which has poison in the eyes, and kills men by sight, just as if they (i.e. men) are bitten (by serpents), that is also (the creature) which drags animals, sheeps, horses, and men from afar towards itself, (and) devours (them), and the dragon also is one (of them), and he has very much evil knowledge, who thereby perpetrates evil just like sinners

The smaller noxious creature of mud, on account of sorcerous nature (yātūk-dēnīh), approaches articles of food, which they (i.e. men) put at a distance away from it, it is clear that it reaches upto it, not on account of smell (and) sight, but on account of sorcery.

13 The word occurs in the following Pahl. texts

(1) Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dāstirīšn ī Dēnīk, p 22 7ff
mēnōk ī drōn ka yazēnd apāk avēšān dēvān kānīčāi kunēnd 99 bār ētōn
saxt kōxšēt čīgōn gāv baškūž nūn-avēšān dēvān bē n xamīk zanēnd u
eigōn tagaig ka bē ō xamīk ōstēt

'The Mēnōk of Drōn, when people worship (him), fights 99 times with those dēvs as fiercely as the Bull (fights) the monster (baškūž), now they (i.e. people) (are able to) smite those dēvs on the earth, and (the dēvs are) like hail when it (i.e. hail) falls on the earth.'

In this passage, the Bull may be a form assumed by the Mēnōk of Drōn just as Varatrayna-assumes the form of a beautiful Bull, as described in the Behram Yašt 7. The fight between the Bull and the monster may be compared with that between Tištrya, in the form of a beautiful horse, and Apaosā, in the form of a dark and frightful horse, as described in the Tištrya Yašt 20 28. According to the Great Bundahishn (p 627) Tištr assumes also the form of a bull in his fight against Apōš. The monster (baškūž) may be same as the dreadful monster, the form assumed by Apaosā.

(2) Mēnōk ī Xrat, ed Ervad T D Anklesaria, p 91 5ff, ed Sanjana, p 46 15ff, ed Andreas, p 31 1f

u hač sām sūt ēn būt ku-š mār ī sravbar u gurg ī kapūt kē paškūž
(as in K35) xʾānēnd , bē ōzai

'And from Sām was this benefit that he killed the horned serpent, and the dark-coloured wolf, which they (i.e. people) call monster (paškūž).'

Pazand reads pāhaničā, and Sanskrit has पैंहनिमिषि

14 In the above passage, the dark-coloured wolf (gurg ī kapūt) is called monster (paškūž). This gurg ī kapūt is referred to in the Great Bundahishn, ed T D Anklesaria p 147 13-14. In the Chapter on nature of the wolf species, it is stated that the Ganāk Mēnōk produced a noxious wolf of dark body, and out of this Ganāk Mēnōk produced various kinds of wolves, one of which is (Great Bundahishn p 147 13f)

palang kē kapūt-ič (written for) xʾānēnd

'the panther, which they call also dark-coloured.'

According to these Phl texts, therefore, Phl *baškūž* or *paškūž* is a dark-coloured noxious creature of the wolf-species

15 It appears that the Phl word *pāšk* *pašk* 'gnat', Great Bundahishn p 14411, is cognate with Mid Pers *paškūž*. Moreover, the following words from Mod Persian, and from various other Mod Iranian dialects, culled from various sources, may also be regarded as cognate with Mid Pers *paškūž*:

- (1) Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p 252

پاشک	<i>pašk</i>	'owl'
پوشک	<i>pušk</i>	'cat'
پاشکا	<i>pašša</i>	'gnat'

- (2) Grierson, Ishkashmī, Zebakī, and Yazghulamī—An Account of Three Iranian Dialects, pp 91, 108, 112

Ishkashmī	<i>paša</i>	'fly'
"	<i>piš</i>	'cat'
Sanglīčī	<i>pašai</i>	'fly'
"	<i>piš</i>	'cat'
Waxī	<i>piš</i>	'cat'
Zebakī	<i>puš</i>	'cat'
Šuyūnī	<i>paš</i>	'cat'
Yūdyā	<i>piškoh</i>	'cat'
Sartkoll	<i>piš</i>	'cat'

- (3) Lorimer, The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian, pp 115, 183, 199

Bakhtiari	<i>paška</i>	'fly'
Bādaxšāni	<i>pušuk</i>	'cat'
Madaglaštī	<i>pušuk</i>	'cat'

16 The above explanation shows that the word *paškū* (u) *ž* is Iranian, and in Phl it means 'despicable, contemptible noxious creature, a monster', and from Iranian it found its way into various languages of Middle East, and Europe

(6) "VASIMCHA YAM PANCHASDWARA" IN THE "SEA VOURUKASHA"

by

H R BANA M SC

In the last and eighth chapter of Haptan Yasht of Khurdak Avesta, Yasna Haptanghaiti Ha 42, 4, "Vasi Panchasdwara" is also extolled. The words Vasi Panchasdwara is found to occur only once in the existing Avestan texts as stated above.

The text of Haptan Yasht suggests that all items included in it have direct or indirect bearing on the seven Ameshaspentas including Ahuramazda, who also is one in their Union, that is 'One United whole' formed by the union of the seven Ameshaspentas.

In the last or the eighth chapter of this yasht, after extolling the Ameshaspentas, roads, bridges, grown up corn, Ahuramazda and his chosen prophet, Vohumana, Alburz, the earth and the sky, the three-legged ass, the tree Gaokerena etc the reciters say, "Vasimcha Yam Panchasdwaram Yazamaide" 'We extol the vasi (a place) with 50 gates' (Ref translation by Late Ervad C E Kanga)

Vasi is translated by Late Ervad Kanga as "A huge aquatic animal, a sort of Leviathan" (P-483 Av Eng Dictionary by Kanga). In doing so, Ervad Cawasji Kanga seems to have followed the translation of Bundeishna. However, the same word "VASI" is translated as a proper noun indicating the name of place in his translation of Khordeh Avesta Page 189—Y1 Haptan. The word Panchasdwara is not clearly translated by Kanga on P 314 of his dictionary but he takes it as a proper noun of a fish along with the word "Vasi". However, in his Khordeh Avesta, the word Panchasdwara is taken as adjective to "Vasi" and translated as 'Having 50 gates'. Scholars differ in giving the correct translations of "Vasimchayam Panchasdwaram". Harley, Darmateter, Mills have taken the words to mean "A gigantic fish with fifty fins", Ervad Cawasji Kanga has followed Spiegel in translating the words as "A place named Vasi with fifty gates". Spiegel, however, takes it as "a place with fifty fountain heads" and takes it as an imaginary (Spiritual) abode—a mythical land having fifty fountains.

Bundeishna chapter 18th gives us details regarding the contents of the Sea Vourukashna. One of these is the tree Gaokerena bearing the seeds of all earthly vegetation or the white Haoma—giving the

-elixir of immortality To protect this "Symbol of immortality" which is to be utilised at the time of Reoovation (Frashokereti) when all the recreated beings will be immortalised, Ahuramazda created ten Fishes (Pah Mahi) which go round the tree One of these Fishes has its head always turned towards a Vazag (a sea monster of the species of the Lizard or the frog) which is constantly trying to attack and kill the tree of immortality, but for the guarding Fishes The Fishes and the Vazag are said to cut everything that comes in their way into two except "Vasi Panjasadvaran" (Ref J J Mody's translation of Bundehisna Page 75)

In chapter 14th of the Bundehisna 10 genera or kinds of fishes are mentioned and these are further sub-divided into 282 species Of these the first created, hence, the ancestor of all, is called "Aii" Fish This genus "Aii" is also called "Kara" Fish in chapters 18th and 24th of Bundehisna

The fish "Vasi Panchasdwaran" is related to the Kara Fish as it is said to stay in the same place Vourukasha It is so big that its length only cannot completely be traversed by a man travelling from morning till evening

Many of our scholars are unanimous in suggesting that the Sea Vourukasha (Pah Frashokant) is an open space between the earth and the sky or the earth and the heavenly abode (Garodemana) which I am inclined to accept for the purpose of this paper

Prof Shapurji K Hodiwalla in his "Zartbustra and his contemporaries in the Rgveda" on page 69 says "The Sea Vourukasha is, I think, here as in several other places, used for the open space between the earth and sky "

Mr Ardeshir Khabardar translates Jaryo Vourukasha as "The expanse of the orbit of the Sun, Planets 12 rashis (Zodiacal stellar signs) and 27 Nakshatras or asterisms" or in short "Ecliptic circle "

The two meanings attributed to the word Vasi by various scholars namely 'Space' or 'Fish' can thus be settled by taking into consideration the two meanings of the word 'Vourukasha,' namely 'expanse' or the 'Sea'

Whatever the meaning of the word 'Vasi', we can analyse it as something with fifty outlets or doors To me the word apace or enclosure with fifty doors appears to be most suitable This may be the space enclosed by the "line of action" (field of activity) of the seven Ameshaspentas and their various helpmates which collectively form an enclosure contained in space (Vourukasha) made from their Schyothnaongh—actions In Rapithwan Gah and Sraosha Yast we read about this Anjuman of Ameshaspenthas "Aval Vyakhnemcha Han-jamanem cha Yajmaide Yat asti Ameshnam spentanam Bareshnavo

Avanghae Asno Dhiatam"—We extol this society and assembly of Ameshaspenias which they have kept high above in the space (Asoo-Slay) This space has 50 outlets which are multiples of 7 namely $7 \times 7 = 49$, plus one, for the combined action of all helpmates towards Garodemana. The fiftieth outlet connects VASU with Garodemana. Thus the seven Ameshaspenias spread their good guiding actions or influence on the seven Keshvars making total number of outgoing outlets to 49. The souls of the material creations who accept this line of action laid down before them by the efforts of the Ameshaspenias are nearing perfection and immortality. In other words, they are said to have tasted the elixir of immortality, Gaokerena. The Sea Vourukasha is said to be connected to the material world, according to Aban yast. This link is in turn linked with Vasi panchasdwara. The fiftieth door of this Vasi links the immortal souls who deserve highest heaven with Garodemana. In Avesta we read "Yot Hapta Hamo Manangho, Hamo Vachangho, Hamo Schyothnaongho" about Ameshaspenias who are said to be one in thought word and deed. Seven Ameshaspenias, therefore, require only one door to link the souls with higher abode (Garodemans) as a reward for attaining perfection and hence immortality. In Gathas we read "Ameshaspenia Gathao Geurwain" which suggests that the Gathas were brought to the knowledge of Zarthushtre by the Ameshaspenias. Gathas are the essence of knowledge which would lead humanity to perfection through their actions. The contents of the expanse (Sea) Vourukasha may summarily be explained as under—1. Vasi Panchasdwara—an expanse kept aloof and separate in the expanse Vourukasha, with 49 outlets for spreading the immortalising method of working laid down by Ameshaspenias (7 in number) for creations to act in the Keshvars (7 in number according to Avestan scriptures). The essence or spirit of the creations when perfected by this line of action of Ameshaspenias are immortalised and merge into expanse Vasi Panchasdwara through the medium of Gaokerena tree. Thus immortalised the spirits (Urvans) get Frashokereti and are sent to Garodemans, the abode of Ahuramazda through the fiftieth outlet.

2. *Gaokerena*—The elixir which acts as a medium to immortalise the Urvan and is represented by a tree in the expanse Vourukasha.

3. *Vasag*—It is a frog or lizard or some similar personification of Angramanyu which tries constantly to introduce evil line of action into the Ahurian creation of the seven Keshvars.

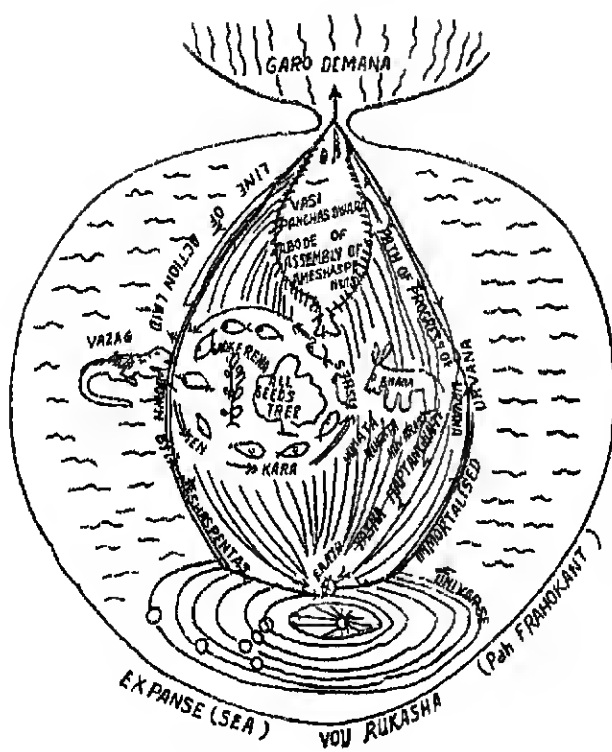
4. *Kara fishes*—These are protectors of the two trees one Gaokerena and the other carrying all the seeds of the trees which grow on the seven Keshvars. Thus they are protectors of life and help the creation to live and make effort for immortalising their spirit.

5. *Khar*—The three-legged ass appears to indicate the three key words Humata, Hukhta, Huvarashita which can help Urvan to rise to the level of perfection. This, therefore, is a further medium to work in

conjunction with Vasi Panchasdwara like Gaokerena. The creation desirous of attaining immortality or perfection like that of 7 Ameshspentas has to procure the particular line of action coming from the 49 outlets through the tree Gaokerena and the three-legged ass. Thus the latter two link Urvanic portion of material creation with the Minor Immortals namely Ameshaspentas.

6 *The Expanse Vaurukasha* —This is the space indicating the connection of Urvan, the Tanu or the body with the invisible holy immortals, Ameshaspentas. It is an expanse which contains both spiritual and material workers who help the creation to raise themselves to perfection.

The above idea, though original to an appreciable extent, has its origin traceable in the short resumé given in "Jazashne in buland kriyā" by Dr F S Chinwalla, while explaining the Khshnoomic version Yasna Ha 42.



(7) THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF YAZDAGARD III

by

J M UNVALA, PH D (HEIDELBERG, GERMANY)

Arab and Persian historians are unanimous about the place where Yazdagard III, the last Sassanian sovereign met his tragic fate. It was a flour-mill near the city of Marw, where he was assassinated by a miller named Khosrō at the instigation and order of Mālōē the margrave (*marzbān*) of Marw. Among the oriental sources, Firdausi only gives in his *Shāhnāmāh* the date on which this event took place as the night of the 30th day of the 3rd month (*Khordād Māh Anīrān Rōz*) of the Persian year, as the late Mr Faidoonji D J Paruck calls it. He says in his *Sassanian Coins*, Bombay 1924, pp 120-121, as follows: "The exact date of the death of Yazdagard is not known. Arab and Persian historians give only the year A H 31, without indicating the month. This year ran from 24th August, 651 to 12th August, 652, and the 20th year of Yazdagard from 12th June 651 to 10th June, 652. The Arab astronomer Kuthū-d-dīn says that Yazdagard was killed in the year 960 of the embolismic period which corresponds to 651 A C. Firdausi places the event in the night of the 30th day of the 3rd month Khordād, i.e. 90th day of the Persian year, corresponding to the night between 9th and 10th September, 651. This date corresponds to the night between 17th and 18th Muharram A H 31." W H Valentine considers A H 31 as corresponding to 651 A D, the date of the death of Yazdagard (*Sassanian Coins*, London p 70), as also Colonel Allotte de la Fuye. A Mordtmann says that Yazdagard was assassinated between 21st March and 23rd August, 651 (*ZDMG* 34, p 151), and according to the late Mr Palonji Baijori Desai, precisely on the 23rd August, 651 (*History of the Sassanians in Gujarat*, Bombay p 475). Ferdinand Justi places this event in Autumn 651 (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II, p 547) and J de Morgan in September, 651 (*Mémoires Orientales*, Paris tome I, 3 fasc, col 597, note 2). It should be, however, observed that Lt Col, P M Sykes gives 652 A D as corresponding to A H 31 (*A History of Persia* London 1915, vol I, p 544). The late Mr Mancherji Pestonji Khareghat has given 652 as the date of the death of Yazdagard (J M Unvala, *Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe*, Bombay 1940, p, 19, note 1).

Now, the following two dates are important for arriving at the correct date of the death of Yazdagard III. Mr Paruck says that Yazdagard ascended the throne in the second half of 632 or in the first half of 633 A D (*Sassanian Coins*). The *Reader's Encyclopedia*,

London begins the era of Yazdagard with 16th June, 632, which is also the year of his accession to the throne. Ten years later, i.e. in 642, corresponding to A. H. 42, he lost the fateful battle of Nehavand. He passed ten other years in the vain hope of stemming the tide of the victorious Arabs until he was assassinated at Marw in 652, i.e. exactly twenty years after his coming to the throne. This year 652 A. D. commenced a new era in Iran, called the *Era of the Zoroastrians*. It is found in the colophons of Avesta Pahlavi manuscripts written by Persian Zoroastrians. The formula used to mention this era is, *oudor söl: pas hac söl: 20 hocōe be yozdakort sōh ī solroyārōn*, i.e. "in the year after the 20th year of (the reign of) His Majesty Yazdakart, son of Šanriyār". This era is also called *Pārsik* in the third colophon of the *Denkōrt*, i.e. *oudor söl: 1009 pārsik pas hac söl: 20 sōe be yozdakort*, i.e. "in the Parsi year 1009 after the 20th year (of the reign) of His Majesty Yazdakart" (Unvala, *Collection of Colophons*, p. 19, note 1). Now, as the late Mr. Khareghat places the enthronement of Yazdagard in 632, 652 A. D. must be considered as accepted by him as the date of the death of Yazdagard.

In *Brünnahr nach der Geographie von Ps. Moses Xorēnaci*, Berlin 1901, p. 67, J. Marquart gives an interesting description of the last attempt of Yazdagard III to resist the Arab invaders as follows: "According to Arab sources, Yazdagard entered into negotiations on the advice of Māhōl, the Marzbān of Marw, with Nēzak Tarkhān, the prince of the Hētāls, who was residing in Bādgēs, as we learn from later sources. The Tarkhān behaved himself before the King of Kings (*Sāhānsūh*) as an independent prince.

"According to Sebeos (p. 137), the Arab army which was stationed in Persia and Khuzistan, marched against Yazdagard, the king of the Persians, in the 20th year of the reign of Yazdagard to the east in the country called Pahlav which had been formerly the country of the Parthians. And Yazdagard fled away from them, but he could not escape them. They overtook him on the border of the K'ušānk' and destroyed his whole army. He fled and went to the armies of the T'ētālk' who had come from their country to his help. The army of the T'ētālk' took Yazdagard prisoner and killed him. We see here again that the country of the T'ētālk' was independent of Iran." The Nēzak Tarkhān mentioned above was a prince of the Hephthalites, the *Hetals* of the Arabs, several of whose coins have been published by me in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. V, Part I, Bombay, 1941. They have the name of the prince written in Pahlavi characters on the right of his effigy, which had been wrongly read *Naphkī Sāk* (*MLKA*). The T'ētālk' were none other than the Hephthalites, the name being an Armenian form of *Hetal*. Their country was transoxiana, according to Muqaddasi.

Speaking of the Ṭabaristān era, Paruck says on p. 122 of his *Sassanian Coins*: "The Ispahbads remained faithful to Zoroastrianism and apparently viewed themselves as direct descendants of Yazdagard."

since the era employed on the Ispahbad coins seem to have the date of Yazdagard's death as its epoch" Now, J. Marquart commences the era of Tabaristān with 11th June, 651 A. D. (*Erānsahr*, p. 133). Herein he is followed by W. H. Valentine who gives 651 as the date of the death of Yazdagard and also as the first year of the independence of Tabaristān (*Sassanian Coins*, p. 70). I have said in my *Coins of Tabaristān* Paris 1938, p. 7, § 2 "The province of Tabaristān declared its independence under the Ispahbad princes of the royal Sassanian blood immediately after the assassination of Yazdagard III, the last Sassanian king in 651 A. D. These princes following an old Sassanian custom, inaugurated a new national era called the era of Tabaristān on the 11th June, 652 A. D." I had given this date according to Mordtmann, who had published several coins of Tabaristān in *ZDMG* VIII, pp. 173 seq. J. Walker also starts this era from 11th June, 652, corresponding to A. H. 31. (*A Catalogue of the Arab Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. LXX). The Ispahbad princes drew their lineage from Dādbōš or Dādōē, a descendant of Jāmāsp, the youngest son of Sassanian king Firūz.

From what precedes the following conclusion is drawn. The date of the death of Yazdagard III has been placed between the 21st March, 651 and 11th June, 652 by scholars of repute. The year is, however, certainly 652, which even the late Mr. Mancheji Khareghat has accepted as correct. The Ispahbads of Tabaristān whose country was not situated far away from Marw, the place of assassination of Yazdagard, must have been immediately informed about the tragic event, as they inaugurated their era on the 11th June, 652. This must be the probable date of the assassination.

III—CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION.

- (8) THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ALANKĀRARATNĀKARA AND THE
ALANKĀRASARVASVA AND ITS GLOSS THE VIMARŚINĪ—AND
THE DATE OF THE ALANKĀRARATNĀKARA

by

PROF. C. R. DEVANĒAR

Ferguson College, Poona

It is most gratifying to note that recently that indefatigable scholar Mm P V Kane has brought out a third revised edition of his *Sāhitya-darpana*, wherein he has attempted to bring up-to-date the history of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* appended to the work as an introduction. It was, however, with a feeling of surprise and dissatisfaction that in the list of *Alaṅkāra* works the *Alaṅkāraratnākara* is mentioned as a work of uncertain date, although in my edition of the text published long ago (1942) I have fixed the date of the author with tolerable certitude as the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th. No reference is made to the printed edition, and when a person of Mr Kane's eminence has ignored the work—it is hardly a matter of surprise that the wider world of scholars has scarcely noted its publication in printed form. With a view, therefore, to bring to the notice of scholars this work which has fallen into unmerited oblivion, I am repeating in the following pages, my observations on the work in its relation to the *Sarvasva* and the *Vimarśinī*, and my arguments in favour of giving him so high a date as the end of the 12th century.

The author of the *Alaṅkāraratnākara* belongs to that school of rhetoricians who, while implicitly accepting the authority of the *Dhvani* doctrine, yet hark back to rhetoricians like *Dandin*, *Bhāmaha*, and *Rudraṭa*, who looked upon tropes and figures as supplying in a dominant measure the principal element of charm and interest in poetry. The work has fallen into unmerited oblivion, owing possibly to the vigorous attack of the *Vimarśinīkāra* whose able brief for the author of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* places that work in the front rank among works on *Alaṅkāra*. That the work was once very popular in *Kāśmīra* is proved from the fact that *Yaśaskara*, a *Kāśmīrian* poet, thought it fit to compose a *Devīśataka*, a century of songs in praise of *Pārvatī*, in which each verse, besides being a panegyric of the goddess, also serves as an illustration of *Ratnākara's* *Alaṅkārasūtras*. This indicates that the work had a considerable vogue in the country of its birth and the same is further corroborated by the fact that *Appaya Dikṣita* as well as

Jagannātha thought it fit to adopt his view. Jagannātha refers to the Ratnākara in as many as eleven different places, mostly to controvert his views, but in one or two places, to show how the writer shows his independence of the ancients, as when he holds that Rūpaka occurs when identity (Abheda) is based on a relation other than that of similarity, like the relation of cause and effect, or when he maintains that Apahnuti occurs when there is the concealment of the Upamāna, with a view to show its identity with the Upameya. A variety of Apahnuti recognized and adopted by Appaya Dīksita under "Paryastāpahnuti."

The author has written his own sūtras on Alahkāro, has elaborated them in his commentary, illustrated them by examples drawn from varied sources, and summarised his views on particular topics in what are known as Parikaralokas. In doing so, he seems to have placed before him ancient models, like the Dhvanyāloka, which, as is well-known, consists of four parts (a) Kārikas, (b) Vṛtti, (c) Illustrations, and (d) Parikaralokas. The Sūtras are very concise, and, unlike the Kāvyaaprakāśa, written in prose. There is no doubt that the immediate object of the author was to write a new Alahkārasūtra in imitation of and to controvert the Alahkārasarvasva of Rājānaka Ruyyaka. It is not necessary to refer to the numerous points of agreement between the two writers, what is of interest are the disagreements between them, and from these it is scarcely possible to escape the impression that the author was a rival of Ruyyaka and wrote this work mainly to confute him.

(a) To start with, the figure of speech पुनरुक्तशब्दात् is regarded as an अर्थात्कार by Ruyyaka, and a शब्दात्कार by Sobhākara. Sobhākara says "आमुक्तसुखार्थं स्वयम् च शब्दार्थमर्थेन शब्दात्कारमप्युक्तशब्दात्कारोऽयम् । न तु अर्थार्थम् । पुनरुक्तमर्थात्कारः । अर्थात्कारता वाच्यम् ।" The view is controverted by Jayaratha who supports Ruyyaka in regarding this figure as an अर्थात्कार.

* रत्नाकराभ्यन्तरतो गृहीत्वाऽन्तर्हारात्तुनायि यथाक्रमेण ।

वन्दीन देव्या गिरिराजपुत्र्याः करोमि दासम् सुखिनीचरायि ॥

(देवीस्तोत्रे)

(b) Regarding the verse - सत्पाद्वनचरद्वानां पद्वल्लक etc. cited by Sarvasyakāra from the Vikramādhikadevacarita in illustration of Nidarśanā, Ratnākara remarks that since in this verse there is a direct superimposition of the sense of one sentence on that of another, the case is one of अर्थार्थात्कार, a view controverted by विसर्जितकार and by अर्थार्थात्कार following the सर्वस्वकार and विसर्जित, but supported by Jagannātha in his Rāsagangādhara.

(c) Ratnākara takes exception to Sarvasva's definition of अवतिरेक— remarking that the words विपर्यये वा should not be added, since that would mean that the figure अवतिरेक also obtains in those places where the उपमान is shown to be superior to the उपमेय, which is absurd, because the उपमान is by its very nature always superior to the उपमेय (उपमान-स्यान्यस्यावाधिक्यं हि स्वभावतः सिद्धम्), the Sūtra, therefore, should be amended in the way shown by रत्नाकरकार —

उपमेयादुपमेयस्य न्यूनत्वं प्रतिकूलत्वं वा अवतिरेकः । p 22, in place of Sarvasvakāra's Sūtra उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये विपर्यये वा अवतिरेकः । (Sarvasva, p 101) The विमर्शिनी defends Sarvasvakāra by showing that in the stanza given in illustration of this variety of अवतिरेक—*७७४* *शीघ्रं शीघ्रोऽपि शशी भूयो भूयो विवचते सरयम्* where the Moon and Youth are contrasted, the उपमेय 'Youth' is intended to be shown as inferior to the उपमान 'Moon' (अस्मिन्निप्रवचयस्योपदेशे प्रियं प्रति कोपोदयमाय चन्द्रापेक्षया बीजवत्य-पुनरागमनं न्यूनगुणत्वेनैव विवक्षितम्) He further remarks that this, however, does not mean that the उपमेय is in reality inferior to the उपमान —, since the उपमेय is intended to be shown as possessed of superior excellence, (न चैतद्वास्तवमुपमेयस्य न्यूनगुणत्वम् । तस्यैव सात्तिशयेन प्रतिपाद्यत्वात् । प्रकृताप्रोपरत्नकस्ये हि सर्वथा कवेः सरभः । तत्वाधिक्यमुद्यमुत्वेन भवतिवदया वा को विशेषः । तस्माद्युक्तमेव विपर्यये वा इति सूत्रितम् । प्रत्युत प्रतिकूलत्वं चेति सूचितं मयुक्तम् । उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये इत्येतावन्तैव कथ्येतावन्तं व्यासत्वात् । विमर्शिनी p 103)

The controversy is really very old Rudraṭa held the view that अवतिरेक is possible in both the ways (१९ उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये विपर्यये वा सर्वस्य—) and cited the stanza *शीघ्रं, शीघ्रोऽपि शशी भूयो भूया—*etc The same view was held by उद्भट and his commentator प्रसीदरिन्दुगण, Mammaṭa controverts the view, and our author falls in line with Mammaṭa The echoes of the controversy are to be met with in the works of Vidyānātha and Appaya Dīkṣita, who side with the सर्वस्वकार, and of Henacandra, Vidyādhara and Jaganātha who uphold Mammaṭa

(d) The author of Ratnākara finds fault with the definition of उपमेया given by Sarvasvakāra (तेनान्यदसाधे व्यापारमात्राण्ये उपमेयेति लक्षणमपवाकोचितमिष्टमनैव । p 47) on the ground that उपमेया being of the nature of fancying one thing as being probably identical with another, involves doubt or incertitude (साधेद्वारमङ्क) and not सम्बन्धसाध of identity of two objects wherein there is an element of certainty (निश्चयात्मक) Sarvasvakāra and his commentator, however, defend the position by pointing out that उपमेयसाध is representation of one thing (विषय) as identical with another (विषयविष्कृ)—a representation in which the विषय is completely swallowed up by the विषयविष्कृ is really

two-fold accomplished (सिद्ध) and in the process of accomplishment (साध्य), there is certitude in the former, and want of it in the latter, and therefore it becomes the basis of the figure वरमेवा which is सम्भावनात्मक. The controversy is referred to by the Rasagāṅgādhara-kāra, who points out that there is no authority for the distinction of अवयवसाय into सिद्ध and साध्य (सम्भाव्यवसाये मानामावात् Rasa p 399), and thus supports our author in his criticism of Alahkārāsarvasva.

(e) Our author does not agree with Sarvasvakāra in holding that the figure आन्तिमान् is based upon similarity (सारथ्य), his contention is that wherever one thing is mistaken for another, we get this figure आन्तिमान् and it is independent of the consideration whether the error arises through similarity or through some other cause. The Vimarśinī upholds Ruyyaka and criticizes our author. With regard to the five types of अक्षिप्तयोक्ति mentioned by Ruyyaka, our author's contention is that the fifth type कार्यकारणयोः पौरोदर्यविपर्यया is really included in the fourth type असंबन्धे संबन्ध, and so the number could be reduced to four.

(f) In Śobhākara's view, the definitions of समासोक्ति, व्याघात समाधि, सूक्ष्म and उदात्त, as given by Sarvasvakāra are defective. The definition अमस्तुतस्य गम्यत्व is defective, because, says Śobhākara, if the subject (धर्मी) is also comprehended in Samāsokti it would be a case of रूढक or अक्षिप्तयोक्ति. Śobhākara takes exception to the second variety of व्याघात "लौकिकेय कार्यविपर्यया च" on the ground that it is included in the first variety, while with regard to Sarvasva's definitions of समाधि and सूक्ष्म, Śobhākara holds that they are अस्वार्थक, too narrow, the second variety of उदात्त—"समुद्दिमस्तुवर्णनम्" is according to our author the असंबन्धे संबन्धनम् type of अक्षिप्तयोक्ति. It is needless to say that the विमर्शिनीकार defends the views of the Sarvasvakāra against these attacks of Śobhākara.

Our author holds very peculiar views about the nature of an अवयवकार and about सद्बुद्धि and संकर. According to Sutra 110 "एतेऽक्षिप्तयोक्ति-काराः" he lays down that the figures of speech enumerated and defined in the work deserve the name of अवयवकार only when they are "principal" not in relation to Rasa but in relation to other figures of speech. Alahkāras are never found in an unmixed or pure form. Everywhere it could be shown that there are subtle nuances or shades (अलङ्काराभर-वङ्गावा) of other figures of speech which are subordinate to the principal figure. This would intimate that figures of speech are never "absolute" or "pure", but always mixed in character and hence सद्बुद्धि in which two figures of speech are found in one and the same verse or poetical piece, as "aloof" (सदृश) from one another is an untenable position. Hence सद्बुद्धि is impossible. As for संकर, the figure which is subordinate

(अज्ञाये तु सङ्कर 112) is to be called सङ्कर, so that सङ्कर or सङ्कष्ट are not separate figures of speech as the ancients hold, for that would reduce all figures of speech to only two *viz* सङ्कष्ट or सङ्कर, since figures in their absolute or pure form are never met with but in any given case the figure which stands as principal is the figure of speech there, while the one dependent on it is to be called सङ्कर, thus if there is a blend of सम and परिबृत्ति and परिबृत्ति is प्रधान, we say that परिबृत्ति is the अङ्गकार while सम is the सङ्कर. Here is quite a novel and original view, and naturally does not pass without notice and severe strictures by the author of the अङ्गकारविमर्शिनी, who as we have shown in the foregoing discussion, defends Ruyyaka against the attacks of Sobhākara.

There are quite numerous citations from the text of रत्नाकर in the विमर्शिनी, and many of the illustrations given by our author are bodily incorporated in the विमर्शिनी. There are also a few places where विमर्शिनीकार thought it fit to support our author, as for instance, when he agrees with रत्नाकर that दयासङ्घ does not deserve to be a figure of speech. Jayaratha mentions that his distinct aim is to clear up the position of the author of अङ्गकारसर्वरस who is unfairly criticized by रत्नाकरकार, and not to enter into a detailed examination of the very novel views of the author of the रत्नाकर (एवमप्येवमपि समग्रायामभिनवाङ्गकाराणां चाप्यैरग्याङ्गकारपयोगो योजयितुं शक्य एवेति अग्न्यविस्तरमपावस्मदर्शने तद्वृत्तपणोद्धा रस्यैव प्रतिज्ञातत्वावस्माभिः प्रतिपद्येत न दूषितम् ।)

From all these indications, it should not be difficult to fix the date of our author. That he wrote after Ruyyaka and may have been either his coeval or lived just a little time after, is proved from his detailed criticism of Ruyyaka's work, and it is also equally clear that he preceded Jayaratha, the author of विमर्शिनी, who defends Ruyyaka against our author's attacks. Ruyyaka's date is known. "He was the son of Tilaka lived in Kāśmīra and was the teacher of Mañkha, the author of Śrīkanyācarita who was attached to the court of king Jayasīṃha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) "Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, was the son of Śṅgāra, the minister of king Rājārāja who ruled at Satīśaras (राजराज इति भुवनामभूदमपीगुणितुणाभ्य परम् । तं सत्तिसरति राजहंसनामा- त्तोक्तिकल समामेति च, । विमर्शिनी p 257) " He quotes from Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya, a poem describing the victory of the Chauhan king Pṛthvīrāja who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th Century."

Sobhākara, the son of the minister Trayīśvara, thus belongs to the latter part of the 12th Century or the early part of the 13th, as he comes after Ruyyaka and precedes Jayaratha.

Śobhāksra occupies a unique position in the field of rhetoric. He shows considerable independence in his views and boldly attacks ancient writers wherever he feels that the traditional views are unreasonable. Some of these views were accepted by later writers and even so intrepid a critic and rhetorician as Jagannātha thought it fit to acknowledge that there is reason and justice in the opinions held by our writer. A detailed story of the Alahkāra controversies dating quite from the days of Rudraṭa and ending with Jagannātha would certainly make a very alluring subject of discussion, in which our author will be found to have contributed a considerable volume of very original and weighty ideas. The work certainly deserves to be rescued from the unmerited oblivion into which it has sunk.

(9) THE KOSA CITATIONS IN COMMENTARIAL LITERATURE BELONGING
TO THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

by

L. D. KULKARNI, M. A., PH. D.

The importance of Kōśa literature from the point of view of Sanskrit literature, grammar and history of the Sanskrit word, has been amply proved by the copious use of them made by the critics and the commentators while commenting on Sanskrit texts. The approach to the subject is naturally two-fold *via* the study of Kōśa citations occurring in literature belonging to pre-classical period and that of Kōśa citations as we meet with in literature belonging to the classical period. The present paper is an humble attempt to touch some aspects of the latter part of the whole problem.

Now so far as the citations of Kōśas are concerned, the study has to be divided into three main parts

* I.—Kōśa citations in the commentaries on various Sanskrit texts
e. g. Kavīndrasarasvatī in his *Padacandrikā* on *Dakṣaśmāraka* quotes the following Lexicographers by name —

- (a) (1) Ajaya (2) Amara (3) Kāmandaka? (4) Keśava (5) Mahīpa (6) Bharata (7) Bhāguri (8) Vararuci (9) Vopā-lita (10) Śāśvata (11) Sajjana (12) Halāyudha and (13) Haima

(b) He quotes the following Lexicons by name —

- (1) Utpalini (2) Kōśa (3) Kōśasāra (4) Dvirūpakōśa (5) Nighaṇṭu (6) Medini (7) Ratnakōśa (8) Ratnamālā (9) Viśva (10) Vaijayanti (11) Śabdārṇava

(a) Mohanaśāstra in his *Dīptikā* on *Harṣaśmāraka* quotes the following Lexicographers —

- (1) Amara (2) Caraka (3) Dhanañjaya (4) Dharaṇi (5) Virabhānu (6) Śāśvata (7) Śāśvata (8) Halāyudha (9) Haima

1 The Department of Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles has planned to compile a Dictionary of Sanskrit based entirely on all available Kōśas, published and unpublished, as a contributory study towards a *Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles*

(b) He quotes the following Lexicons —

- (1) Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (2) Ekākṣara (3) Nāmanālā
(4) Nighaṇṭu (5) Liṅgānuśāsana (6) Viśvakośa (7)
Śabdabhāskara (8) Śabdaśeṣa (9) Samsārāvartāśabda-
śāsana

II—Kosā citations in the commentaries on Kosā texts, *i. q.*

The following are the Lexicographers quoted by Kṛṣṇaswamin in his commentary on *Amarakośa*

(a) (1) Abhidhānakāra (2) Indu (3) Kātya (4) Candra
(5) Candranandana (6) Duṅga (7) Dhanyantari (8)
Mālākāra (9) Mum (10) Maṇḍha (11) Bhāguri (12)
Bhoja (13) Rudra (14) Śāśvata

(b) He quotes the following Lexicons —

- (1) Anekārtha (2) Abhidhānaratnamālā (3) Abhidhā-
naśeṣa (4) Amaramālā (5) Deśināmamālā (6) Nāma-
mālā (7) Nighaṇṭu (8) Mālā (9) Vaijayanti

(c) He cites the following commentators —

- (1) Upādhyāya (2) Gauda (3) Nārāyaṇa

(d) Lexicons, Lexicographers and commentators quoted by Rāyamukūṭa in his commentary on *Amarakośa*, are the following --

- (1) Abhidhānamālā (2) Amaradatta (3) Amaramālā (4)
Aruṇa² ? (5) Aruṇadatta (6) Utpalini (7) Kalihga (8)
Kātya³ (9) Kokkaṭa (10) Kaumudī (11) Upādhisūtravṛtti
(12) Jātarūpa (13) Dāmodara (14) Deśikośa (15)
Dharaṇikośa (16) Vānārthasaṅgraha (17) Nāmanidhiśa
(18) Nāmaprapaṇca (19) Nāmamālā (20) Nigamākhyā-
kośa (21) Padacandrikā (22) Balasārman (23) Brhada-
marakośa (24) Bhāguri (25) Ratnakōśa (26) Ratnamālā
(27) Rabhasapāla (28) Rudra (29) Rūparatnākara (30)
Vācaspati (31) Vopālitasiṃha (32) Vyākhyāṃṛta (33)
Vyādi (34) Śabdārṇava (35) Samsārāvarta

(e) Lexicons and Lexicographers quoted by Bhānuji —

- (1) Amaradatta (2) Amaramālā (3) Utpalamālā (4)
Kātya (5) Kaumudī (6) Deśikośa (7) Ratnakōśa (8)
Rabhasapāla (9) Rudrakōśa (10) Rūparatnākara (11)
Vācaspatikośa (12) Vopālitasiṃhakośa (13) Śabdārṇava
(14) Samsārāvarta

2. Are Aruṇa and Aruṇadatta the same?

3. Are Kātya and Muni one and the same?

III.—Kosā citations in Kosās themselves We have given below a list of Lexicons and Lexicographers cited by Keśavaswāmin in his *Nāṇārthīārṇavasamhāṣeṣa*⁴

(1) Ajaya	109	(2) Amaraḍatta	11
(3) Amarasimha	10	(4) Udayana	1
(5) Kātya	1	(6) Keśava	1
(7) Kāśaswāmin	1	(8) Cāṭukāra	1
(9) Jayamahala	1	(10) Jayāditya	2
(11) Dattaka	1	(12) Dhanañjaya	21
(13) Piṅgala	1	(14) Bodhra	1
(15) Bhāguri	3	(16) Bhoja	2
(17) Rabhasa	264	(18) Vararuci	10
(19) Varāhamuni	1	(20) Vasubhaṭṭa	3
(21) Vākpati	4	(22) Vaijayanti	72
(23) Śabara	1	(24) Śākaṭāyana	39
(25) Śāśvata	20	(26) Saṃjana	59
(27) Sārasvata	2	(28) Suśruti	1
(29) Harsa	3	(30) Harṣanandi	17
(31) Halāyudha			

By the study of these aspects of the problem, the scholarship and the range of literature studied by the commentator, will be made prominently apparent and we shall know exactly the individual contribution of the commentators to Lexicography

The commentarial literature is important from another point of view also. The commentator generally explains each and every word occurring in the text. The study of the commentaries will, therefore, help us in many cases in reconstructing the text; the commentator has commented upon it again constitutes in itself by its very nature a good field for studying the *pariyāya* words. The approach to the study of *pariyāya* words is again two fold (1) the study of *pariyāya* words where the commentator cites an authority, one or the other, to justify the meaning he assigns to the word in the text, and (2) the study of *pariyāya* words where the lexicons are not cited by the commentator or where the commentator was not rather required to quote an authority to justify the interpretation, the usage being quite current in his days. When the work on these two problems will be completed and the results

4 The figures against the names refer to the number of occurrence. Keśavaswāmin refers to many others by *Kaśana*, *Kecit*, *śabdavivāradāḥ*, *Viditāgamāḥ*, *Kaśut Svatantradhīḥ*, *Apāre*, *pare stare*, etc etc

5 A student of Dr S. M. Katre is working on this problem for the Ph.D. degree

co-ordinated, it is bound to prove a very fruitful source of Lexicography and will supplement the work based entirely on Kōśa literature

The study of Kōśa citations will help also the Editor of unpublished Kōśas in his critically editing the Kōśa. The Editor who undertakes an editing of the Kōśa, has to face many difficulties before he finally settles his text. Sometimes the Mss are hopelessly corrupt and he has to correct those corruptions in the light of other lexicons and more often in the light of the extracts cited from the work he is editing in the commentarial literature. He has to compare the readings in the Mss with those which are given by the commentators and finally settle the readings of his text. We shall take an instance to illustrate this point. The one Ms of *Nānārthamañjarī* of Raghava reads the following lines as follows —

L N

- 629 *ītiḥ pracāre syanda ca prakāre lohakīṭṭa/*
 630 *ārakūṭe pravāse co dimbe gamanādūḥkḥayoh/*
 631 *atvṛṣṭāu anḍvṛṣṭau śalabhe nūṣṭe tūke/*
 632 *atyāsanne ca rājānas cātho jātis tu jonmani/*
 637 *rītiḥ svobhāve srovaṇe dūraprakṛtisaukhyayoh/*

The other three Mss of *Nānārthamañjarī* read more or less in the same way with insignificant variants here and there. If the above meanings assigned to *ītiḥ* are examined in the light of other published lexicons, we get the following results —

- 1 *Nānārtharatnamōla* assigns *syanda*, *prakāra*, *lohakīṭṭa*, *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*, and *pravāsa*, *dimba*, *atvṛṣṭyādi* to *ītiḥ*.
- 2 *Medinī* assigns *pracāra*, *syanda*, *lohakīṭṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa*, *dimba*, *atvṛṣṭyādi* to *ītiḥ*.
- 3 *Jātvata* assigns *pracāra*, *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
- 4 *Anekārthatilaka* assigns *pravāra* to *ītiḥ*.
- 5 *Anarakoṣa* assigns *pracāra*, *syanda* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa*, *dimba* to *ītiḥ*.
- 6 *Śabdakalpadrūma* assigns *pracāra*, *syanda*, *lohakīṭṭa* *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa*, *dimba*, *atvṛṣṭyādi* to *ītiḥ*.
- 7 *Nānārthārnavaśaṅkṣa* assigns *pracāra*, *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
- 8 *Vaṇḍayanti* assigns *pracāra*, *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa* to *ītiḥ*.
- 9 *Halāyudha* assigns *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
- 10 *Anekārthasaṅgraha* assigns *lohakīṭṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa* to *ītiḥ*.

6 Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇamūrti Sharma, a Shastrī in the Dictionary Department, has undertaken to edit this Kōśa with the help of four Mss., three of which are in gīṇth script and one in Malayālam script.

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नहिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

- attā* f 1 10 4 *nāṭyaṭṭau vṛddhā vatsyā*/an old harlot
anubandha m 3 8 26 *kṛadha*/anger
abhiṣaṅga m 3 7 8 *duḥkha*/sorrow
abhikāra m 3 6 4 (1) *sahśleṣau*/mingling together, (2) *abhikramana*/attacking
aruṣa n 2 48 17 (1) *añjanābha vurna*/colour resembling callynum, (2) *nikāra*/piling up, heap
avadāta n 3 18 4 *apradhūna karma*/as unimportant as insignificant work
āḍambara m 3 30 59 (1) *krodha*/anger, (2) *ābhaṣa*/enjoyment
āsaya m 2 62 184 (1) *saṅgha*/heap, multitude, (2) *cetas*/heart
āsā f 1 48 64 *samīpa*/near
uṣyā f 1 11 13 *jananī*/mother
upalā f 2 67 24 *dis*/quarter
kaṭa m 1 56 157 *valaya*/bracelet of gold
kālī f 1 58 182 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat
kunḍa n 1 63 236 *kumbha*/bowl, pitcher, water-pot
kutapa m n 8 89 496 *sāyamastarāna*/a sort of blanket
kubja mfn 1 62 231 *nīkharva*/dwarfish, a dwarf
kheṣa m n 1 70 321 *nadyadrimadhyascha nagara*/a place lying between a river and mountain
gata mfn 1 71 336 *atīta*/gone away
gauṛī f 1 75 380 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat
carikā f 1 77 401 *pārvatya nāma*/N of Pārvati
cāṣu m 1 78 415 *darvī*/a ladle
jana m 1 82 464 *aprājña manuṣya*/an unintelligent person
jayā f 1 81 449 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat
taraṇi f 2 120 840 *raṇa*/quick motion, speed
tāra m 1 87 524 *rada*/tusk of an elephant
dara m n 1 92 575 *chidramātra*/a hole
dhrva m 1 96 631 *vrkṣamātra*/a tree
nadiṣṇa mfn 2 43 26 *tarane yāḥ paṭuḥ*/expert in swimming
napād 1 100 672 (1) *śarpa*/a serpent, (2) *apātya*/a child
niṣha m n 1 101 688 *rahas*/a lonely place, solitude
picchā f 1 109 774 *sarvapicchilamanḍala*/the scum of any grain
pīṭh m 1 109 781 *kaṭphalanāma vrkṣa*/N of 'a' 'small' 'tree' by name kaṭphala.

9 The figures against the vocabularies refer to volume, page and stanza respectively.

puṇyaśloka mfn 3 25 23 *puṇyaśvada*/speaking kindly, agreeably speaking
pravacana n 3 20 26 *śāstra*/scripture

pravṛtti f 2 5 50 *uccāra*/pronunciation, utterance

bodhi m 1 117 875 *buddha*/an epithet of Buddha

bhava m 1 118 882 *kopa*/anger

**bhāsvat* m 1 100 906 *paṭhaka*/a village inhabited by savages of barbarians

madra n 1 122 927 *śubha*/auspiciousness, happiness

nadi f. 1 123 942 *nadībheda*/a river

mārī f 1 127 986 *hākarātri*/the night of all-destroying time

mṛgāla mfn 2 173 1440 *dayita*/cherished, beloved

raṇarāṇa m 3 89 15 *vyoga*/separation

hṛ m 1 140 1142 *mantra*/a hymn, sacred text

vaṇḍa n 1 144 1189 *śānamātra*/the male generative organ

varṇasya f 3 5 50 *parīṣṭi*/service, homage

varṇasā mn 1 146 1209 *śuśmasaṅkṣadala*/a kind of strength by name *śuśma*

vāma m f. 1 146 1216 *uṣṭra*/a camel

vṛata n 1 143 1178 *vidhāna*/rule, formula manner

vyatikāra m 3 16 108 (1) *vyāyokti*/dissimulating statement,
 (2) *prastāyokti*/introductory statement,
 (3) *samparkokti*/mixed statement

vyuṣṭi f 1 151 1272 *māhīruhaṭhala*/fruit of the tree

śikhā f 1 159 1366 *bhūriśaḥ agra*/top of the tree

śukṭi f 1 162 1397 *karṣasaṅkṣāna* *nīmāna*/a weight by name Karsa,

śarpa mn 1 162 1406 (1) *ardhaṣṭha*/half the ṣṭha, which is a particular measure
 (2) *dronāḥhyaparmāṇasya caturguṇa māna*/a measure of four droṇas.

sambādha m 2 211 1886 (1) *kārā*/a prison

(2) *saṅkṣāṭa*/danger

spārśa m 1 166 1453 (1) *śāra*/a paramour

mf (2) *śāhara*/a servant

svavāsini f 3 6 53 *navavadhā*/a newly married girl

(b) A glossary as could be constructed from the citations attributed to Harṣanandi in *Nānārthāryavasaṅkṣepa*

aṅgula m 2 53 82 *aṅgulāḥ paryāya*/a finger

kaṣṭha m. 2 81 399 *bhannatāṇḍulāvayava*/a broken particle of rice

- (9) *Aruna*—by (1) Kaśakalpataru (2) Rāyamukuṭa
 (10) *Arunadatta*—by (1) Ujvaladatta (2) Rāyamukuṭa
 (11) *Ardhanārīśvara*—by (1) Cāritravardhana an *Raghuvamśa*
 (12) *Indu*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin an *Amara*
 (13) *Ujjvala*—by (1) Mallinātha an *Meghadūta*
 (14) *Unādisūtravṛtti*—by (1) Puruṣottamadeva in *Varṇarocanā*, (2) Ujvaladatta (3) Rāyamukuṭa
 (15) *Utpalamālā*—by (1) Bhānuji (2) Mallinātha (3) Puruṣottamadeva (4) Medinikara (5) Rāyamukuṭa (6) Śivarāma an *Vāsavadattā*
 (16) *Ekākṣaraughanamālā*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvamśa*
 (17) *Ekākṣaramādhavanighanṭu*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvamśa*
 (18) *Ekākṣaramālā*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvamśa*
 (19) *Ekākṣarābhūdhānamālā*—by (1) Padmanābhadatta
 (20) *Kalīnga*—(—Amarakośaṭikā) by (1) Ujvaladatta (2) Rāyamukuṭa
 (21) *Kalpadrūmānamālā* of Keśava—by (1) Dinakara an *Raghuvamśa* (2) Bhaṭṭoji (3) Mallinātha an *Kīrti* and *Raghuvamśa* (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Hemādri an *Raghuvamśa*
 (22) *Kalpadrūma*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura
 (23) *Kātya*—by (1) Kṣīraswami on *Amara* (2) Bhānuji (3) Mahēśvara (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Hemacandra
 (24) *Kāmadhenu*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura
 (25) *Kokkapa* (Amarakośaṭikā)—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
 (26) *Kośasāra*—by (1) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*
 (27) *Kaunūḍī* (Amarakośaṭikā)—by (1) Nayanānandaśarma (2) Bharatasena on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (3) Bhānuji (4) Rāyamukuṭa
 (28) *Khyāticandrikā*—by (1) Rāmanātha in *Trikāṇḍaviveka*
 (29) *Gangādharakośa*—by (1) Cadasimha (2) Medinikara
 (30) Cadasimha's *Anekūrīthadhvanīmāñjarī*—by (1) Usmaviveka (2) Raghunādana (3) Rāmānātha
 (31) *Candrakośa*—by (1) Bhaṭṭoji
 (32) *Candranandana*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin
 (33) *Jātarūpa* (Amarakośaṭikā)—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
 (34) *Trikāṇḍanandana* of Bhāskaramiśra Somayājīn—by (1) Acāriarka (2) Caturvaigacintāmaṇi (3) Dānamayūkha (4) Nirṇaya-sindhu (5) Madanapārijāta
 (35) *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* of Puruṣottamadeva—by (1) Ujvaladatta (2) Mallinātha (3) Medinikara (4) Raghunādana (5) Śivarāma
 (36) *Trivikrama*—by (1) Dinakara an *Raghuvamśa* (2) Hemādri on *Raghuvamśa*

- (37) *Durga*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Gaṇaratnamahodadhī (3) Devarāja
- (38) *Dūmadara*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
- (39) Dhanapāla's *pāyalaicchīnāmamālā*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Hemacandra
- (40) *Dhanvantarīnighanṭu*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Bhāvaprakāśa (3) Smṛtyarthasāgara
- (41) *Dharaṇīkośa*—by (1) Uj्ज्वालādatta (2) Gadaśmha (3) Medinikara (4) Rāyamukuṭa
- (42) *Nānārthasamgraha* of Ajayapāla—by (1) Uj्ज्वालādatta (2) Gaṇaratnamahodadhī (3) Medinikar (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Śivādāsa
- (43) *Nānārtharatnamālā* of Irugapa—by (1) Bhaṭṭojī (2) Bhānujī (3) Vohkaṭa
- (44) *Nāmanig hanṭu* of Mādihava—by (1) Devarāja
- (45) *Nāmanī dhāna* of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Rāyamukuṭa
- (46) *Nāmaprapaṭica*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
- (47) *Nāmamālā* of Dhanañjaya—by (1) Asālatiprakāśa (2) Bhaṭṭojī (3) Rāyamukuṭa
- (48) *Nāmamālā*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Medinikara (3) Vāmana (4) Hemacandra
- (49) *Nigamāhikyaśloka*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
- (50) *Pārīṣāṭa*?—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura
- (51) *Prakāśa*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura
- (52) *Balaśarman*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa
- (53) *Bṛhadamarakośa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Rāyamukuṭa
- (54) Bhaṭṭamalla's *Kṛyānighanṭu*—by (1) Mallinātha
- (55) *Bhāguri*—by (1) Keśava (2) Kṣīraswāmin (3) Mallinātha (4) Mahīpa (5) Mahēśvara (6) Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti (7) Medinikara (8) Rāyamukuṭa (9) Halāyudha (10) Hemacandra
- (56) *Bhūripṛayaga* of Padmanābhādatta—by (1) Nārāyaṇaśarman (2) Bhaṭṭojī (3) Rāmanātha
- (57) Bhojadeva's *Nāmamālā*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Mahīpa (3) Sāyaṇa
- (58) *Madanapālavinodanighanṭu*—by (1) Nighaṇṭuāja (2) Bhāvaprakāśa (3) Smṛtyarthasāgara
- (59) Mahākṣapaṇaka's *Anekārthakośa*—by (1) Gaṇaratnamahodadhī
- (60) Mahīpa's *Anekārthatilaka*—by (1) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*
- (61) Mādihava's *Ratnamālā*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa

- (62) *Mādhavakośa*—by (1) Medinikara
- (63) *Mālatīmālā*—by (1) Mallinātha (2) Rāmananda on *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*
- (64) *Mim* (Kātyāyana ?)—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara*
- (65) *Meghapradīpa*—by (1) Viśvapākaśa
- (66) *Medinikara*—by (1) Asālatikośa (2) Bhūripayoga (5) Śivakośa.
- (67) *Ratnakōśa*—by (1) Gadasimha (2) Bhānujī (3) Mallinātha (4) Rāyamukuta (5) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*
- (68) *Ratnaprakāśa*—by (1) Mallinātha on *Śiśupālavadha*
- (69) *Ratnamālā*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinikara
- (70) *Rabhasapāla*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara* (2) Bhaṭṭojī (3) Bharatasena on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (4) Bhānujī (5) Mādhaviyadhātuvṛtti (6) Medinikara (7) Rāyamukuta (8) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*
- (71) *Rudrakośa*—by (1) Gadasimha (2) Bhānujī (3) Mallinātha (4) Medinikara (5) Rāyamukuta (6) Śivarāma
- (72) *Rūparatnākara*—by (1) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (2) Bhānujī (3) Rāyamukuta
- (73) *Vararucikośa* (Kātya ?) by (1) Medinikara (2) Malāyudha
- (74) *Vācaspati*—by (1) Keśava (2) Bhaṭṭojī (5) Bhānujī (4) Mahēśvara (5) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (6) Hemācandra
- (75) *Vikramādityakośa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinikara (3) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (4) Hārāvali
- (76) *Viśvaprakāśa*—by (1) Medinikara
- (77) *Viśvarūpa*—by (1) Bhaṭṭojī (2) Mahēśvara (3) Medinikara
- (78) *Viśvaśambhunimūl's Ekāḥṣarānāmālikā*—in glosses on *Abhidhānacintāmanī*
- (79) *Vapāhtasukha*—by (1) Abhidhānaratnamālā (2) Ujjvaladatta (3) Bhānujī (4) Mahēśvara (5) Medinikara (6) Rāyamukuta (7) Śivadatta (8) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (9) Halāyudha
- (80) *Vyākhyāṁṛta* (Amarakośaṭikā) by (1) Rāyamukuta
- (81) *Vyākhyā*—by (1) Keśava (2) Ujjvaladatta (3) Bhānujī (4) Mahēśvara (5) Medinikara (6) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* (7) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (8) Rāyamukuta (9) Hārāvali (10) Hemācandra
- (82) *Śabdatarāṅginī*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta
- (83) *Śabdabheda*—by Jayamaṅgala on *Bhaṭṭikāvya*

- (84) *Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā*—mentioned by Veṅkaṭa
- (85) *Śabdārnava*—by (1) Uj्ज्वालādatta (2) Bhānujī (3) Mallinātha (4) Medinikara (5) Rāyamukūṣa (6) Śabdamālā (7) Śivakośa (8) Sundaragāṇī (9) Hārāvalī
- (86) *Śākaṭāyana*—by (1) Gaṇaratnamahodadhī (2) Jayamaṅgala (3) on *Bhaṭṭikūṣya* (3) Bhaṭṭojī (4) Bhaṭṭasena (5) Mallinātha (6) Mādhaviyavṛtti (7) Vopadeva (8) Śākaṭāyana (old) (9) Hemacandra
- (87) *Śūśvata*—by (1) Uj्ज्वालādatta (2) Kṣīraswāmin (3) Gaṇaratnamahodadhī (4) Mallinātha (5) Medinikara (6) Vararuci
- (88) *Ṣeṣa*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara*
- (89) *Śīṭdhana*—by (1) Sundaragāṇī in *Dhātuvratnādhara*
- (90) *Sūnja*—by (1) Nāīāyana on *Amara* (2) Rāmanātha on *Amara*
- (91) *Sūśvatalakoṭa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Rāyamukūṣa
- (92) *Saṁskṛtāvarṇa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinikara (3) Rāyamukūṣa (4) Hārāvalī
- (93) *Halāyudha*—by (1) Kāṭavema on *Śākuntala* (2) Jayamaṅgala on *Bhaṭṭikūṣya* (3) Narahṛī in *Cūḍāmaṇi* (4) Nāīāyana on *Uttararāmacarita* (5) Padmanābhādatta on *Bhuvaneśvarīśloka* (6) Bhaṭṭasena on *Bhaṭṭikūṣya* (7) Bhānujī on *Amara* (8) Rahgaṇātha on *Vikṛānarvaśīya* (9) Rāyamukūṣa on *Amara* (10) Śivadatta in *Śivakośa* (11) referred to by Medinikara.

(10) LEGAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PAÑCATANTRA

THE STORY OF THE CAT AS JUDGE BETWEEN THE PARTRIDGE AND THE HARE

by

L. STERNBACH, LL.D. (NEW YORK)

1. When we read a literary work we read it either from the point of view of its contents, or because of its literary form, or for thoughts contained in it. Very seldom, however, do we read it from the point of view of law. Yet very often imperceptibly law enters into our actions, into every step of our daily life. If we do shopping, if we go to a blacksmith, if we go to a jeweller to order a ring, or step into a tram, bus or a taxi, in each of these cases we conclude one or more legal contracts which, from the legal point of view, very often, are complicated. The same is the case when reading literary works. While reading the *Mecchakapika*, for instance, we had probably never noticed that in this beautiful drama we find description of a juridical act, namely, a contract of deposit. In this case the act was concluded between Cārudatta and Vasantaśenā and the whole drama is based on legal rules resulting from the conclusion of this contract of deposit. They relate to the responsibility of the depositor, the influence of *vis major* on the obligation of returning the thing deposited, etc. These juridical problems are the thread running through the whole of this drama. However, no mention of this fact appears in any of the critical editions of the *Mecchakapika*.

2. In reading the *Arabian Nights*, the first time one reads it from the point of view of its contents, the second time from the point of view of its customs, as well as contents which were current there. Then it may be seen that some legal problems are raised in these tales. On reading the *Arabian Nights* for the third time, fourth and tenth time, the conclusion is reached that this work reflects the daily life of the people, the life which really existed and not that which was contained in the books, on the basis of which legal contracts were concluded and legal actions were performed. The legal contracts contained therein are clearer and more alive, and are a better illustration of the application of legal rules than the dull legal rules contained in the law-books.

3. When reading the Indian tales and, in particular, the *Pañcatantra*, perhaps for the twentieth time, I came to the same conclusion.

Many scholars have written about the *Pañcatantra* and I shall not be able to add to their works. However, I should like to point out that the tales contained in the *Pañcatantra*, though fables, depict faithfully the daily life in India and the juridical problems resulting from it.

4 What is the aim of interpretation of tales from the point of view of the Smṛtis? It is to —

- (a) point up various juridical problems raised in the Pañcatantra,
- (b) show how the respective problems are solved in the Smṛtis and in the Pañcatantra,
- (c) demonstrate whether these problems which appear in the Pañcatantra were solved in conformity with the Smṛtis,
- (d) demonstrate how far the legal rules contained in the Pañcatantra reflect the legal rules contained in the Smṛtis

On the basis of these considerations, the manner in which the legal rules contained in the Smṛtis were applied in daily life may be demonstrated. It is certain that the author, or authors of the Pañcatantra were not jurists and were unaware of the legal rules in force. If certain juridical problems mentioned in the story were solved in accordance with the rules of the Smṛtis, it shows that these rules were widely known, so that even laymen quoted them. In particular, Manu was one of the authorities on which the Pañcatantra is based, as stated in the introduction to P¹

Moreover, if we interpret the Pañcatantra from the point of view of law, we frequently arrive at very interesting conclusions. We know that various versions of the Pañcatantra exist in which some of the tales, especially those which have something in common with law, are differently narrated. Some of them are in conformity with the rules contained in the Smṛtis and others are not. In particular, later texts, the longer version (*textus ornatus*)², attempt to conform the text in the Pañcatantra with the legal rules, in order to eliminate seeming inconsistencies. On the other hand, if some of the Pañcatantra texts quote certain rules of the Smṛtis, we may note the wording in which they were known in daily life at the time when the Pañcatantra was written, and what other legal rules, not contained in the Smṛtis, were in use.

5 Following are the translations of the two versions, the shorter and the longer, of the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare (P 3, 4). The short version states³ —

Once long ago I was dwelling in a certain tree. In a hole under the tree dwelt a bird called a partridge.

Now as a result of our dwelling together a friendship sprang up between us, and every day at early evening (after we had eaten and taken our recreation outside) we would spend the time in pleasant conversation with questions on both sides. Then one time the partridge

failed to arrive (even at even-tide), at the time when we were wont to converse. For this reason I was much perturbed at heart, and I wondered "Can he have been killed or caught," or has he taken a liking to another dwelling-place (that he does not come)? "While I was pondering on this many days passed" (And) after this a hare named Longears came and settled in the hole in which he had lived. And when I saw him I reflected "That friend of mine is not, what concern have I with the dwelling?" When he had remained there some time, the partridge came back (to the same place). When he found the hare in his hole, he said "(See here), this is my place, so depart (from it quickly)." He said (to him) "Fool, (do you not know that) a dwelling (and food) are to be enjoyed by whoever is at hand?" The partridge said "There are witnesses available here, let us ask them, since that is what the case demands. And it is said in the lawbooks —

Concerning tanks, pools, and ponds, concerning a house and a dwelling, the testimony of neighbours is decisive, thus Manu has declared "

"So be it," agreed the other, and they set out to have the question decided at law. I also followed close behind them, being curious (to see what the outcome would be). When they had not gone very far (from there) the partridge said (to the hare) "(But) who will hear our law-suit?" The hare said "(Why, here is) this aged cat named Curd-Ears, who lives on the bank of the river, devoted to penance, and who shows compassion to all living creatures: he knows the law: he will make a lawful decision for us" (And hearing this) the partridge said "Away with that mean creature! (And it is said)

(Do not trust who covers himself with the mask of a devotee
Many devotees are seen at the holy pilgrimage-places
- who lack not throats and teeth!")

And hearing this (the cat) Curd-Ears, (who had assumed a false aspect in order to make his living by easy means,) that he might win their confidence, stood up on two legs and gazed (steadfastly) towards the sun, and with out-stretched arms, closing one eye (only), engaged in prayer. (And) as he prayed their hearts trusted in him, and they crept up towards him and made known their dispute about the dwelling (saying) "O holy devotee, teacher of the law, we two have a dispute, so decide it for us according to the law-codes!" And he said "I am old and my senses are dulled, so that I cannot hear very well from a distance. Come quite close and speak loud." Then they came nearer and told their story. Then he, (Curd-Ears), winning their confidence so as to make them come closer, recited texts from the lawbooks

"When righteousness is destroyed, it destroys in turn, when
righteousness is preserved, it preserves. Therefore we
must not destroy righteousness, lest it, being destroyed,
destroy us

Righteousness is our only friend that follows us even in death' for all else goes to destruction together with the body -

In blind darkness are we sunk who offer sacrifices with beasts. A higher religious duty than harmlessness has never been nor shall be

Whosoever regards other men's wives like a mother, other men's possessions like clods of earth, and all creatures like himself he has true vision "

(So) by his hypocrisy he won their confidence to such an extent that they came up to him quite close, and then with one stroke they were (both) caught and killed (by that mean creature)

6 In the longer version the same story reads as follows:

At one time I was myself living in a certain tree. And beneath the same tree dwelt another bird, a partridge. So by virtue of our near neighbourhood there sprang up between us a firm friendship. Every day, after taking our meals and airings, we spent the evening hours in a round of amusements, such as repeating witty sayings, telling tales from the old story-books, solving puzzles and conundrums, or exchanging presents.

One day the partridge went foraging with other birds to a spot where the rice was ripe and abundant, and he did not return at night-fall. Of course, I missed him greatly and I thought "Alas, Why does not my friend the partridge come home tonight? I am much afraid he is caught in some trap, or has even been killed." And many days passed while I grieved in this way.

Now one evening a hare, named Speedy made himself at home in the partridge's old nest in the hole. Nor did I say him nay, for I despaired of seeing the partridge again.

However, one fine day the partridge, who had grown extremely plump from eating rice, remembered his old home and returned. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at.

No mortal has such joy, although

In heaven's fields he roams,

As in his city, in his land,

And in his humble home

Now when he saw the hare in the hole, he said reproachfully "Come now, hare, you have done a shabby thing in occupying my apartment. Please be gone, and lose no time about it."

"You fool!" said the hare, "Don't you know that a dwelling is yours only while you occupy it?" "Very well, then," said the partridge, "may we ask the neighbour?" For, to give you a legal quotation

For ownership of cisterns, tanks,

Wells, groves, and houses, too,

The neighbours' testimony goes—

Such is the legal view,

And again

When house or field or well or grove

On land is in dispute,

A neighbour's testimony is

Decisive of the suit."

Then the hare said "You fool! Are you ignorant of the consecrated tradition which says —

"Suppose beside your neighbour you

For ten long years abide,

What weight have learned arguments?

Eye-witnesses decide

Fool! Fool! Did you never hear the dictum of the sage Nārada?

The title to possession is

A ten year's habitation

With men But with the birds and beasts

Merely present occupation"

"Hence, even supposing this apartment to be yours, still it was not occupied when I moved in, and now it is mine"

"Well, well!" replied the partridge, "if you appeal to consecrated tradition, come with me, and we will consult the specialists. It shall be yours or mine according to their decision." "Very well," said the other, and together they started off to have their suit decided. I, too, was at their heels, out of curiosity. "I will just see what comes of all this," I said to myself.

Now they had not travelled far when the hare asked the partridge "My good fellow, who is to pass judgment on our disagreement?" And the partridge answered "On a sand-bank by the sacred Ganges, where there is sweet music from the dancing waves that intercross and break when the water is swept by nimble breezes, there dwells a tomcat whose name is Curd-Ear. He abides unshaken in his vow of penance and self denial, and character has begotten compassion"

But when the hare spied the cat, his soul staggered with terror, and he said "No, no! He is a seedy rascal. You must have heard the proverb

Oh, never trust a rogue for all

His pharisaic puzzling

At holy shrines some saints are found

Quite capable of guzzling"

Upon hearing this, Curd-Ear, whose manner of life had been assumed for the purpose of making an easy livelihood, desirous to win their confidence. He, therefore, gazed straight at the sun, stood on his hindlegs, lifted his fore-paws, blinked his eyes, and in order to deceive them by sentiments, delivered the following moral discourse "Alas! Alas! All is vanity. This fragile life passes in a moment. Union with the beloved is an empty dream. Family endearments are a conjurer's trick. But for the moral law, there would be no escape. Oh, listen to Scripture!

Each transitory day, O man,

To moral living give,

Else, like the blacksmith's bellows, you

Suck air, but do not live

And furthermore

Non-moral learning is a curse,

A dog's tail, nothing less,

That does not save from flies and fleas,

Nor cover nakedness

And yet again

A rotten ear among the wheat,
 Among the buds a bat,
 Is he who spurns the moral law,
 The merest living goat
 The flowers and fruit are better than the tree,
 Better than curda is butter said to be,
 Better than oil-cake, oil that trickles free,
 Better than mortal man, morality
 The praise of constant steadfastness
 Some wise professors sing,
 But moral earnestness is swift,
 Though many fetters cling
 To get your posings manifold,
 The moral law is briefly told
 To help your neighbour-this is good
 To injure him is devilhood"

Having listened to this moral discourse, the rabbit said "Friend partridge, here on the river-bank is the saint who expounds the moral law. Let us ask him."

But the partridge said "After all he is a natural enemy. Let us ask him from a distance. So together they began to question him. "O holy moralist, a dispute has arisen between us. Pray give judgment in accordance with the moral law. And whichever of us is found to speak falsely, him you may eat."

"Dear friends", said the cat, "I implore you not to speak thus. My soul abhors every act of cruelty, that street-sign pointing to hell. Surely, you know the Scripture

The holy first commandment runs
 Not harsh, but kindly be

And therefore lavish mercy on
 Mosquito, louse, and flea
 Why speak of hurting innocence?
 For he, with purpose fell
 Who injures even noxious beasts,
 Is plunged in ghastly hell

"Nay, even those who slay living creatures in the act of sacrifice are befuddled, and their hermeneutic theology is at fault. And if you object to me the passage, "One should sacrifice with goats" in that passage the word "goats" signifies grain that has aged seven years 'Go, oats'—such is the true exegesis. And then, consider the passage

If he who cuts down trees or cattle,
 Or make a bloody slane in battle,
 Should thereby win to heaven-well,
 Who (let me ask you) goes to hell?

'No, no I shall eat nobody. However, I am somewhat old and do not readily distinguish your voices from a distance. So how am I to determine winner and loser? In view of this, pray draw near and make me acquainted with the case. Then I can pronounce a judgment that discriminates the essence of the matter, and thus causes no impediment in my march to the other world. You know the stanza

If any man, from pride or greed,
 Timidity or wrath,
 Judge falsely, he has set his foot
 On hell's down-sloping path

And again

Who wrongs a sheep, slays kinsmen five,
 Who wrongs a cow, slays ten,
 A thousand die for maidens wronged,
 A thousand die for men

"Therefore confide in me and speak clearly at the edge of my ear."

Why spin it out? That sedy rogue won their trust so fully that both drew near him. Then, of course, he seized them simultaneously, one with his paw, the other with the saw of his teeth. And when they were dead, he ate them both.

7 From the legal point of view, there are also some differences between these two versions which, may be, will allow us to come to a conclusion which of these versions is the better one

What are the juridical problems solved, or better to say, touched in this story? There are three main problems the first is that the dwelling may be enjoyed by whomever is at hand, the second is that in the case of a dispute regarding dwellings the testimony of neighbours is decisive, the third is that the king had to decide in the case of a dispute between his subjects

8 Let us confine to the problem of the enjoyment of the dwelling by whomever is at hand This problem is not solved in the Smṛitis clearly, it may be only solved on the basis of general legal rules

It is evident from both versions of the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare that the partridge possessed the hole or rather possessed its use, that is the legal right to use it The hole before being taken possession of by the partridge, did not belong to anybody Thus, it was a *res nullius* But from the moment the partridge took possession of this hole and has shown his will to use it (had the *animus ulandi*) this will to use it formed the title for the acquisition of the hole In legal nomenclature this act gave him the *titulus acquirendi* of the hole, since no special act was necessary to acquire an object which did not belong to anybody, was *res nullius* The partridge had thus the right to the hole, even if he left it for a moment, he had the legal right to return to it and the hare could not take possession of the hole which belonged to somebody else, since the partridge wanted to return to it The partridge did not abandon the hole, If he had done so, the hole would become an abandoned object (*res derelicta*) and would become again a *res nullius* and thus could be legally taken by anybody and certainly also by the hare This act of occupation, called in juridical language *occupatio* would then be the *titulus acquirendi* for the person who has occupied the hole, the will to keep it for himself But the partridge, in the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and hare, wanted to keep the hole, the hole was still his and the hare could not legally occupy it Therefore, from the legal point of view the cat as judge could only pass the judgment in favour of the partridge

9 In the longer version of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, the substance of the story is the same In that version the partridge, or sparrow Kapiñjala went to another place, it is stated clearly, in that version that he went to another place in order to gain his livelihood, he was expected to return

A new problem arises in the longer version It is stated there that hare was not warned that the hole was occupied by somebody else, therefore, the hare occupied the hole in good faith, *in bona fide*

10 The ancient Indian law knows the distinction between *possessio* and *detentio* (that is physical possession of an object by a person without his will to keep it for himself)⁷ and the legal consequences of such a distinction. In particular the Smṛtis state that objects which were given only into detention could not be acquired by *usucapio*⁸ that is acquisition of the title or right to property by uninterrupted and undisputed possession of it is for a certain term prescribed by law. The Smṛtis distinguish also between acquisition of some objects by *usucapio*⁹ and *praescriptio*¹⁰, that is loss of a right by neglecting to use it during the time limited by law. They also state that it might happen that the owner has no right to claim the return of his property, even though the possessor of this object did not acquire it (by *usucapio*)¹¹. In order to acquire a certain object by *usucapio* the Smṛtis prescribe an uninterrupted¹² possession in good faith, *in bona fide*¹³ without any hindrance lasting for many years¹⁴. Bad faith, *mala fides* excludes the possibility of acquisition of an object by *usucapio*. *Usucapio* creates the *titulus acquirendi* of ownership which excludes the possibility of proving ownership of an object by the previous owner by means of witnesses, documents, etc.¹⁶ The period necessary for *usucapio* depends on the object to be acquired by *usucapio*, it extends to ten years or more¹⁷. In different Smṛtis ownership could be acquired after the lapse of different periods of time¹⁸ and originally more, object could not be acquired by that way. After some time, however, with the development of legal rules, they could be acquired in varying periods of time¹⁹.

The Smṛtis also state clearly that, in spite of possession of some objects during a period necessary for *usucapio* they cannot be acquired in this way. This problem is solved in Mṇ, Y, Vas, N, K, Brh, Sūk, G,²⁰ N Quot.²¹ Some of these objects cannot be acquired by *usucapio* because of the nature of the contract (lack of good faith, *bona fides*), or of the object to be acquired by *usucapio* (real exceptions) others because of the person who is the owner (personal exceptions).

To the first group (because of lack of *bona fides*) belong *ādhi*²² *nikṣepa* or *upanidhi*²³, *indhi*²⁴, and because of the nature of the object to be acquired by *usucapio* *bhūmi*²⁵, *śrīmā*²⁶, *paśu*²⁷, female slaves and boats²⁸. Personal exceptions are more numerous. The aim of their introduction is either protection of the said person, or the *praesumptio* of lack of good faith, *bona fides*. To the first group belong the estates of the king *rāja*²⁹, ministers (*amātya*)³⁰, children (*bālā*)³¹, mentally backward people (*jaḍa*)³², women (*strī*)³³, ascetics (*śrotriya*)³⁴ and heretics (*pāṇḍa*)³⁵, to the second group belong the estate of the sons-in-law³⁶ or of kinsmen³⁷.

As far as the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare is concerned, the most interesting problem is that of *usucapio*, or rather of object which cannot be acquired by *usucapio*. Land (*bhūmi*) could not be acquired by *usucapio* only according to G 1 e, probably, in the oldest Smṛti, this seems to indicate that only in the oldest time land

could not be acquired by *usucapio*, although in more recent times *usucapio in bona fide* of the land gave the *titulus occurendi* and consequently, ownership³⁸

11 In the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, the hare occupied the hole in good faith, *in bona fide*. This is evident from the texts in which it is stated that nobody has forbidden (*nivṛitoḥ*) him to occupy the hole. Therefore, Kapiñjala says to the hare "It is not right that you occupied my dwelling. Vacate it as soon as possible." And the hare replies "It is not your dwelling-place, it is mine." "If you think so, Kapiñjala replies "then let us ask the neighbours" because

"For ownership of cisterns, tanks,
wells, groves and house, too,
the neighbours' testimony, goes—
such is the legal view"³⁹

or because

"When house or field, or well, or grove,
or land is in dispute,
a neighbour's testimony is
decisive of the suit"⁴⁰

These texts are based on the Smṛtis, in particular on Mn (VIII-147). According to this Dharmasāstra land is to be acquired by *usucapio* after ten years. Identical as in the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, it is stated there that in the case of a public (i.e. uninterrupted⁴¹) possession of land during a period of ten years the evidence of witnesses and documents is not admissible. It is admitted *eo ipso* (Mn) that its possessor acquires ownership of the land or houses⁴² by *usucapio*.

The hare, in order to support his statement, quotes according to the longer versions the following sentence ascribed to Nārada —

"The title to possession is
a ten year's habitation
with men. But with the birds and beasts
mere present occupation"⁴³

As far as I could ascertain, this sentence of Nārada cannot be found in N, or other Smṛtis and probably was invented *ad hoc* by the hare in order to prove his right to the hole. It must be also noted that

the period of time quoted in the tale would be too short to prove the acquisition of the property by *usucapio* and that no special rules were promulgated for animals

It should be noted that, from the legal point of view, *usucapio* was inadmissible because of lack of time necessary for *usucapio*, even if we admit that the hare was *in bono fide*

12 It should be noted that the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare is not the only one in the Pañcatantra in which the problem of acquisition of a *res nullius* (the hole), occupation of a hole, etc is raised. This problem seems to be very popular in the various versions of the Pañcatantra

In the tale of the lion and the wary jackal, a hungry lion came to a great mountain and thought that some animal would come into the cave during the night. Then a jackal, the owner of the cave, came and began to sing.⁴⁴ In this tale it is stated that he who quitted for some time the object that was taken into possession (the hole), having still the *animus utendi*, is always considered as owner of this object (*svāmīn*). This fact proves, once more that the hare, in longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, had the legal right to the hole

On the other hand, in the tale of the frog's revenge, when the frogging, after having given his relatives to the black snake to be eaten by him, says that he should return home, the black snake replies that certainly in the meantime his hole has been occupied by a stranger.⁴⁵

The fact of the occupation of the hole by strangers during the absence of its owner can also be observed in the frame-story to book IV, where the crocodile is informed that during his absence his house has been occupied by another crocodile.⁴⁶ Having returned the crocodile killed the intruder and recovered his home.⁴⁷

In the tale of the jackal and the war-drum, we also read about a hungry jackal who hearing a war-drum crept near it thinking that he would get food and having come to this conclusion he picked a spot, dug up a hole and crept in.⁴⁸

In these tales it is not stated that somebody warned the intruders saying that the hole was in possession of somebody else. That is clearly stated in the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare

13 From the various versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare it is evident that all these versions are based upon legal rules which we can find in the Smṛtis, that the juridical problems contained in this tale were presented by both the litigents

(the hare and the partridge) from the legal point of view and in conformity with the rules contained in the Smṛtis, that, although the hare very wisely quoted juridical arguments, his case ought to be dismissed, and that the longer versions are clearer and better in so far as legal problems are concerned.

According to the short version (P), the legal problem is not clearly described and it is difficult to understand the hare's arguments. It is not clear whether the hare abandoned the hole, on the other hand, the very interesting problem of the possible acquisition of the hole by *usucapio* is lacking.

The longer versions, in particular PK and PBK, contain the explanation that the partridge did not abandon the hole, since he went away only to find food (and *eo ipso*) still had the *animus utendi* the hole). This version also raises a new problem, *viz.* whether the hare, who was in *bona fide* (nobody has forbidden him the use of the hole), could acquire it by *usucapio*. The hare based his claim upon the rule that by uninterrupted possession a human being acquired the right to the hole by *usucapio* but that this rule does not apply to animals.⁴⁹ It seems to be clear that this rule was invented *ad hoc* and is not based on the Smṛtis. A special legal rule for animals could not be promulgated; however, the hare could plead in the court that, being in *bona fide*, he had possession of a *res nullius*, and in this way prove his *titulus acquiriti*. The judge, however, hearing the case and basing his judgment on the deposition of witnesses-neighbours (M 8 262, and others) ought to pronounce his judgment in favour of the partridge, because the witnesses-neighbours could only state that the hole was a *res nullius* or a *res derelicta*—that, in spite of *bona fides* of the hare, it could not be acquired by him by *usucapio*, as the period of time necessary for *usucapio* had not elapsed.⁵⁰

In connexion with the legal interpretation of the tale of the cat judge between the partridge and the hare, it is possible to come to the conclusion that the longer versions are clearer and more logical and, although the text, as quoted in the shorter versions may be the original one, the value of the tale and the logical solution of the problems raised there, increases in the longer versions, in particular in the Viṣṇusāiman (PK, PBK), thus becoming more easy to read and to understand to the Indian readers.

Foot-Notes

1 Compare L. Sternbach, Indian Tales Interpreted from the Point of View of the Smṛtis. Pañcatantra 1 13. JAOS 68 2, 84-91.

2 *Manava vācaspataye śukrāya parāśarāya saṁvīṭyā cāṇakyaṭyā 'au viduṣe namo 'stu nṛpaśāstrakartṛbhyah* (P kathāmukham 1).

3 This paper is based, in the first place, on F Edgerton's Pañcatatra reconstructed (AOS 2) (P), the most critical text of the Pañcatantra. The Tantrākhyāyika, ed by J Hertel (PHI) is also used, this version is the nearest to P. Other texts utilised in this study were the Vispuṣarman ed by I G L Kosgarian under the title Pantchatantrum sive quinquartitum de moribus exponens (the first text of the Pañcatantra published in Europe) (PK) and the critical edition by F Kielhorn and G Ruchler (DSS 1, 3, 4) (PBK), as well as J Hertel's recension of the Jaina Monk Pūṇabhadrā (HOS 11) (PHP)

PBK and PHP are the longer versions

4 Translated by F. Edgerton in P (AOS 3)

5 Translated by Arthur W Ryder in "The Panchatantra", The University of Chicago Press

6 As it may be enjoyed by whomever is at hand, it takes a *res nullius* into Possession. P 34, 93 stated *mūrkhō*, (*kūṇi na te viditaṃ*), *upasthānoblago dvāso* (*bhuktis ca*)

7 Compare L Sternbach, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, 11 Law of Deposits, par 4 Suppl to BhV 7 3-4

8 Compare L Sternbach, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, / Pledge, par 40 BhV 69

9 Mn 8 148, N 1 78, 80, G 12 37, V 1 5 187, Bṛh 7 23, 41, Kāty 327

10 Mn 8 147, Y 2 24, Vās 16 16-7, N 1 79, Bṛh 7 43, Śukr 4 5, 221-3

11 Śukr 4 5, 223-4

12 Bṛh 7 28

13 N 1 84-8, Śukr 4 5, 223

14 Mn 8 147, Y 2 24, N 1 78, Bṛh 7 23, 41, Śukr 4 5, 22.

15 N 1 90, Bṛh 7 28, Kāty 329, V 1 5 187, SmṛC 3 166

16 Bṛh 7-41 Compare Kāty 299

17 According to Mn (8 147) every object is acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years (compare G 12 37). Similarly N 1 79. According to Y 2 24) land may be acquired after the lapse of twenty years of time, and money after ten years. According to Vās (16 16 7) a property inherited from the father, an object bought, etc may be acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years. According to Śukr (4 5, 437-40) small properties may be acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years and land after twenty years. According to Bṛh (7 28, 43) uninterrupted possession for thirty years or by three generations created ownership. Compare also Kāty (299-301) and N (Quot 2 21)

18 For instance according to Mn (8 147) land may be acquired after ten years and according to Y (2 24) after twenty years Compare Vyāsa in Śūlapāṇi (ad Y 2 24), G 16 39 and others

19 According to G (12 39) animals land, females are not lost by adverse possession Immemorial possession is mentioned in Brh (Sams 329) According to Brh (Sams 327), V₁ (5 187) land may be acquired by *usucapio* after possession by three generations

- 20 *Ādih sīmā bāladhanaṁ nīkṣepopamidhī strīyaḥ,*
rājasvaṁ śratrīyasvaṁ ca na bhogena pranaśyati (Mn 8 149)
Ādhisīmāpanīkṣepopajadabāladhanaṁvina,
tathopamidhīrājastriśratrīyānāṁ dhānavarāḥ (Y 2 25)
Ādih sīmā bāladhanaṁ nīkṣepopamidhī strīyaḥ,
rājasvaṁ śratrīyasvaṁ na bhogena pranaśyati (N 1 81)
Ādih sīmā bāladhanaṁ nīkṣepopamidhistathā,
rājasvaṁ śratrīyasvaṁ ca na bhogena pranaśyati Śukr 4 5,225)
Āthāpyudāharanti,
paṭyākaṁ kṛtāmādhīyamānavādheyāṁ pratigrahaṁ,
yajñādūpagama venustathā dhūmasikṣāṣṭamīti (Vās 16 16)
Tatra bhuktānubhuktadaśavarṣam (Vās 16,17)
Anyathāpyudāharanti,
ādih sīmā bāladhana nīkṣepopamidhistrīyaḥ rājasvaṁ śratrīya-
dravyaṁ na sambhogena hīyate (Vās 16 19)
Jñātayāśratrīyāḥ pāṣāṇḍā vā rājñāmasannidhau paravāstuṣu
bhasanta na bhogena hareyuh, upamidhīmādhuh midhuh
nīkṣepaṁ strīyaṁ sīmānaṁ rājastriyadravyāṁ ca (K
 191 1-3)
Asvāmīnā tu yadbhuktāṁ gṛhakṣetrāpanādikam,
suhṛdbandhusakulyasya na tadbhogena hīyate (Brh 7 44)
Varuḍhya śratrīyavbhuktāṁ rājñāmālyamstatharva ca,
sudṛghendāpī kḷena teṣāṁ siddhyati tanva tu, (Brh 7 46)
Ajādūpagandadhanaṁ daśavarṣabhuktāṁ paraiḥ sannidhau
bhoktuh, na śratrīyapravṛjistarājñanyapurushaḥ, paśubhū-
mistrīnūmanatibhogah (G 12 37-9)

21 N. (Quot) 7 12)

22. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr, N Quot Compare *L Sternbach*, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, 7 Pledge, par 39—50, BhV 69

23. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr, N Quot

24. N

25. G

26. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr

27. G Compare N Quot 7 12

28. N Quot 7 12, Compare for females G

29. Mn, Y, N, K, Brh, Śukr

30. Brh

31. Mn, Y, N, Vās K, Śukr

32. Y

33. Mn, Y, N, Vās, K, Śukr

34. Mn, Y, N, Vās, Brh, Śukr

35. K

36. Brh

37. K

38. Mn, Y, N, Vās, K and Śukr enumerate *sīmā* as objects which cannot be acquired by *usucapio*. Medh (*ad* Mn 8 149) adds the following commentary on *sīmā* *Sīmā maryādā grāmādīnām bahusādhanayāddhī tatropekṣā sambhavati, grhādīnāṃ tu prākāraparikhādīrūpā dvayor sādhanair yā nyatāre kathamcidupaśīryamānā svalpatvādbhogatā kaṣṭhayanantā kalamupekṣyetāpi, tatpāpī dānādīsvatvāpaganāhetunā sambhāvayātāḥ, śtatatputrāḥ putrā vā gūḍacchinādīnā prajñāptasīmatvādechindantiyeva*. Since *sīmā* are only boundaries or objects which are in the boundary-line.

39. *Vāpikūṭapataḍḍgānāḥ grhavyopavanasya ca,*

sāmāntapratyayāt siddhīrityevāṃ manurabravīt (PK 391, PHP 383)

The *śloka* as quoted in P 3K and PHP is almost identical with that of P 3 47 which is identified with the Smṛtis (Mn 8 262 Kāty 734)

In PK and PHP the same maxim is repeated in other words in the subsequent *śloka*. It is stated there

Gṛhakeṣetravivādeṣu kūrōpavānābhiṃśn,

samutpanne vivāde tu sāmāntāt praśyayo bhavet (PK 392, PHP 384)

I did not find these *śloka*s in the identical wording in any of the Smṛtis

- 40 *Vāpikūpatadāgānānī devālayakūjanmanām,*
utsārgāparatāḥ svāmyamapī kartuḥ na śakyate (PBK 3 93)
- 41 Compare Bṛh 7 28
- 42 Some of the texts use instead of *ḥṣetra* (land) the word *grha* (house)
- 43 *Mānuṣānāmāyānī nyāyo mīmibhūḥ parikīrtitāḥ,*
trāścānī ea vīhaṅgānānī yāvaccḥisurasaināstrayaḥ (PBK 3 95)
- PK (3 105-6) and identically PHP (3 94-5) and PBK (3 104-) state
- Āhūtsā pūrvaka dharmio yasimāt sadbhīrudhītaḥ,*
vūkainatēnnadānīśādīkṣitasimāt tāmāpī rakṣayet
Hūksakānyapī bhūtānī ya hūksatī sa nirghṛnah,
sa yānī narakānī ghorānī kṣīnī punaryāḥ śubhānī cā
- 44 *Attha guhāsuvāmī dadhimukha nāma śrgāla dvārī phūḥkartum*
ārebha (PHP 218 11 2)
- 45 *Madīyabīladurgam anyai ruddhānī bhaviṣyātī* PHP 234 3)
- 46 *Yad aha tvadīyagrṛham anyāparena mahāmahareṇa saṅgrhītam*
 PHP 250 20-1) Compare PBK 4 29 12
- 47, 4 256
- 48 *Evam ovaadhūrya kasmūktīst pradete vidāryāntāḥ pravīṣṭāḥ*
 (PHP) 13 20-1)
- 49, *Mānuṣānānī syādbhūktirvai dātsavārṣikī,*
vīhaṅgānānī trāścānī yāvadeva samāstrayaḥ PK 3 94, PHP
 3 86, PBK 3 95).
- 50 The rule contained in G that *bhūmī* cannot be *usucapio* should not be applied in this case because *bhūmī* is mentioned only in G and according to all other more recent Smṛtus, including Mn, might be acquired by *usucapio*

(11) PATANJALI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS KĀTYĀYANA

by

SRI M G GAYDHANI, M A —NASIK

पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी is a matchless grammatical work in the field of literature of the whole world. By its perfection, accuracy, and encyclopaedic nature it stands unique among the aphoristic literature. It fulfils all the conditions which an aphoristic work requires. Though पाणिनि discussed his subject entirely some rules were left to be taught; moreover the grammatical forms current in पाणिनि's time changed at the period of कारवाचन who flourished at least after a couple of centuries. These facts gave scope to the latter to compose वार्तिक's which were intended to correct, to modify or supplement the aphorisms. पतञ्जलि's महाभाष्य is a commentary on पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी together with कारवाचन's वार्तिक's. In his commentary he carries out his two-fold work — (1) To defend and refute पाणिनि as well as कारवाचन (2) To give his own additions called वृद्धिः.

It is really interesting and useful to the students of grammar to see what पतञ्जलि's attitude was towards पाणिनि and कारवाचन. Yet, here, I have limited my subject and I am going to investigate his mode of dealing with कारवाचन alone. Further, the detailed study of the whole of the महाभाष्य will be too big a work for the small compass of this article. Therefore, I have restricted the field to the first four वार्तिक's only. The first वार्तिक discusses general topics such as the aims of learning grammar, its definition etc. The second वार्तिक deals with the माहेश्वरसूत्र and the third and the fourth comment on the first ten aphorisms of the अष्टाध्यायी.

To begin with, let us examine critically all the वार्तिक's refuted by the commentator.

(1) The वार्तिककार first raises a problem whether a man gets merit only by the knowledge of correct words or only by their correct use and comes to the conclusion that the knowledge of correct words and their correct application both together bring prosperity. The commentator does not disprove this view, but suggests that one achieves merit only by the knowledge of correct words. He further remarks that the

employment of correct words is necessary in sacrificial rites only. One who uses correct words in sacrifices attains merit even though he uses incorrect words in everyday affairs. To support his view he cites the example of sages *बर्षाण* and *तर्षाण* by name. They, instead of speaking *बद्धामस्तद्धाव*, used to say *बर्षाणस्तर्षाण* in the common language, but during sacrifices they used correct words and they acquired merit⁴.

As a matter of fact the knowledge of correct words is the means and not the end itself, so the application of correct words is more important than the knowledge itself. Therefore the argument of the commentator is not acceptable. Moreover this view of the commentator contradicts his own statement. At one place he remarks that though a correct word and an incorrect word denote the object equally, the science of grammar makes the rule that only correct words should be employed, as the use of correct words gives rise to prosperity⁵.

(2) The *वार्तिककार* defines the word *व्याकरण* as that which denotes both word and aphorism⁶. The commentator rightly disproves this definition and states that the word *व्याकरण* denotes only the aphorism.

(3) The *वार्तिककार* states that the letter *अ* in the *माहेरवरसूत्र* as well as in the *वायु*, *प्रातिपदिक* etc. should be understood as *विहृत* and he gives two purposes for it.

(a) *अ* is *विहृत* *अ* must be homogeneous with *आ* and so it should be *विहृत*.

(b) *अ* being *संहृत*, its long or protracted form will be *स हृत*. To avoid this *अ* in the [*माहेरवरसूत्र*] should be taken as *विहृत*⁷.

The commentator accepts the first purpose but rebuts the second on the ground that *अ* cannot become *सहृत* long, or *सहृत* protracted as *सहृत* long or protracted *अ* is not found in the Vedic language or the popular language. Only those forms of letters can be made which do exist⁸. The commentator convincingly sets aside the purpose given by the *वार्तिककार*].

(4) The *वार्तिककार* mentions that if constituents of a letter are not treated as separate letters, then the letter *अ* should be read in the following aphorisms: (a) *समाकुर्विहव*, (b) *कपोरोक्त* (c) *रपास्या नो यः समावपे*⁹.

(a) The letter *अ* consists of two elements *र* and a vowel. If *र* in the letter *अ* is not accepted as a separate letter, the root *अव* contains only one consonant *व*. But the aphorism *समाकुर्विहव*, required two consonants, so it cannot be applied to the root *अव* in forming the perfect form *आवृधव*:

The commentator does not accept *र* in the letter *क्ष* as a separate letter and yet he refuses to read *क्ष* in the aphorism *समासु द्विह्रस्वः*. He asks to drop the word *द्विह्रस्व* from the aphorism. Then the difficulty arises that the roots such as *क्षद्* get *द्* augment and the forms like *क्षद्गु* would not be formed. The commentator faces this difficulty by the *ज्ञापन* "अशोनेन". If we read the aphorism as *समासु* only, the root *क्षद्* automatically gets the augment *द्* and the aphorism *अशोनेन* becomes fruitless and it makes the rule that *द्* augment is to be inserted in the root *क्षद्* only, among all the roots which begin with *क्ष* and so the roots like *क्षद्* have no augment!¹⁰

(b) The commentator does not accept the suggestion to read the vowel *क्ष* in the aphorism *कुरोरोक्ष*. He tries to show that *पाणिनि* has already given *क्ष* in *कुरोरोक्ष*. He dissolves the aphorism as follows *कृप+वन्+क्ष कुर* is an implied genitive *क्ष* is the genitive of *क्ष*, *र* is the genitive of *र* and *क्ष* is nominative. Thus *क्ष* and *र* both are separately mentioned in the aphorism and there is no necessity of adding *क्ष* to the aphorism!¹¹

(c) He also sets aside to read the words *क्षकाराक्ष* in the ophorism *रषाभ्या नो यः समासपदे*. He presents two ways to show that there is no necessity to add *क्षकाराक्ष* to the above aphorism. In the first place the words *वृन्मल* and *वृमोक्षि* are included in the *बुभ्रादिगणः*. The *बुभ्रादिगणः* prohibits *क्ष*. Thus forbidding pre-supposes the existence of *क्ष* caused by *क्ष*. Thus the *क्ष* is proved. Secondly he splits up the next aphorism *क्ष्वस्वबुधमहाद्* in the two parts *क्षत्* and *क्ष्वस्वमहाद्*. He then repeats the words *नो यः* from the preceding aphorism *रषाभ्या नो यः समासपदे*. Then the aphorism *क्षत्* ordains to substitute *क्ष* for *क्ष्व* preceded by *क्ष*. Thus there is no need to add the above words to *रषाभ्या नो यः समासपदे*.¹²

To speak impartially all the three arguments of the commentator are farfetched and not convincing to the modern readers.

(5) The *वार्तिककार* again argues that if different components of a letter are not taken as separate letters, the conjunct-consonants consisting of double letters (such as *क्ष* in the word *कुक्षुः*) cannot be understood as conjunct consonants but single ones.¹³

The commentator rightly rebuts it on the principle of syllabic instants (*साम्प्रतः*). An ordinary consonant requires one half syllabic instant while conjunct consonants have one syllabic instant, and so they cannot be single consonants!¹⁴

(6) The वार्तिककार shows three difficulties in ordaining the letter र after य in the माहेश्वरसूत्र 'ययवरट्' ।

(a) As र is tangal after य and व, it is included in the यद् प्रत्याहार. Therefore, the र in the example स्वयंयति is changed to nasalised र by यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा ।

(b) Similarly the र in मद्रदृद् is doubled by अचो रहाभ्या द्वे ।

(c) As र is mentioned in the यद् प्रत्याहार, अनुस्वार preceding र is substituted by the nasal of र by अनुस्वारस्य ययि यत्तवर्ग । The वार्तिककार, therefore, suggests to make rules for the prohibition of these changes¹⁴.

The commentator successfully removes the first and the third difficulties as र has no nasal form at all. Only those letters are substituted which do exist. As nasalised र is not found, the substitution of nasalised र is not possible. Thus the first and the third difficulties are set aside¹⁵.

He dismisses the second difficulty as follows. The aphorism अचो रहाभ्या द्वे teaches to double optionally a letter of यद् प्रत्याहार, if it comes after र or ह which are followed by a vowel. Thus र is a cause of द्विव्य, so र itself is not doubled even though it is included in the यद् प्रत्याहार. He corroborates his view by an example from every-day experience¹⁷. This argument is not satisfactory. Though र causes द्विव्य to others, why it itself should not be doubled if it fulfils all the conditions in the aphorism.

(7) The वार्तिककार asks to read the अयोगवाहः in the यद् प्रत्याहार for यन्व. The commentator accepts this.

The वार्तिककार also suggests to read the अयोगवाहः in the शर् for जयभाव and शयश्च¹⁸. The वार्तिककार presumes that the root उञ्ज is originally taught as उञ्ज. Thus उपध्मानीय is changed to व् by the aphorism क्त्वा जञ् कश्चि. This aphorism requires a letter from कञ् प्रत्याहार. The उपध्मानीय is not taught there at all. So this aphorism cannot be applied to it. The वार्तिककार therefore asks to read अयोगवाहः in the शर् प्रत्याहार. (उरध्मानीय is included in the अयोगवाहः and शर् is included in the कञ् प्रत्याहार).

The commentator argues that the root originally ordained is not उञ्ज, but उद्ज as the form उञ्जिगिति cannot be obtained if the उञ्ज is accepted. The द् in the उद्ज root is changed into व् by the नियतनञ्जन्युञ्जी पाथमुपतापयो ।

The argument of the commentator is more acceptable

The commentator accepts the purpose for प्व given by the वार्तिककार

The वार्तिककार further suggests to read the अयोगवाह somewhere in the माहेश्वरसूत्र for सयोगसंज्ञा, उपवासंज्ञा अलोन्मयविधि, द्विवचन and स्वानिभावप्रतिषेध¹⁹

The commentator accepts the three purposes सयोगसंज्ञा, द्विवचन and स्वानिभावप्रतिषेध. He refutes the remaining two purposes, namely अलोन्मयविधि and उपवासंज्ञा. The उपवासंज्ञा is required to substitute प्व for विसर्ग in words like बुकृत्—बुक्कृत् by the aphorism बुहुहुपवस्ये चाप्रत्ययस्य उ in the above example can be called penultimate only when the विसर्ग is called अक्ष. Therefore it must be mentioned somewhere in the अक्ष प्रत्याहार

The commentator refutes this purpose as follows —

He rejects the word उपवस्य from the above aphorism, and explains that the विवर्जनीय preceded by short इ or उ is changed into प्व. Thus there is no necessity of उपवासंज्ञा and so this purpose mentioned by the वार्तिककार does not stand²⁰

The argument of the commentator is preferable as the aphorism then becomes shorter

The वार्तिककार shows the need of the mention of the अयोगवाह somewhere in the माहेश्वरसूत्र for अलोन्मयविधि. His argument is as follows. In the examples like बुक्कृत् लृप्ति, विसर्ग is changed to लृ. If विसर्ग is not अक्ष, the aphorism अलोन्मयस्य cannot be applied. Therefore अयोगवाह must be put somewhere in the अक्ष प्रत्याहार

The commentator successfully refutes it on the परिभाषा-निर्दिश्यमानस्मादेशा भवन्ति ।

(8) The वार्तिककार first suggests to employ the लृकारसूत्र before बुद्धिरक्षेप to make it clear that it is a सङ्गसूत्र²¹. He further argues that there arises a doubt which is सङ्ग and which is सङ्गि. He himself refutes these points²². Again he proposes to make some signs to सङ्ग²³. The commentator rightly refutes it

(9) The वार्तिककार raises a problem whether इकोन्याहारी is a part of the aphorism अलोन्मयस्य or it is an exception to it. He shows difficulties in both the explanations²⁴

If the first proposal is accepted then the गुण and वृद्धि are made to the final letter only. Then the roots निह् सिह् etc. cannot have गुण or वृद्धि, as ह् or त् is not at the end of those roots, so in all the aphorisms which teach गुण or वृद्धि, the word इक् must be read.

If the second proposal, namely that इको गुणवृद्धी is an exception to the rule अलोन्वयस्त्व is accepted, गुण occurs even to the initial or medial ह् or त् etc. The वार्तिककार therefore suggests to make a rule to forbid these गुणः. He himself rebuts the second argument²⁵

The commentator refutes both the arguments. He explains the aphorism इकोगुणवृद्धी differently. According to him this सूत्र ordains that the word इक् is to be read in all the aphorisms which teach गुण or वृद्धि. This explanation is convincing. He also gives another explanation which contains the splitting of the aphorisms, the dissolution words in strange ways. That way is farfetched. The first way is satisfactory.

(10) The वार्तिककार asks to read the word सङ् in the aphorism ह्योन्वयस्य स योः, as the स योःसङ् should denote all the consonants collectively²⁶

The commentator refutes it by dissolving the words स योःगदि and स योःगत् in different aphorisms in such ways that they denote all consonants collectively. Further he corroborates his view—(that सङ् does not need to be mentioned) by citing the example बुद्धिरादैच् just as without any specific mention like मदेक, वृद्धि in बुद्धिरादैच् denotes का, रो, कौ separately, similarly without any specific mention such as सङ् the स योःसङ् denotes all the consonants collectively²⁷

(11) The वार्तिककार argues that in the case of conjunct consonants consisting of more than two consonants, if the स योःसङ् denotes all the consonants collectively then स् of the मङ्ग root would not be dropped in the form मङ्गस् as it is not initial as required for elision²⁸. The वार्तिककार further argues that if स योःसङ् denotes only two component elements of the conjunct consonants consisting of more than two consonants, again a difficulty arises in द्विष. The वार्तिककार himself refutes this second argument.

The commentator holds the view that the स योः denotes both the meanings and explains all the aphorisms in such ways that no difficulty arises.

Out of these eleven cases of reputation, the commentator convincingly refutes the वार्तिक in eight cases. There are only three cases in which the point arises whether पतञ्जलि has justly refuted. These three cases are enumerated below

(1) The commentator suggests that one attains merits only by the knowledge of words. His suggestion is really strange. But it is a different point of view and for the present it is not a very important problem.

(2) He argues that *रु* following *व* and *ह* preceded by a vowel is not doubled as it is the cause of द्विव. He illustrates from everyday experience. Yet the argument is not satisfactory to the modern readers.

(3) The commentator has refuted the suggestion to read गवे in the aphorism—*तस्मान्नुद्दिष्टः । कुरीरोऽ* and *रपाश्वा नो यः समानपदे ।* by means of योगविभाग ज्ञापक the dissolution of words in strange ways etc. The employment of योगविभाग and others is not convincing. They clearly show that aphorisms in the present condition are lacking and so supplements and modifications are necessary. But one cannot blame very seriously the commentator for using these methods as they were in practice during this time. The वार्तिककार himself takes resorts to योगविभाग, ज्ञापक, निवृत्तन etc.³⁰

Thus though the योगविभाग and other methods are not satisfactory in eyes of modern readers the commentator does not deserve to be blamed. Further just as he refutes काश्यायन he accepts many वार्तिक of the latter. Moreover in one case he seems to show favour in excess to काश्यायन. While discussing the definition of the word व्याकरण the वार्तिककार criticizes the view that व्याकरण denotes शब्द. He puts forth the two difficulties viz (1) भवे (2) प्रोक्तादयश्चतुर्विधा, which arise in accepting the view. Now तद्वत् is a तद्धित termination so the वार्तिक “भवे” is naturally included in the वार्तिक ‘प्रोक्तादयश्चतुर्विधा’ and its separate mention is unnecessary. The commentator cannot find any way to remove the fault. He argues that the वार्तिककार first wrote the वार्तिक “भवे”. He afterwards came to know that the other तद्धित terminations must be mentioned so he composed the वार्तिक—प्रोक्तादयश्चतुर्विधा. The aphorism once written is not to be rubbed out³¹, therefore the वार्तिककार did not dismiss the first वार्तिक “भवे”. The argument is not satisfactory. Yet it clearly indicates that just as the commentator refutes the वार्तिककार he defends him also.

* The popular belief is that the commentator is not in favour of काश्यायन. But the critical study of the first four वार्तिक does not support this view. Out of these eleven cases of refutation, only two are not

satisfactory in eyes of modern readers as the methods employed there, are not acceptable. Yet the commentator cannot be blamed for using them because they were in practice in his time. वास्तविक himself has used them. Moreover just as he refutes some वास्तविक he has accepted many others. Just as he defends प्रायश्चित्त by using योगविज्ञान etc. he defends कर्माद्यन् also as mentioned above. Moreover he has refuted some aphorisms of प्रायश्चित्त². Thus it is clear that his attitude towards कर्माद्यन् is not unfair. He tries as far as possible to defend both प्रायश्चित्त as well as कर्माद्यन्. This fact can be corroborated by the study of the remaining portion of the commentary.

QUOTATIONS-

- (1) स्ववपाचरमसदिरथ सारवद्विरवतोमुक्तम् । अस्तोभमनयय च सूत्र सूत्र-
विद्यो विदुः ॥
- (2) वक्तामुक्तदुवक्ताना विचरता एव प्रवर्तते । त प्रथमं वार्तिकं पाहुर्वातिकज्ञा
विचक्षणा ॥
- (3) शास्त्रार्थके प्रयोगेऽभ्युपपन्नसुखं वैशद्येन । (वार्तिक)
- (4) यदभ्युपयत आचारे नियम इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः । यथाय
स्तर्वाणो नाभिर्यथो । ते तत्रमवस्ती बद्धा नस्तद्वा न इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथायस्तर्वाण
इति प्रयुज्यते याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नामभाष्यते । (भाष्य)
- (5) पवमिहापि समानाद्यमर्थात्तां शब्देन आपण्यत्वेन च धर्मनियमः क्रियते
शब्देनैवाधार्थोऽभिधेया नापण्यत्वेनेत्येव क्रियमायामभ्युपगमादि भवतीति । (भाष्य)
- (6) लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् । (वार्तिक)
- (7) अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः । तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि
विवृतोपदेशः सवर्णग्रहणार्थः । दीर्घप्लुतावयवे च सवृत्तनिवृत्त्यर्थः । (वार्तिक)
- (8) नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ सवृत्तौ ह्य । कौ तर्हि । विवृतौ । श्रीस्तस्तौ
अभिधेयतः । (भाष्य)
- (9) अग्रहणं चेन्नुद्विधादेशपिनानामेवकारग्रहणम् । (वार्तिक)
- (10) द्विहसमर्थनं न करिष्यते । तस्मान्नुदभवतीत्येव यदि न क्रियत आठसु
आठुतिरप्यत्रापि भान्तीति । अत्रोक्तिः ग्रहणं विचक्षार्थं अभिधेयति । अत्रोक्तेरवाच्यार्थोपधस्य
नान्यस्यावर्णोपधस्येति । (भाष्य)
- (11) तत्कारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते । कथम् । अविभक्तिको निर्देशः । कुप उ र ल
कृपो रो ल इति ।
- (12) आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्युक्तारान्नोपलभिति यद्व्यं नुभाषिषु लुप्तमन
शब्दं पठति । कृतोति शब्दपठति । अथवोविष्टायोगविभागं करिष्यते ।
कृतो मोक्षो भवति । तत्तद्व्यवस्थामाह । कृतह्येव । (भाष्य)
- (13) सुखरूपे प्रयोगे द्विभ्यश्चनविधिः । (वार्तिक)
- (14) मात्राकालोऽत्र गच्छते न च साधिकं धर्मश्चनमिति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं
शब्दं विज्ञातुम् । (भाष्य)
- (15) रेकास्य प्रतीयते षोऽनुनासिकद्विर्बन्धनपरसवर्णमितिपेधः । (वार्तिक)
- (16) रेकोऽस्य सवर्णः न सति । (भाष्य)
- (17) निमित्तमिमां रदौ द्विर्बन्धनस्य । तद्यथा । प्राज्ञाया मोक्षयन्तां साठर
कीचिद्व्यं परवैविध्यमिति नैवान्नीं तौ भुज्जाते । (भाष्य)
- (18) अयोगावाहानामसु यत्त्वम् । (वार्तिक) शब्दो ज्ञानमात्रपरः । (वार्तिक)

(19) अविशेषेण सयोगोपधासङ्गोऽन्यद्विषयस्यैव विवक्षितमिति चेत् ।
(वार्तिक)

(20) अथचोपधामहय न करिष्यत इदमुच्यते नु पर विमर्शनीयं विशेषविषयान् ।
(भाष्य)

(21), (22), (23) सङ्गधिकार सङ्ग प्रत्ययार्थं । सङ्गसङ्गस्यैव ह्यत्र ।
विज्ञेयं वा । (वार्तिक)

(24) बुद्धिगुणसङ्गोऽन्यस्येति चेत्प्रोक्तपुनस्तत्तुपमिद्विद्वद्वा विपत्तुष्वेति प्रत्ययम् ।
" ' इतिमात्रस्येति चेत्तुल्यं सार्वथापुकार्यथापुकार्यस्योक्त्युक्त्यनन्तर्यमिति चेत् ।
(वार्तिक)

(25) पुनस्तत्तुपमप्रत्ययमनन्तर्यमिति चेत् । (वार्तिक)

(26) संयोगसङ्गाया सहवचनं यथाऽत्र । (वार्तिक)

(27) कथं कुर्यादैकस्य संयोगसङ्गाप्रत्ययः । प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्हेति ।
तथा बुद्धिगुणसङ्गो प्रत्येकं भवतः । (भाष्य) अथ अत्रान्तरेण प्रत्येकमिति
वचनं प्रत्येकं बुद्धिगुणसङ्गो भवत इति नार्थं सहप्रत्ययेन । (भाष्य)

(28) समुपाधे संयोगविशेषो मते । (वार्तिक)

(29) इदोऽङ्गो सयोग इति चेद्विषयवचनम् । (वार्तिक)

(30) सूत्रपर्यमिति चेद्योगविभागारिसङ्गम् ।

कक्षासोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालाया यथामवेत् ।

विपाकनात्म्यदायिषु ।

यत्करस्य किदवादेशेषु स्वामिपक्षभाष्यसङ्ग इति चेत्पातुदो कतिपयमा-
तिसङ्गम् ।

(32) (1) The commentator rejects the विमर्शनीय in the
aphorism बुद्धिगुणसङ्गोऽन्यस्येति

(11) He sets aside the word उपवचन in the सूत्र 'इदमुपवचनं
वाप्रत्ययस्य

(111) न भातुलोप आर्थथापुके etc

(33) न चेदानीमाचार्यः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ।

(12) THE ULĪĀGHARĀGHAVA - AN UNPUBLISHED SANSKRIT PLAY BY
SOMEŚVARA, A PROTEGE OF THE MINISTER VASTUPĀLA
(13TH CENTURY A D) OF GUJRAT

by

DR B J SANDESARA, M A, PH D

Someśvara or Someśvaradeva, as he prefers to call himself, was the hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Anahilvād Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarat, and was a friend and protege of Vastupāla, minister of the Vāghelā feudatories of the Caulukyas ruling at Dhavalakka or Dholkā in the modern Ahmedabad District

Vastupāla was a shrewd politician and a successful general, and came from a Jaina family belonging to the Prāgvāja (Porved) community which is famous in the history of Gujarat for its valour, statesmanship and business acumen. But it is noteworthy that Vastupāla was also a great patron of learning, a promoter of literature and art, a philanthropist, a man of religious devotion and a great builder of monuments, such as temples on Mt. Abu and Mt. Girnār. Moreover, he was a Sanskrit poet of distinct merit, and is known to have composed a Sanskrit Mahākāvya—Naranārāyaṇānanda—and several Stotras or devotional hymns. Consequently a large number of poets and scholars had gathered around him, who made a remarkable contribution to various branches of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. Someśvara was the most noteworthy figure in the literary circle patronised by Vastupāla. Occupying the high position of the Royal priest of the Gujarat sovereign ruling at Anahilvād Pāṭaṇ, Someśvara was not merely a protege of Vastupāla, but also his personal friend, who was always by his side throughout his eventful career, as the historical Prabandhas bearing on their life inform us.

Someśvara was a Sanskrit poet of remarkable merit and has attempted various forms of Sanskrit literature like Mahākāvya, Nāṭka, Stotra, Prastuti, Subhāṣita etc. He wrote two Mahākāvyas, the Kīrti-kaumudī ('Moonlight of Fame') deals with the good deeds of Vastupāla, beginning from his ancestry, and the Surathotsava describes the story of a mythical king Suratha, as given in the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Someśvara has composed a play Ulīāgharāghava, dramatizing the Rāmāyana-story, with which we shall deal in the present paper. It is interesting to note that the play was written at the request of the poet's son Bhallaśrman, as mentioned in the last verse, and was acted in the famous Vausṇava temple at Dvārekā on the Prabodhini

Ekādaśī (eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika) ¹ The reference becomes significant when we know that in mediaeval Gujarat a number of Sanskrit plays were performed on festive occasions ²

In Stotra, Someśvara composed Rāma-śataka, a hundred-verse hymn, to Rāma in the Śṛagdhara metre ³ In Subhāṣita, he has to his credit the Kaiṇāṃtāpapa, an anthology of didactic verses, which is unpublished as yet

The Ābu Prasasti of Someśvara commemorating the building of the Jaina temples on Mt Ābu, by Vastupāla bears the date of 1287 V S (1231 A D) Metrical portions to two, out of several Gīṇai inscriptions of Vastupāla are from the pen of Someśvara His Vaidyanātha Prasasti, commemorating the reparation of the Vaidyanātha temple at Dabhoi by king Visaladeva, son of Virādhavala, bears the date of V S 1311 (1255 A D), which shows that Someśvara lived at least 16 years after the death of Vastupāla who died in 1240 A D The Vaidyanātha Prasasti seems to be his last composition One more Prasasti was written by Someśvara That was the Prasasti of the Viranāyaka Prāsāda, built by king Virādhavala at Dholkā, as we know from the Prabandhakośa of Rājasekharaśūri (1349 A D) ⁴ It contained 108 verses It can be inferred from the name of the monument that it was a temple of Nāyana or Viṣṇu No remains of this temple nor any other building of the times of Vastupāla have survived at modern Dholkā From his numerous compositions on various subjects it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook Though he was a devout Śaiva and Śākta and an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Prasastis for the Jaina temples

Now let us come to the Ullāgharāghava The Ullāgharāghava (Lit 'the happy son of Raghu') is a play in eight acts dramatizing the story of the Rāmāyana The only available manuscript (copied down in V S 1537) of this very rare work which has remained almost unknown to the students of the Sanskrit drama is preserved, in the

1 नवत्य भगवत श्रीद्वारिकालंकारनीलमये श्रीकृष्णदेवस्य पुरतः श्रीप्रबो धैकाक्षीपर्वणि सर्वविद्यागतानां सामाजिकजनानां जनकसुतापति-चरित्तामिनवद्युतानेन कृतार्थनामि संसारकर्मसारानन्दम् । 1-Prologue

2 Vide my paper *Gujarātīamān Sanskrit Nāṭakā* (Guj.) published in *Subhāṣī Keḍī* a collection of research-papers

3, For a notice of the Rāmaśataka, vide my paper in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol I

4 Prabandhakośa (Singhi Series), p 59

Bombay Government collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (No 343 of 1884-86), and even in that, eleven folios in all (1-5, 18, 39, 40, 71, 73 and 87) are missing. Thus we miss the historically very important prologue in this manuscript, but I was fortunate enough to get that portion from a copy of the work made by the late Mr T M Tripathi of Bombay, who had taken down the whole of the Poona manuscript, but had supplemented the missing section from some other manuscript, which I was unable to discover from his private collection⁵. The Granthāgra of the play is 2100 ślokaś, as is noted in a later hand on the last folio of the Poona manuscript.

Looking to the contents of the play-in act I, after the Nāndī, Śatānanda, the Purohita of Janaka, refers to the grief of the king that his daughter Sītā will now be separated from him, that is, the play begins after the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. Daśaratha and his two sons and Sītā take Janaka's leave and start for their capital. After a while the chamberlain Haridatta informs how, on the way, angry Parāśurāma was pacified by Rāma, and Janaka goes to inform the inmates of the harem about this great success of his son-in law. From a Viskambhaka in the beginning of act II containing a dialogue between two servants we know that Daśaratha has decided to install Rāma as the king and has called for his Purohita Vasīṣṭha. Then Rāma and Sītā with the garden-keeper move about the pleasure-garden and the pleasure-pond and enjoy the beauty of the place. Meanwhile Daśaratha calls Rāma and bids him to remain ready to take charge of the onerous duties of state affairs. It is the time of evening, and the stanzas of the Vastāhikas describing the evening twilight are heard from the background. The chamberlain informs Daśaratha that Queen Kaikeyī requests him to come to her palace. Before going there, the king again tells Rāma to remain ready for the coronation ceremony. In act III from the conversation of two maid-servants it is inferred that Kaikeyī has decided to obtain the two gifts from the king, which the latter had promised her sometime ago and that one was the banishment of Rāma and the other was the coronation of Bharata in his place. Then Rāma drives in state to the Palace, witnessing the festivities in the city, but coming to the residence of Kaikeyī, he and Sumantra find the old king vainly attempting to persuade the queen, so that she may not insist upon her demands. The king faints when he sees Rāma. At this juncture enter Kausalyā Sumitrā and Sītā, and are stunned to know the turn which the events have taken. Angry Lakṣmaṇa enters with drawn bow, asking who is bold enough to banish Rāma. But Rāma pacifies him and bidding farewell to all retires to the forest, and grief prevails in the whole kingdom.

The whole of act IV is utilized for supplying information regarding events that occurred after the banishment of Rāma. The act is devoted

⁵ For some quotation from the prologue of the Ullāgharāghava supplied by Mr Tripathi to Mr C D Dalal, first general editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vide the Vasant (Guj.) Vol XIV, p 191.

to the aerial travel and conversation of two Gandharvas-Kumudāmgada and his son Kanakaśida. We know that Daśaratha is dead, Bharata follows Rāma to Citrakūṭa, but there he is prevailed upon by Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the protection of the people. Rāma has killed the demon Virāḍha, and in the end, he expresses a desire to go to the southern direction. Act V has a Viṣkambhaka in the beginning, in which the audience know from the soliloquy of Mārīca that Rāvaṇa wants to take his help in the abduction of Sītā and that the ears and nose of Śūrpaṇakhā were cut by Lakṣmaṇa and also that the demons residing in the Janasthāna were killed. Then enters Rāvaṇa and forcibly carries away Sītā. Jaṭāyu, king of the vultures, comes to Sītā's help, and fights with Rāvaṇa, but he is not successful, and from the speech of Ghorāṅga, Rāvaṇa's attendant, we know that Jaṭāyu is fatally wounded. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa not finding Sītā in the hut, start for her search, and know the details of her carrying away from Jaṭāyu. Jaṭāyu advises Rāma to go to the Pimpāsara in the south, where he will make friends with Sugrīva and other monkey-chiefs, and thus a suggestion is made as to how it will become possible for Rāma to attack Laṅkā. Act VI begins with the dialogues of three demons, viz. Mālyavān, Śārpaṇa and Śuka, from which the audience know that Vālī was killed by Rāma and Hanumān had burnt Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma, but he was insulted and consequently went over to Rāma's camp. Theo Aṅgada comes to Rāvaṇa's court for a peace-mission but his mission fails and there follows an interchange of recriminations. The battle-cries of the monkeys are heard from the background. Rāvaṇa, from the terrace of his palace takes a view of Rāma's army, and the chief warriors are pointed out to him by Śuka. In the same way Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa see Rāvaṇa's army from the peak of mountain Suvela.

Almost the whole of act VII is a Dialogue between Kāpaṭika, who was a spy of Lavaṇa, the lord of Mathurā and a friend of Rāvaṇa, and a demon named Vrkaṃukha. We know that Rāvaṇa has been killed, Sītā has come out pure from the fire and Vibhīṣaṇa is installed on the throne of Laṅkā. Kāpaṭika says that he would try his best still to create difficulties in the way of Rāma. In the end, Vibhīṣaṇa's voice is heard from the background requesting Rāma to sit in the Aerial car Puṣpako for going to Ayodhyā. Act VIII begins with the aerial journey of Rāma to Ayodhyā. Sītā asks him about various places coming on the way and he satisfies her curiosity. Kāpaṭika takes the guise of a young Muni, and hastily goes to Ayodhyā where the news of Rāvaṇa's death have not reached as yet. There he gives false information that Rāvaṇa in his aerial car is coming to attack Ayodhyā having killed both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The army is ordered to remain ready and Kausalyā and Sumitrā, struck with grief, prepare for burying themselves alive. At this juncture enters the aerial car. Bhairata aims an arrow at Vibhīṣaṇa taking him to be an ally of Rāvaṇa, but Viśiṣṭha who knows everything checks him and the plot of Kāpaṭika is found out. The concluding portion of the play (folio 87) is missing, but it can be easily surmised that it must have described the re-union of the family,

and in the end there must have been a *Bharatavākya* in the mouth of Rāma

We may mention here that in the beginning of each act except the first, the poet has put one verse in praise of *Vastupāla* which speaks of his close associations with the patron

Thus the *Ullāgharāghava* is a long drawn out play, possibly having as its model the *Anargharāghava* of *Murāri* (before the 9th century A. D.), a play in seven acts. There is a series of Rāma diamas ending with the word *Rāghava* which seem to have some connection with one another. We are in darkness regarding the *Udāitarāghava* of *Māyurāja*, which is known only by reference⁶, and we are not able to say anything about its relation with the *Anargharāghava* of *Murāri*, who may either have succeeded him or preceded him. *Murāri* seems to have been imitated by *Jayadeva* (circa 1200 A. D.), in the *Prasannaāghava*⁷, which is also a Rāma play in seven acts. *Murāri*'s play was very popular in Sanskrit literature at a time, and he has been spoken of very highly in anthologies, and a large number of commentaries were written on his play⁸. The play was zealously read and studied also in mediaeval Gujarat, and *Naracandra* and his *Guru Devapiabha*⁹, both of them contemporaries of *Vastupāla*, have composed commentaries on it. A third commentary was written by *Jinaharsa* in the 15th century¹⁰. And it is no wonder if *Someśvara* was influenced by it. Just as act IV of the *Ullāgharāghava* is entirely taken up by the dialogue of two *Gandharvas*—*Kanakacūda* and *Kumudāṅgada*, the later part of act VI of the *Anargharāghava* is similarly devoted to the talks between *Ratnacūda* and *Hemāṅgada*, who are also *Gandharvas*. These Dialogues in both the plays serve the same purpose, viz. to inform the audience about the events that have already occurred. Dialogues of *Mālyavān*, *Suka* and *Sārṇa* are found almost in identical places in act VI in both plays. VIII 29-30 of the *Ullāgharāghava* are mere imitation of the VII 97-98 of the *Anargharāghava*, and the whole of the act VIII in the former play seems to have been inspired by act VII of the latter, though here one may be tempted to say that the poet may have also seen the portions describing Rāma's return to *Ayodhyā* in Canto XIII of the *Raghuvamśa* and act X of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of *Rājaśekhara* (Circa 900 A. D.)

6 Keith, Sanskrit drama, pp 223 ff.

7. Ibid, p 226. *Unmattarāghava* of *Bhāskara Kavi* of unknown date, though a one-act play, seems to have been influenced at least in its nomenclature by the plays like the *Anargharāghava*.

8. *Kṛṣṇanāchari*, Classical Sanskrit literature pp 638 f.

9. Catalogue of the *Jaina Bhandar* at *Patan*, p 301, *Jinaratna-kōśa*, p 7.

10. Catalogue of *Jaina Bhandar* at *Patan*, intro, p 52.

The Ullāgharāghava betrays some influence of the Abhijñānaśākuntala. The scenes in which Sītā goes to Ayodhyā and the grief of Janaka at the separation from his dear daughter is expressed, are reminiscent of similar scenes in the fourth act of the great drama of Kālidāsa. When Someśvara wrote

नक्षपरिणीता दुहिता गच्छन्ती रतिपूहाय बभूवात् ।

परमार्थवेदिवामपि वैश्वस्य विरचयत्येव ॥ ((I 10)

he must have in his mind the following half-verse from the Śakuntalā, put in Kanya's mouth—

वैश्वस्य मम वाचदीप्यमहो स्नेहः।विरचयत्येव ।

पीडयन्ते दुहिणः कथं नु तनयाधिरक्षेपदुःखैर्नवैः ॥ (IV 5)

And Satānanda's instruction to Sītā—

‘गुह्या रक्षतु रे नान्यत् नमिः रक्षतु यात्रिः (? यत्रात्रिः ?)

पत्नी तत्परता सुमर्त्तं च वचस्तन्मित्रपते गुची ।

साङ्ख्यं कुलवाणिकास्तु विनयः पूज्ये तनौ सद्गतिः

मागोर्व मुनिपुङ्गवैस्तु गदता श्रेय भिदे दक्षित ॥ (I 21)

appears to have been based on the famous verse in the Śakuntalā spoken by Kanya, beginning with the words गुह्यं च रक्षतु० (IV, 17)

In the second act of the Ullāgharāghava, Rāma protects Sītā from the bee which was attracted by the fragrance of her mouth and addresses him a verse अतस्त्रक्षे भ्रमर भवता (II 35), which is inspired by a similar scene in the first act of the Śakuntalā and the verse चलापाङ्गां रष्टि० (I 20)

The Sanskrit drama was generally under the influence of the court, and though the audience was mixed, its worth was judged by the learend who were intent on discerning poetic beauties or defects. The result was that the poet attempted to introduce as many lyric verses as he could, and consequently the action and dialogues suffered. This process can be seen in full development in Mūrārī, Rājasekhara and other later dramatists, in whom we find subordination of action to description, and the degeneration of the description into a mere exercise in style and in the use of alliterations¹¹. We find here features also in Someśvara, h

being the child of his age. At some places he has made the things lengthy, e. g. whole of the fourth act is devoted to the long and tedious dialogues between two Gandharvas. The second act describes the beauties of the garden, and a part of the last act gives a large number of verses in epic style about several geographical places from Lankā to Ayodhyā. This was partly due to the fact that the plays for their reputation depended largely on being read, not witnessed, however important it may have been for the poet to secure the honour of public performance.

But the merit of Someśvara's work lies in the fact that though it exhibits all these characteristics of the later drama, prose as well as verses in it are written in an elegant and effective style, which has always marked his compositions. He has tried to dramatize the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa, but has utilized his long and unwieldy subject-matter in a judicious way, as a result of which his acts generally do not degenerate into something like separate plays, as has happened in the case of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara. In the end, a number of lyric verses can be cited as poetic achievements of Someśvara. Rāma being abashed at his praise for his valour before Paraśurama expresses exemplary modesty—

भगवन् जीर्णं त्रिनयनधनु यन्मया वैदवोपात्
यत्ससोढं शिशुरिति रणे दैनतेयेन आहम् ।
लोकं प्रीत्या त्वदि किञ्च मे पौरुषं भावमायो
वार्धं, कार्यं न कञ्चु महतां गङ्गा निर्निमित्तम् ॥ (II 9)

Jatukarna, a pupil of Vasiṣṭha, describes Daśaratha sitting with Rāma, comparing him with a great Banyan tree—

राजा राजस्थनेनाय सुतेनान्तर्कर्त्तृता ।
प्ररोहणात्मनुकलेन बहवश्च द्रवोन्नत ॥ (II 44)

And Daśaratha, deeply aggrieved at the idea of Rāma's banishment, expresses his agony—

मातुः शिते तपनसासु विभो तमस्तवान्
सर्वं हि विश्वं तदिह वदत प्रसङ्ग ।
का दुर्दोषमधुना मम वर्तते य-
न्मूर्च्छां तु गच्छति न गच्छति जीवितव्यम् ॥ (III 18)

Touching farewell of Rāma to Ayodhyā and its people—

आसन्नगोत्रचरित्रचित्रदीप्तिप्रासादं शुभं नम-
स्त्वां नम्ये सुकृतामुरक्तजनतामेष्वामयीभ्यां पुरीम् ।
आपृच्छे पुरवासिनः सविनयं युष्मानिहायुष्मति
यमाभाद नरते समुद्धरति च स्वस्थस्तु तच्छाम्यहम् । (III 35)

And a charming description of the moon-rise—

महाकां मममस्य त्रिभुवनवनितामानमीवावकृष्टं वै
केवर्त्तः, केरवायां प्रियसुहृदस्ततोत्तसा शैलशालः ।
पान्थस्त्रीयारमपथ्यं, रथचरयचमूचकपालदय काज,
शृङ्गावस्मोवकार किरति रतिमसाजोषधीनामधीश ॥ (IV 53)

Rāma's dejection when he knew that Sītā was carried away—

दृष्टिः स्पष्टं तदगतमपि मेघते नाभुमिभ्रा
वृक्षाक्षाने नदि पतुरव वापकुण्डल कण्ठः ।
पावद्वन्द्वं प्रचलितुमिव न चमं मुह्यतो मे
तर्ह्येवौ कश्चिद्विरयम् अस्त पश्य शममेव ॥ (V 40)

IV—ISLAMIC CULTURE SECTION

(13) SHAH WALI ALLAH ON PREDESTINATION

by

PROF FAZAL MAHMUD ASIRI, M.A.

Predestination, an integral part of the faith of a Muslim, has been debated through the ages, without being decided in favour of anything, for or against it. Actually theologians and scholastics were compelled to take it up against the charges of the sceptics and the non-believers and to explain away the apparent contradiction of the "Predestination and the punishment for human actions" given in the scriptures. Predestination, argued the sceptics, makes punishment for actions meaningless, and if it takes place, it would be nothing but sheer injustice. Nearly all eminent scholars and theologians in Islam including Ibn Hazm, Razi, and Ghazzali, have tried to give an answer to this charge. Shah Wali Allah too has explained this controversial point in his *Hujjatullahi Balighah* in his own peculiar way. But I must admit here that his answer to this question is as complicated and confusing as that of any of his predecessors.

According to Shah Wali Allah, all-things-to-be, their nature and time and mode of appearance, were fixed in a regular chain of cause and effect long before the process of emanation started. Divine Will is actually the planner of all these things and the *Will* of man is just like 'a reflection in the mirror' *vis a vis* the former. As for the punishment and reward, they are nothing but the natural outcome or consequences of the actions.

"The deeds of men are primarily determined by their individual *Will*. But as for the *Will* itself it is controlled from without. A man's state in this respect is similar to one who intends to throw a stone. He does not possess a power to make the stone move without supplying force to it. Now the question arises, if the deeds are created by God and also the *Will* of man, then why should man be punished for them?"

"Reward and punishment, as a matter of fact, are nothing but application of some divine acts on other acts. At first, God creates one state in a man and then He creates another (of pain or comfort) in him relevant to the first state. This can be put in another way. At first, one state is created in man and then another state follows as an indispensable and unavoidable outcome. It is just as the raising of temperature of water is to make it ready for the process of evaporation.

"In reward and punishment man's choice and acquisition are not conditioned by reality. That is Nafs-i-Natīqa does not receive effects of the deeds which are not supported by it, and God does not punish or reward any one for the deeds which do not effect the Nafs-i-Natīqa. As it is proved so far, it can be easily understood that the choice or ikhtīar which has no permanent entity, can stand as a condition to reward and punishment, and can create a second state" (Hajjat Vol I, 334)

At another place Shah Wali Allāh discusses the same problem in the following words

"Whether anything will materialise or not is decided by the *Will* or *Intention* in the Highest Heaven or in the place lying between *Mala' A'la* and *Tajallī' A'sam* (the Sphere between Angels and Divine Illumination). The means to be adopted for the appearance or otherwise of a thing is also fixed there without the possibility of any state of suspense. The Philosophers who believe that doing or not-doing of a thing lies purely in the ikhtīar or will of man, have not realised the nature of this Will of the Highest Heaven

"Our argument against the belief of the philosophers is that when a man intends to take a pan, to his mind lifting or not-lifting of it is equal. But the superior expediency (Maslihat Faqam) has already decided what shall actually take place . .

"It is possible you may think that such a state suggests ignorance of the superior expediency, that is, what has made appearance of the thing necessary? If so, how should it be a point out of the points of Truth? My answer to this is, that there is no such thing as ignorance in this case, but, on the other hand, it suggests cognisance or *Knowledge* as also the fulfilment of the truth. It would be ignorance if it were said that that thing is not necessary. All religions deny this ignorance as they express their faith in the providence or Fate. That is, it is believed by all that 'What has befallen you was inevitable, and what has not befallen you was impossible.'

"When you say doing or not-doing of that thing is right it is a true knowledge and not ignorance. For instance, if you see a person doing a thing, you may think it is done out of compulsion as a stone when thrown may run on and on. But that is not correct. Or if you say that it is done without any cause or force applied from outside, your observation would again be wrong. That is, if you believe that a man's will only carries out the orders of the superior expediency and personally one does not feel an urge for it, it is wrong. The actual position lies between the two—personal will and compulsory force from without. That is to say, personal will is an effect which does not go against its cause and that with the cause already there the action cannot

be avoided. The position and the state of the personal *will* is that it gets pleased or displeased by its own state. Otherwise, by itself, it has no concern with the higher control.

"If you believe that doing of a thing or not-doing of it was equal for you, you preferred doing it and that *will* of yours is the real cause of it, you will be right in one respect, because the religion has mentioned about this *will* in order to make the commands reasonable" (Vol. 1 50)

"According to the Hadith" says Shah Wali at another place discussing different grades of predetermination, a muslim's faith is not perfect unless he believes in the power of determining *good* and *evil* by Fate. That is, all what has come upon one whether it is good or evil is the work of Fate. Providence, in other words, is only fixing of the causes for the effects, and once the causes are fixed, there is no possibility of avoidance of the effects.

The order of fixation of the causes, says, Shah Wali, lies in five grades

1. In eternity God decided to create a universe and give it an appropriate form, with the complement of all necessary qualities, aptitudes, and relative attributes. After that God, by his perfect knowledge, designed a particular shape for every species and assigned it a place in the order of things of the universe-to-be, (By universe I mean entire creation)
2. The second grade is of the fixation of values of everything about fifty thousand years before the creation of the universe. God created the ideal forms and then fixed the time of their material appearance. For instance, He fixed the time of the appearance of Muhammad, and everything concerning his life. That is, how Abu Jahal will oppose him and how, on account of that opposition, he will be condemned, all was determined.
3. The third grade is the creation of Adam and the moulds of all of his progeny in the world of similitude (*Alam-i-Mithal*). By assigning light or darkness to each human form, God also fixed capacity for virtue and sin in all of them. They were given the power of understanding their own self and the Divine Existence.
4. The fourth grade is measuring and judging by angels of children in the womb as the souls enter their forms. The angels come to know by divine illumination of the

future actions of the children and they behave with them according to that

- 5 The fifth grade is regulating of the events before they descend upon the earth, from the Haziratul Qudus. At first, an ideal form of each event comes to the world and a news concerning it spreads far and wide. Shah Wali saw himself many times these ideal forms of the events

The events created in the higher heaven descend to the earth according to the Record prepared in Eternity and preserved in the protected Tablet (Lauh-i-Mahfuz). But, sometimes, events before they change from ideal form into a material one, are cancelled. But this cancellation of events is restricted to the ordinary events, which have no bearing on the system of the universe. The events or the proposed causes of the effect by which the life of the universe is maintained regular are inevitable. They are not at all cancelled. The prayer of a man or a good deed such as giving alms to the poor prevents any evil from materialisation. But that too is written in the Great Record that such an event will be cancelled for such and such reasons.

(14) THE ADMINISTRATION OF MU'AWIYAH

by

MOHAMMAD IQBAL ANSARI, FAZIL (NADWA), M A , B TH
(ALIG)

Few men in the long and chequered history of Islam have been so grossly misunderstood and misrepresented as Mu'awiyah b Hbi Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad Dynasty. He lived in a time of inflamed passions, and so he has been painted either with the palette of love or with the scalpel of hatred. Both these extremes are as unilateral and unjust towards the man as towards truth. In this paper my endeavour has been to judge Mu'awiyah as an administrator and assign him his proper niche among the muslim administrators. I have intensively and critically examined all the available arabic works on the subject and have, so far as possible within the limited space and time at my disposal, done my best to throw light on the administration of this great historical personage, who displayed unique genius in this particular sphere. He divided the country into various provinces, established new officers, organised police force, built up cantonments, developed agriculture, carried out great irrigation schemes, sank wells and built dams, gave new life to the army, founded Arab thalassocracy and reformed the public treasury.

Religious Works

The orthodoxy has generally depicted Mu'awiyah as a secular ruler and he appears to be so when compared to pious Caliphs. But in the light of his services to the religion we may assert that he was religious at heart. He purchased at the high cost of 700¹ dinars or twenty thousand² dirhams the sacred shawl of the prophet given to Ka'b b Zuhair in reward for his famous panegyric about the Prophet which was inherited by all the succeeding Caliphs and they used to wear it on the occasion of the two 'Ids.

His attitude towards the mothers of the Muslims, the wives of the Prophet, was praiseworthy. He always paid them his best respect and regard. Beside the intermittent amounts of five or ten thousands he sometimes presented to 'Aisha, the famous mother of the Muslims, a

1 Alusi V 3, p 133

2 al-Kamil V 3, p 105

sum of one lac outright³ Once she gave to Munkadir b 'Abdullah a sum of ten thousand out of the money received from Syria⁴

As his last request he enjoined to put in his eyes and mouth the relics of the Prophet—a little of his hair and a pairing of his nail, which he had preserved—and leave him alone, with the most Merciful of the Merciful⁵

No separate organisation for the propagation of Islam in his reign is traceable, nevertheless every opportunity was availed of and Islam made gigantic progress. A large number of Barbarians from North Africa adopted Islam and to check their mutiny and frequent apostasy he founded the city of Qairawan. A good number of Romans, too, embraced Islam. The vesture of the Holy Ka'ba used to be of an ordinary cloth in the days of first two Caliphs, 'Uthmān, the third Caliph, was the first to cover it with a costly one. Mu'āwiyah decorated it with embroidered cloth and permitted the stripping of the vesture, for before that the new one was thrown over the old⁶, and appointed servants for its maintenance⁷. A number of mosques were built during his reign and the old ones were repaired. Ziyad expanded the great mosque of Basra and had it constructed anew with bricks and mortar⁸. After the conquest of Cyprus a number of mosques were constructed along with the Muslim colony⁹, and 'Uqbah b Nafi' constructed a grand mosque for Juma'h Prayers¹⁰. At Basra Abd al-Rahman b Samurah got a mosque constructed in the Kabul Style¹¹. Maslamah b Mukhallad introduced the addition of minarets to the mosques of Egypt¹².

Beside this expansion in the mosques, he also did his best to see that the commands of Allah and the instructions of the Prophet were rightly observed, on one occasion he is seen teaching people how to perform ablutions¹³. On another occasion he is found differentiating between obligatory (Fard) and the optional (Sunnah) and proclaiming on the pulpit, "I have heard the Prophet that the fast of 'Ashurah is not obligatory. I keep fast today, every one amongst you may keep it or break it as he pleases¹⁴". When he saw the women decorating themselves

3 al-Mustadrak V 4, p 13

4 al-Tabaqat V 5, p 18.

5 al-Suyuti p 135

6 Ist'ab V I, p. 262 al-Suyuti p 135

7 Ya'kubi V II, p 283

8. al-Baadarī p 355

9 Ibid p 160

10 Mu'jam V 7, p 193-194

11 al-Baladuri p. 404.

12 Isabab V 3, p 855

13 Abu Daud Ch on the Ablution of the Prophet,

14 al-Bukhari Ch on the Fast of 'Ashura

with the artificial locks of hair, he ascended to the pulpit with the same in his hand and declared, 'I have heard the Prophet saying that the Israelites were ruined when their women used this¹⁵' When Jabalah b. Suhaun, saw rope round his neck and a child leading him and asked what he was doing Mu'awiyah replied "I have heard the Prophet saying, "who has a child let him act towards him as a child" Such was his enthusiasm to follow the example and carry out the commands of the Prophet

Public Reforms

Apart from the expansion of the state and the spread of the Islam, Mu'awiyah did a lot for the interest of the public and welfare of the people at large. "He continuously interested himself in agriculture. He paid special attention to the development of the province, least favoured by nature, the Hijaz. His example which was copied by his relations and most influential contemporaries, brought this region a century of prosperity under the Umayyada such as it was never to see again. In the land of Mawsina and Mecca and Taif, Mu'awiyah carried out great irrigation schemes, wells and built dams¹⁷

Due to these canals there was a huge increase in the productive capacity of the land and the danger of famine was completely removed. Mu'awiyah himself was deeply interested in this project, some of the most important and noteworthy canals built under him are 'Kizamah, Azraq, and Shuhada¹⁸. Ziyad got reconstructed the Ma'qal¹⁹ canal which was formerly dug in the reign of 'Umar and was damaged²⁰. His son, Ubaidullah, the governor of Mesopotamia, constructed a canal through the mountainous region of Bukhara²¹. Beside the canals, dams were built in the valleys to hold back water in the rainy season²². The increase in the output due to these canals can be apprehended by the fact that in Medina and its suburbs alone one and a half lac "wasag" of dates and one lac "Wasag" of wheat was produced.

Mu'awiyah founded a number of new towns and rehabilitated some of the deserted ones. Mar'ash, an old deserted town of Syria, was reconstructed and rehabilitated. The famous town of Qairawan²³ which afterwards became the central place in North Africa, was founded

15 al-Bukhari Ch. on Adab

17 Enc. of Islam V 3, p 618

18 Sahmudi V 2, p 117

19 al-Mustawfi p 289.

20 Baladuri p 366

21 Tabari V 7, p 169

22 Sahmudi V 2, p 321

23 From persian Karawan, whence Eng. caravan, see Hitti p 191.

by 'Uqbah b. Nafi' who used it as a base against the Barbar tribes²⁴. A body of persians were transplanted in the year 42 A. H. by Mu'awiyah from Ba'labak, Hims, and Antioch to the Sea coast of the Jordan i.e. Tyre Acre and other places, and he transplanted in the same year or one year before or after certain Asawirah (persian armed Cavalry) from Basra and Kufa and certain persians from Ba'labak and Hims to Antioch²⁵. In the year 49 or 50 A. H. he also made some of the Zutt and Sayabijah of al Basra to settle at Antioch²⁶. He also settled certain artisans and carpenters along the sea coast to improve industry²⁷. But more important than this was establishment of new Muslim colonies at different places, especially on border regions, which ultimately reduced the danger of foreign invasions and the Muslim population increased in newly conquered towns. Such new colonies were founded at Antakiyah (Antioch)²⁸, Phodes²⁹ and Arwad³⁰ respectively in 43 A. H., 52 A. H., and 54 A. H.

'Umar had fixed a sum of ten dirhams as stipend for the infants of the warriors which varied from time to time. Bu'awiyah retained it with the amendment that it was given after weaning.

To ward off the public against wild beasts and venomous reptiles has always been considered creditable for a ruler in civilised countries. Even in this respect Mu'awiyah does not lag behind and we find him taking a wise step against the scorpions which became a source of permanent trouble to the inhabitants of Nasibin³¹.

Civil Administration

What distinguishes Mu'awiyah from other Umayyad Caliphs is his extraordinary administrative capacity and his matchless political insight. He was the first Caliph and the founder of the Umayyad state; naturally his reign should have been incomplete but even if cursorily glanced it comes out as a model of civilised state, and none of his successors have achieved so much in the administration of the state as a whole.

The credit of his successful administration goes to his intuition in choosing the ablest administrators and the best leaders as his lieutenants. He had at his disposal the best services of the most noteworthy

24 Mu'jam V 7, p. 194 Hitti p. 213

25 al-Baladuri p. 117

26 Ibid p. 162

27 Ibid pp. 110, 148

28 Ibid p. 154

29 Ibid p. 244

30 Ibid p. 464

31 Mu'jam V 8, p. 293, Baladuri p. 178

administrators and the counsellors of the time—'Amr b al As, Mughirah b Sbu'ah and Ziyad b Abi Sufyan and took their advices in all important matters. They are considered to be amongst the foremost sagacious of Arabs³². To the names already mentioned we may add those of Dhaak b Qais, Abu al-A'ws al-Sulami, Muslim, b Uqbah, Busr b Abi Artat and Habib b Maslamah³³.

For the administration of a country it has been the practice to divide it into different provinces. Mu'awiyah also followed it and retained the distribution effected by 'Umar, the new conquests in the East were added to Khurasan and those in the West were amalgamated into Egypt. Each province had a governor and a number of 'Amils (Administrators) for different districts and towns. While selecting the candidates, Mu'awiyah gave special attention to their abilities for the posts assigned to them. Ziyad, also, was a great expert in the matter and the qualifications prescribed by him for various administrative services are preserved in the books of history³⁴ and deserve to be followed.

Police force has always been regarded indispensable to maintain internal peace of the country, Mu'awiyah paid special attention to it and deputed adequate police force in Mesopotamia which had been the scene and centre of internal troubles and Charijite outbursts. Forty thousand policemen were deputed in the town of Kufa alone and five hundred of them to watch the Mosques³⁵. Sufficient arrangements were made to have strict watch over history-sheeters. Mu'awiyah ordered Abu Darda to take down the names of mischief-mongers and scoundrels at Damascus³⁶. Ziyad appointed Ja'd b Qais al-Famini to keep a vigilant eye over the riotous and seditious people³⁷. The result of such measures was all round peace and safety prevailing everywhere. No body could dare to pick from the way a lost thing, women passed nights alone with their doors wide open. Ziyad used to say that even if a piece of rope was lost between kufa and Khurasan he would certainly know the offender. One night he heard the bells ringing in a house and he was told that the people were watching the house. He asked them not to do so and added that he himself would be responsible for their loss, if any³⁸.

Mu'awiyah was first to use the post (Barid) for the speedy transmission of the news and of ever changing affairs. Philologically "Barid" means twelve miles and as the distance they could manage between two post stages was so many miles so they named the system

32. al-Suyuti p. 138

33. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 618

34. Ya'Knbi V 2, p. 280.

35. Tabari V 7, pp. 77-89

36. al-Adab al-Mufrad section on Zann p. 188

37. Tabari V. 7, p. 78.

38. Ibid pp. 77-79.

after it. However, the system was that trained horses were put at a number of places. When the carrier of the urgent news arrived at one of these places and his horse was tired, he mounted in its stead a rested horse and so he would do the same at the next place, and the next till he arrived speedily.³⁹

Another invention of Mu'awiyah's in administration was the 'despatching registry' or the office of the seal (Diwan al-Khatam). 'Abdullah b. 'Aws al-Ghassani was appointed to it and was entrusted with the seal bearing the inscription

(Every deed has its meed)⁴⁰ or

(There is no power but with Allah)⁴¹ This office was considered one of the most important offices and had a continuous tradition to the middle of the 'Abbasid dynasty—thence it was abolished.⁴² Its function was that there could be an office with 'Civil' servants in it when an official memorandum came from the Caliph with an instruction, the memorandum was brought to the office, a true copy of it was made, it was then pierced by a thread and sealed with wax as is done nowadays with legal documents. It was finally stamped with the seal of the officer in-charge of this office.⁴³ The reason of Mu'awiyah's instituting this office was that he commanded one lac dirhams to be given to a man and he opened the document and made it two lacs. When the account was taken to Mu'awiyah he disowned that and said, "I only credited him with one lac." Then he made him refund it and created the registry of the seal from that day, so that memoranda should be despatched under seal, no one knowing their content, and no one being able to alter them.⁴⁴

Mu'awiyah took keen interest in reforming the finances. "He used the business experience of the Sargjoids to organise the financial administration. This fiscal reform gave him the resources required to maintain his armies, carry out desirable public works and pay the subsidies necessary to secure the success of his plans.⁴⁵ "He began by revising and reducing the enormous pensions granted by preceding governments without regard to the services rendered to the state. Down to his time the central treasury of the Caliphate had been supplied by intermittent and always unwilling contributions extorted from the provinces.

39 al-Fakhri p 148

40 al-ti p 136

41 al-Tanbih p 262.

42 al-Fakhri pp 148-149, al-Su asserts that it continued with the 'Abbasid Caliphs to the *vide* al-Suyuti p 136

43 al-Fakhri p 149

44 al-Takharri p 149

45 Ibid p 149, al-Suyuti p 136

Mu'awiyah, endeavoured to settle the amount to be paid by each province and to regularise its collection. Under him the treasury ceased to be a relief fund which the conquerors claimed to use as they pleased. He turned it into the treasury of State intended to cover general expenses to secure the representation and the defence of the empire⁴⁶ "

The Muslim coinage, also, owes its origin to the creative genius of Mu'awiyah. Down to his reign the Muslims had no special coinage of their own and chiefly used Byzantine and Persian money, either imported or struck by themselves. On the request of Ziyad he struck first black dirhams which proved defective⁴⁷. He also struck dinars on which was inscribed the effigy of a man girded with a sword⁴⁸.

The reign of Mu'awiyah is also remarkable for justice, impartiality and indiscriminate. A number of responsible and important posts were assigned to non-muslims. The Caliph's physician, Ishaq, was a christian whom he afterwards made financial administrator of the province of Hims—an unprecedented appointment for a christian in the Muslim annals⁴⁹. Sargu Ibn Mansur⁵⁰, another christian, was the private secretary to the Caliph. The Umayyad poet laureate, al-Akhtal, belonged to the Taghlib, christian Arabs of al-Hirah⁵¹.

Not only were non-Muslims given posts in the state but their religious and civil rights were also respected. A mosque was constructed near the cathedral of St John in the Caliphate of 'Umar. Mu'awiyah intended to expand the mosque which would include the church. When the christians expressed their unwillingness to the proposal he dropped the idea completely⁵². 'Uqbah b. Nafir', the governor of Egypt was in need of a plot for his personal requirements. His servant asked him to occupy some tract uncultivated but he rejected the proposal and remarked that it was a condition of the agreement between the clients (Dhimmiyyes) that no piece of land would be taken out of their possession⁵³.

An efficient judiciary forms an inseparable part of a well-organised state. Beside appointing Qazis at different places to decide local cases,

46 Encyclopaedia of Islam V 3, p 618

47 Encyclopaedia of Islam V 3, p 621

48. Encyclopaedia Britannica V 5, p 33

49 Kitab al-Nuqad p 32-33

50 Ya'kubi V 2, p 265 Hitti p 196

52 Tabari V 2, p 283.

53 Hitti p 196

54 Baladuri p 331

Mu'awiyah himself provided an opportunity for high and low, without any discrimination, to approach him personally every day, in the mosque with his grievances and seek their redress. It has already been mentioned that it formed the part of his daily routine. But it was not the case with the Caliph only, his governors too followed suit. Ziyad, generally depicted as unjust and tyrannical, was also very particular to maintain justice. Because of the heavy work and responsibility of the governorship of the two provinces of Kufa and Basra he seldom had an opportunity of coming in contact with the people at large, so he ordered his subordinates and his personal staff to present before him public grievance.⁵⁵

Military Organisation

For the maintenance of peace at home and the continuance of conquest abroad and defence against any threat from without, Military force is the most important factor. Umayyads had enjoyed the privilege of commanding the armies for generations. The first Umayyad Caliph displayed his ingenuity in the successful organisation of land and naval forces. He recruited the soldiers, then formed them into a regular army, wonderful troops always ready to play their double part, the Jihad abroad, and the maintenance of peace and the unity of empire at home.⁵⁶

His great work was the creation of the Syrian army of troops blindly devoted to their sovereign. It formed the great military reserve of the empire for his successors, and inexhaustible nursery of soldiers and leaders. He was able to keep in training by annual invasions of Byzantine territories, Razzias on a large scale rather than campaigns with a definite plan of conquest. By thus keeping the enemy engaged at home, he managed to defend his own frontiers very efficaciously.⁵⁷

If after his ascension to the Caliphate, he rarely left Damascus—henceforth the official capital—to lead his armies in person, he nevertheless was still the 'real organiser of victory'. He looked to the comfort and the equipment of the troops, doubled their pay and saw that they were paid with a regularity hitherto unknown. His rival, 'Ali said that on the call of Mu'awiyah the Syrian army 'would take the field without demanding pay, not two or three times a year only, wherever it pleased its leader to take them'.⁵⁸

For the first time in the annals of Islam, Mu'awiyah divided the army into two—*Safiyah* and *Shat'iyah*—to the seasons and climates of different countries. The *Shat'iyah* or the winter army, was to fight in

55 Maqrizi V 1, p 208

56 Ya'Kubi V 2, pp 279, 280

57 Encyclopaedia of Islam V 3

58 Ibid p 618

the winter season and in cold regions. The Safiyah or the summer army, was to wage war in hot countries. He, also, introduced the use of catapult on a large scale. In the auge of Kabul the rampart was stoned and broken by the catapults⁵⁹

He constructed military fortresses and cantonments at all important and strategic centres. He especially fortified Syria which was in constant threat of Byzantine incursions and reconstructed there the ruined Roman fortress named Jabalah⁶⁰

A fort was erected for Jabalah outside the old Greek one which was inhabited by monks and others devoted to religious exercises. Antartus (Tertose) was a fortified town which was captured by 'Ubadsh and was evacuated by its holders. Mu'awiyah built Antartus and fortified it giving the key to the holders of the fort. The same thing he did with Mara'qiyah and Bulunyah⁶¹. A new fortress at Rhodes was built which remained a military centre for seven years⁶². A fortress named Qasr Khal was built in Madina⁶³. The cantonments were built at Cyprus and Arwad and the cities of Qairawan and Mara'sh were founded chiefly for military purposes⁶⁴

Arab thalassocracy also dates from the glorious reign of Mu'awiyah. He organised the Arab navy while his lieutenants utilised it for the conquests of Cyprus and Rhodes and on two occasions his son Yazid, besieged Constantinople. He was so fond of maritime adventures that he succeeded at last in obtaining the permission of 'Uthman and invaded Cyprus with 500 battleships. On resuming the Caliphate he did his best to improve the navy which in a few days surpassed the Byzantine navy. He installed shipyards to manufacture battleships on all important coast⁶⁵—towns, the first of its kind was built in Egypt in 54 A.H.⁶⁶. Other shipyards were at Urdun and 'Akkah⁶⁷

In the days of 'Uthman the navy and the land forces were under one supreme command. But the improvement he made in the navy necessitated a separate command for it and Mu'awiyah was the first to introduce the office of the admiral as the supreme commander of the naval forces. 'Abdullah b. Qays al-Harithi was one of the admirals

59. Encyclopaedia of Islam V 3, p 618

60. al-Kamil V 3, p 174

61. al-Baladuri p 140

62. Ibid p 140,

63. Ibid p 344

64. Ibid p 160, 6 and 7 Ibid p 124

65. Hush al-Muhazrah V 2, p 199

66. al-Baladuri p 144

67. Usudulghabah V I, p 297

who led fifty sea invasions wherein not a single muslim was lost. Janadab Abi Umayyah was another famous admiral who continued his activities even in the reign of Yazid⁶⁸

These tremendous reforms in all the realms of the empire, made him the first sovereign of Islam, the first ruler to enjoy a definite and independent authority. When writers, jurists, encyclopaedists and compilers of anthology have to quote a trait or saying illustrating kingship or the conduct of the state, they rarely hesitate to credit it to Mu'awiyah⁶⁹. He was not only the first but also the most perfect type of Arab King, and not only the father of a dynasty but the second founder of the Caliphate after 'Ummar⁷⁰. To his Umayyad successors he bequeathed a precedence of clemency, energy, astuteness and statesmanship. He was a good father and a devoted husband, we find him conscientiously performing his religious duties and dying a good Muslim⁷¹.

68 Encyclopaedia of Islam V 3, p 621.

69. Hitti p 194

70 Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p 679

(15) A PAPER ON "SHAYKH 'IRĀQI'S STAY IN INDIA"

by

DR YOG DHYAN ANUJA, M A PH D,

It is believed that Shaykh Fakhr u'd-Din Irāqi left Iran in the company of Qalandars and came down to India. Finally he was at Multan in the monastery of Shaykh u'l-Islām Shāykh Bahā'u'd-Din Zakariyyā. The Shaykh recognised Irāqi's qualities and conferred upon him his special *khirqā*¹ and specified a cell for his *chilla*, or the quadragesimal secluded devotion².

Closing his door upon the visitors, Irāqi spent ten days³ of solitary retirement in the cell. On the eleventh day he fell into a trance, and in that state he composed⁴ the following ghazal⁵ which, with eyes full of tears, he was heard singing in loud tones

نصرتین باد کالدر جام کردد چشم مست حوایان رام کردد

Now Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Din Zakariyyā was a follower of Shaykh-u'-sh-Shuyūkh Shihāb u'd-Din Suhrawardī and, according to the institutes laid down by him, it was incumbent upon the disciples to keep

1 (i) T H L, Fol 180b, (ii) T F N, p 405, (iii) K G L, p. 691.

2 (i) D A O, p 10, (ii) M A S, p 32, (iii) N. J N, p 392 (iv) M S B, p 46, (v) T H L, Fol 130b, (vi) H R K, Fol 187a, (vii) L N B, Fol 592a/1188

3 (i) N J N, p 392 gives *sh. yek* a month or two for *chilla* apparently a misprint (ii) T H L, Fol 180b, says 'in the first *chilla*' in place of ten days. The following gives ten days — (iii) D A O, p 10, (iv) M A S, p 32, (v) M S B, p 46 (vi) H. R K, Fol 187a, (vii) L N B, Fol 592a/1188

4 (i) T S B, p 216, says that on a certain night when Shaykh Bahā' ud-Din Zakariyyā happened to pass by the door of Irāqi's closet, he heard that Irāqi was humming the tune of this poem. This account is more or less followed by — (ii) M S K, p 121, (iii) T F N, p 405, (iv) M S L, under 'Irāqi' (v) Q A L, Fol 126

5 The full ghazal is given in the following — (i) K S L, Fol 33b, (ii) G M K, Fol 129, 130, (iii) D R J, Fol 45a-b, (iv) D R B, Fol 44b-45a, (v) L B C, p 125-126

is strictly occupied in sacred recitations and divine meditation, and not to indulge in diversions. When some of 'Irāqī's fellow-disciples heard this poem they disapproved of it and protested⁶ to the Shaykh. The Shaykh, however, is said to have silenced them with the remark, "For you these things are forbidden but not for him."

A few days elapsed when, on a certain day, Shaykh 'Imād-u'-d-Dīn,⁷ while passing through the market place heard that some merry-makers were singing these verses of 'Irāqī to the accompaniment of musical bells and instruments.¹ Going ahead, when he passed by the side of the tavern, he heard the same song being sung there too. On his return to Shaykh Bahā-u'-d-Dīn Zakariyyā, he explained the whole situation to him, leaving it to the discretion of the Shaykh to look into the matter.

"Would you repeat what you have heard?" said the Shaykh.²

"I heard up to this verse," replied 'Imād-u'-d-Dīn³ and he read out the last line of 'Irāqī's poem —

چو خود کردید از حریفان ماهی عراقی را در اندام کردید

"He has attained his goal!" exclaimed the Shaykh on hearing the closing verse.

He stood up and personally went forth to the door of 'Irāqī's closet.

6 (i) M A S p 32, (ii) D A O, p 10, (iii) L N B, Fol. 592b/1189

7 As given in D A O, p 10 and (i) M A S, p 32. The following works simply say, 'one of the companions' — (iii) N J N, p 393, (iv) L N B, Fol. 592a/1188 (v) M S B, p 46, (vi) H. R K, Fol. 187a

i According to D A O, p 10 and M A S, p 32-33. The following works tell of the performance in the tavern but do not mention the 'market place' —

(iii) N J N, p 393, (iv) M S B, p 46, (v) H. R K, Fol. 187a

2 According to D A O, p 10 and M A S, p 33, (iii) L N B, Fol. 592b/1189 says that on receipt of the report, the Shaykh got up and proceeded to the cell of 'Irāqī. There he heard from him the last verse and remarked, "You have attained your goal."

3 (i) D A O, p 10, (ii) M A S, p 33

"Why, these prayers in the tavern, 'Irāqī! Now come out" said the Shaykh to him⁴

'Irāqī came out and placing his head on the feet⁵ of Shaykh Zakariyyā, he began sobbing⁶ till the Shaykh, with his own pious hands, lifted him up from the dust. It is said that thenceforth he did not allow 'Irāqī to remain in retirement⁷. Shaykh 'Irāqī is stated to have composed the following ghazal at that occasion⁸ —

در کوی حُرّبات کسی را که نیاز است
دشمناری و مستیِ همه غیب نماز است

The Shaykh forthwith took the cloak off his august person and clothed¹ 'Irāqī in it. It was on the same night², or immediately after, that the Shaykh performed the marriage of his daughter, the 'very Rābi'a' in point of virtue and modesty³, with 'Irāqī and from this daughter of Shaykh Zakariyyā, 'Irāqī got a son who was named Kabīr-u'd-Dīn⁴.

4 (i) D A O, p 11; (ii) M A S, p 33, (iii) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

5 (i) D A O, p 11, (ii) M A S, p 33, (iii) N J N, p 393, (iv) M S B, p 46, (v) H R K, Fol 187a, (vi) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

6 (i) D A O, p 11 and (ii) M A S, p 33

7 (i) D A O, p 11 (ii) M A S, p 33, (iii) N J N, p 393, (iv) H R K, Fo 187a (v) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

T. S B, p 216, states that 'Irāqī in a period of four years, completed the course of fourteen *chillās*. It is followed by M. S L

8 (i) D A O, p 11 and (ii) M A S, p 33

The full poem is given in the following —

(i) K S L, Fol p 85a, (ii) G M K., Fol 124b, (iii) K N K and K N L, p 80, (v) K I L, p 74, (vi) D R J, Fol 82a (vii) D R B, Fol 72a

1 (i) D A O, p 11, (ii) M A S, p 33, (iii) N J N, p 393, (iv) M S B, p 46, (v) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

2. According to — (i) D A O, p 11 and (ii) M A S, p 33 —

'Later on' is the version of the following — (iii) N J N, p 393; (iv) H R K., Fol 187a, (v) Q A L, Fol 126, (vi) L N B, Fol 592b/1189, (vii) R W S under

3 T F, N, p 405

4 Q A L, Fol 126, gives the name as Kabīr 'ud-Dīn Ismā'īl

In India, the name of Shaykh Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī seems to have been confused by some writers with that of Sālār-i-'Irāqī. As discussed at length by the author of the *Qasr-i-'Ārifān*⁵, some of the historians and biographers of mystics, while writing about Shāh Sharaf of Pānīpat, have expressed the erroneous belief that he was the son of Shaykh Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the Sūfī, whereas his father's name, actually, was Sālār Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the Qalaoḍar.

Briefly speaking, Sālār Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī came from the suburbs of Kirmān and was one of the followers of Shāh Mohammad Kirmānī, an ancestor of Shāh Nūrmat-u'llāh Walī of Kirmān. Bibi Hafiz Jamāl, the sister of Shāh-i-Kirmānī, was the wife of Sālār Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. She gave birth to two sons, Shāh Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and Shāh Sharaf Pānīpatī. Sālār 'Irāqī came to India and ultimately settled down at Pānīpat. It was here that Shāh Sharaf was born and here too, later on, Sālār 'Irāqī and his wife were buried after their death. The birth of Shāh Sharaf, according to *Qasr-i-'Ārifān*, took place in 602 A. H., that is, four years before the birth of Shaykh Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the Sūfī (in A. H. 606¹).

Our Sūfī poet, Shaykh Fakhrū'd-Dīn 'Irāqī spent a considerably long period of his life in India. Prof. E. G. Browne's truly remarks that there is little or no reference to 'Irāqī's personal adventures in his verses. But it is otherwise about the part of his life in India. Comparatively speaking, 'Irāqī's biographers have given some details about the rest of his life but as regards his stay at Multan, they do not go beyond a few brief allusions. Some of 'Irāqī's verses, on the other hand, throw light on some of the events connected with his stay here.

Evidently, throughout his stay at Multan Shaykh 'Irāqī was occupied with his endeavours at spiritual perfection under the care of Shaykh-ush-Shuyukh Shaykh Bahā-'ud-Dīn Zakariyyā. Daulat Shāh⁶ would have us believe that 'Irāqī underwent fourteen quadragesimal fasts (*chillas*) in a period of four years' stay at Multan. This view is however, refuted by the statement of those authorities who say that it was only once that Shaykh Zakariyyā commanded 'Irāqī to retire to a cell for *chilla* and it was on the eleventh day of this *chilla* that, as already described, 'Irāqī composed the ghazal —

نصیبین بادے کاندہر جام گردود چشم مست حوایان وام کردود

5 Q. A. L., Fol. 125

1 (1) Q. A. L., Fol. 129 (11) C. I. H., Vol. II, Column 1069

2 L. B. C., Vol. III, p. 124

3 T. S. B., p. 216, This has been followed by M. S. L. under حوایی

Shaykh Zakariyyā seems to have admired and encouraged the young Ṣūfī in every way. In the mystic path 'Iraqī made great progress.⁴ The spiritual training he received under the affectionate patronage of Shaykh Zakariyyā was the guiding star of 'Iraqī's life. Jamālī, in his *Siyar-u'l-Ārifin* goes to the extent of remarking that although it was while 'Iraqī was a disciple of Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn at Iconium, that he wrote the *Lama'at*, but, as a matter of fact, it was just a 'drop from the cloud of Shaykh Zakariyyā's bounty'.⁵

We are told that his attainments in the domain of spiritualism were beyond description⁶, and that he had attracted a fairly large number of devoted followers in India⁷.

Needless to say that all this he acquired at the feet of the great saint, Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā. It was here that the foundations of his later spiritual career were laid. 'Iraqī, like a true and sincere disciple, is never tired of singing the praises of his teacher. In his verses he has given expression to the supreme sense of his great love for and faith in the learned saint. They are the true and spontaneous homage of a devoted disciple.

In a *qaṣida*, describing his own state of mind and the praises of his teacher, he speaks —

دوشن آینه دل چو صفا بیفتد روی دلدار در آن آینه پیدا بیفتد
هر صفا فی که عقل بشری در پا بد دلباز او این همه اوصاف سرا بیفتد
حرش دامن از رحمت امروز بشتی دارد نه بشتی که دگر طائفه فردا بیفتد

Here are some lines from one of his famous panegyrics. They are so full of genuine emotion⁸.

می بیاور سالکی تا حوشتن را کم زلفم گزیند چو زلف حوایان در هم و بر هم زلفم
بای چون روح القدس به دروه سدره مهوم دست در ترازو صاحب هست اعظم زلفم
شبیخ ربانی بها را حق والذین آنکه ما بومه بر خاک درش چون دسپان هر دم زلفم

4 R W S, under letter ع ,

1 S D J, Fol 15b,

2 (i) T S B, p 215, (ii) M S L, under 'Iraqī, (iii) T F N, p 405

3 T S B, p 215-216

4 K S L, Fol 20, contains a part of this *qaṣida*

The *qaṣida* is given in the following — (i) D R B, Fol 23b-25a
(ii) K N K, p 17-19, (iv) K N L, p 17-19, (v) K I L, 16-18

5 (i) K S L, Fol 20a-20b (ii) D R B, Fol 25a-25b, (iii) G M K, Fol 144a, (iv) K N K, p 19-20, (v) K N L, p 19-20.
(vi) K I L, p 18-19

At another place he continues his earnest eulogy in the same strain —

When Shaykh Zakariyyā's time drew near he called 'Irāqī to his presence and assigning all the affairs to his charge¹ appointed him as his successor². This done, the Shaykh breathed his last in the year 666 A. H.

The death of his godfather was a heavy blow to 'Irāqī. How deeply shocked he felt can well be imagined from the pathetic verses in which he laments the sad loss. He pours out the sorrows of his grief-stricken heart in a long elegy of about eighty verses. Some opening verses of the first stanzas run as follows³ —

کارم از دستبردت و دست از کار دیده به نور ماند و دل به یار
دل نگارم چرا نه گریه خون دردم ملایم چرا نه فالام زار
حاکم بر برق سر چرا نکم چون نشویم بهیون دل و حسار

During the course of his stay at Multan 'Irāqī's circle of intimacy appears to have remained confined to his spiritual guide, Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā. The particulars of his relations with a few other persons also are preserved in his verses. His friendship with Shaykh 'Imād u'd-Dīn, one of the companions of Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā is manifest in one of his poems which seems to have been written by 'Irāqī to congratulate the latter on his recovery from a sickness. The poem begins as follows⁴ —

راحم جان من عماد الدین چو بوی امروز بهترگ هستی
وز کای محطی چو دی امروز یا نه از دست رنج و رستی

6 (i) D. R. P., Fol 22b-23b, (ii) K. S. L., Fol 19a-b, the last lines are dropped, (iii) and (iv) K. N. K. and K. N. L., p 16-17, both give the title wrongly as مدح شافع شهاب الدین زکریا ملتانی in place of مدح شافع بهاد الدین زکریا ملتانی (v) K. I. L., p 15-16, also repeats the mistake in the above (iii) and (iv)

1 (i) D. A. O., p 11, (ii) M. A. S., p 33

2 (i) N. J. N., p 393, (ii) H. R. K., Fol 187a, (iii) D. A. O., p 11, (iv) M. S. K., p 121 (v) M. A. S., p 33 (vi) Q. A. L. Fol 126, (vii) L. N. B., Fol 592b/1189, (viii) L. B. C., Vol III, p 127, (ix) C. O. B. p 126, (x) C. O. S., p 440, (xi) C. B. A., p 32

3 The qasida is given in the following —

(i) K. S. L., Fol 20b-23a; (ii) D. R. B., Fol 94b-96b, (iii) K. N. K., p 54 to 58 (iv) K. N. L., p 54 to 58 (v) K. I. L., p 50 to 54

4 (i) K. N. K., p 31, (ii) K. N. L. p 31, (iii) K. I. L., p 29, (iv) K. S. L., Fo 28a

There is a long *qaṣida* in praise of Shaykh Sadr-u'd-Dīn, the eldest son of Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā. In the poem, Irāqī refers to three verses which had been sent to him by Shakh Sadr-u'd-Dīn. It begins with the line¹ —

دل در دوست مرز ما دارد جان رهبر تو در میان دارد

For long long years 'Irāqī had been away from his homeland. He was about 17 (about the year 623 A H) that he had left Hamadān. He stayed on in India until after the death of his spiritual guide Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā in the year 666 A H. He spent practically 43 years in foreign lands. 'Irāqī talks of thirty six years of separation to one of his poems which he wrote in response to a letter written to him by his brother² Shamsu'd Dīn from Kūmān. 'Irāqī says³ —

شکر گنم که پس از مدت سی و شش سال یادش از یاد گئی به سرو سامان آمد

Except for the company of his spiritual guide, Shshykh Zakariyyā, the stay of 'Irāqī in India does not seem to have been a very happy part of his life. His verses reminiscent of this period of his life express the ardent yearning of a home-sick heart. A poem describing his state of mind begins with the verse —

ملم بهشتی سر از دوش برتر آورده بزم پای سره ملک در آورده

and speaks of his divine experiences at length but in the end the poem is concluded with the verses⁴

زمر فزاد فراق آمده برادنی هفت از آن ریاض لسمی برادر آورده
بهاد طوطائی طایم طبرزد انشاد بهوسکان سخطه همچو شکر آورده

1 The *qaṣida* is given in the following —

(i) K N K, p 21-32, (ii) K N L, p 21-23, (iii) K I L, p 20-21, (iv) K S L, Fol 23b-24b, (v) G M K, Fol 131a-131b, (vi) D R B, Fol 26b-27b

2 K. S L, Fol 25b, gives the title of the poem as *بزم پای سره ملک در آورده*

3 (i) D R B, Fol 29a, (ii) K S L, Fol 26 a, (iii) K N K and (iv) K N L, both at p 25, give *بزم پای سره ملک در آورده*, (v) K I L, p 23, follows the reading of (iii) and (iv)

4 The *qaṣida* is given in the following —

(i) K S L, Fol 26b-27a, (ii) G M K, Fol 153b-154a, (iii) D R B, Fol 30a-30b, (iv) K N K, p 26-27, (v) K N L p 26-27, (vi) K I L, p 24-25

Fancied or real, the poet sets down his conversation with a friend
He ends his poem as under¹ —

گرفتیم این همه طامات و رزق و ناله‌س است مرا نه ای که بماند از فغانم (عراق)

In a *gasida* written in praise of al-Wā'iz Hamid u'd Dīh Ahmed whom he addresses as his 'sincere friend' he thus expresses his longing to see his native place, Kūmjān² —

می کلد خاطریم بیا کنی عزم که کلد یک نظاره کجالت را

دیده امیدوار می باشد تا به بماند جمال احوان را

There is another poem beginning with the verse³ —

که برت از من به دل بر جانان خبری ما که آرد از نسیم سر کوشش (لریه)

In this poem the poet expresses his earnest desire to see one Karīm-ud-Dīn and asks him to undertake a journey to Multan

'Irāqī's reply to his brother Shams-u'd-Dīn, referred to above, expresses his home-sickness in words full of feeling. The verses display his joy at the sight of his brother's letter after such a long separation, and also reveal what painful memories it brought to 'Irāqī's mind

1. (i) K S L, Fol 28a, (ii) K N K, p 31, (iii) K N L, p 31, (iv) K I L, p 29

2 A - (i) K S L, Fol 24b-25a, (ii) D R B, Fol 27b-28b, (iii) K N K, p 23-24, (iv) K N L, p 23-24, (v) K I L, p 21-23

B (vi) G M K, Fol 122b-123a, gives the verses without those in reference to Hamid-u'd-Dīn or Kūmjān

3 (i) K S L, Fol 26b, (ii) D R B, Fol 29b-30a, gives it without a title

(iii) K N K, p 25 and (iv) K N L, p 25, give its title as *که برت از من به دل بر جانان خبری* and insert his name in place of *که برت از من به دل بر جانان خبری*

(v) K I L, follows the reading of K N K, and K N L, at p 24

and how impatient he grew to see his home-land⁴ —

آخر این بخت من از حجاب در آید سحره
 روزه آخر نظرم بر رخ جامان آید
 یافتم مصیبت او را مگر روزه چند
 این همه سنگ من بر سر من را آید
 بنال آسا همه شب تابستر بمره دم
 دو که بود لبه بمشام رنگستان آید
 که بخواهد که همی با وطن آید لایق
 تا حدود از درگاه اندر چه برسان آید
 بمرات از هر سد بار عراقی چه عجب
 که نه هر خار و حسنی لایق بستان آید

'Irāqī' occupied a very warm corner in the heart of Shaykh Zakariyyā who looked to all his comforts² Shaykh Zakariyyā appears to have encouraged his disciple in all respects. He used to enjoy the spiritual relish of 'Irāqī's verses³

'Irāqī's nomination as his successor by Shaykh Zakariyyā was an eye-sore⁴ to the other disciples of the Shaykh. Now that 'Irāqī's

4 The poem is given in —

(i) K S L, Fol 25b-26a, (ii) D R B, Fol 28b 29a, gives the poem without its title (iii) K N K, p 24-25, and (iv) K N L, p 24-25 as also (v) K I L, p 23-24, give the poem without title

1 There is a story given in S D J, Fol 16a, and (ii) T F N p 406. The latter says —

وگرفتند ابراهیم عراقی در آن ایام که در حدیث شریف بهاء الدین زکریا بصری بود
 و روجه اش که دختر شریف بود دوت شد و شریف حواسش که دختر دیگر که کهتر از او بود
 بهبهاله ابراهیم عراقی در آورد بنابر آن به پسر بزرگ خود شریف صدرالدین عارف
 مشورت نمود او گفت که زوری ابراهیم عراقی را برسانا طحانقه دیدم که ایستاده و
 پارهش برده شده کسب هوا میکرد چنانکس بیرون را نشان —

(iii) Q A L, Fol 126, simply remarks that Sadr-ud-Din intervened and the marriage did not take place

2 T S B, p 216

3 (i) T F N, p 405, (ii) T S B, p 216.

4 (i) N J N, p 393, (ii) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

benefactor had passed away, it was high time for them to give vent to their avarice⁵ against 'Irāqī. They carried their complaints⁶ to the ruler of the town saying that 'Irāqī did not act up to the doctrines of Shaykh Zakariyyā, that his time was mostly occupied with poetry⁷ and that he always kept with the fair-faced⁸. They remarked that he was, therefore, not a fit person to continue as a successor in the seat of the Shaykh⁹.

In this way people attempted to poison the ears of the authorities against Shaykh 'Irāqī and thus made the rest of his stay miserable at Multan. Times grew hard with him. Some biographers will have us believe that the Sultan had already had some malice towards 'Irāqī and his group¹⁰. And now he tried to express his malice in action. He is said to have sent for 'Irāqī and his party.

'Irāqī came to know of the trouble that was brewing up. His patron had expired. His fellow disciples had turned against him. There was nothing now to keep him in India, except, of course, his son, Kabīr-u d-Dīn, whom probably he bade farewell with a heavy heart in the following verses¹ —

فروختن عزیز قریب العین کبیر باد آب حیات در ده اجروال نصیر
 پنهان پنهان کار این نسخه من می کن بطرف در و دله باز بکار
 مروت و استقامت در که بانو باشد همه عمر اساجه توان کن چلفن بد تقدیر

However, 'Irāqī said good-bye to the place where he had spent a long period of his youth. Even before the Sultan's orders could be carried out and his men could reach 'Irāqī, he had, along with some of his friends, left Multan.

5 (i) N J N, p 393, (ii) H R K, Fol 187a, (iii) M S K, p 121, (iv) K G L, p. 701, (v) L N B, Fol 592b/1189, (vi) D A. O., p 11

6 (i) Q. A. L, Fol. 126, (ii) H R K, Fol 187a, (iii) M A S, p 33 adds (secretly)

7 (i) N J N, p 393, (ii) D A O, [p 11] (iii) M S K, p. 121, (iv) M A. S, p 34, (v) L N B, Fol 592b/1189, (vi) K G L, p 702

8 (i) N J N, p 393, (ii) Q A. L, Fol 126, (iii) K G L, p 702, (iv) L N B, Fol 592b/1189, (v) M A S, p 34 says امردان, (vi) D A O, p 11 also says امردان, (ii) M S K, p 121, says باجروانی قلندر صاحب چمالی

9 (i) N J N, p 393, (ii) M S K, p 121, (iii) L N B, Fol 592b/1189

10 (i) M A S, p 34, (ii) D A O, p 11.

1. (i) K N K., p. 31, (ii) K N L, p 31, (iii) K I. L., p 29

ABBREVIATIONS.

- C. B. A. Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay, by Shshykh 'Abdu'l Qādir
- C. I. H. Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office by the late Hermann Ethé, M.A., Ph.D., Revised and completed by Edward Edwards 1937
- C. O. B. Catalogue of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bānkīpore
- C. O. S. A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh by A. Sprenger, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1854
- D. A. O. Deebācheh, in the Song of Lovers, Ushshāq Nāmeb' or the Dah Fasl of 'Irāqi edited and translated by Dr. A. J. Arberry, published by the Oxford University Press, for the Islamic Research Association, Bombay
- D. R. B. Diwān-i-'Irāqi, Manuscript No. 523, Royal Asiatic Society, of Bengal, Calcutta, dated 1153 A. H.
- D. R. J. Diwān-i-'Irāqi, Manuscript No. 522, Royal Asiatic Society, of Bengal, Calcutta, copied by Jaswant Rai, in 1076 A. H.
- G. M. K. Ghaziyāt-i-'Irāqi in Manuscript No. 189, Mixed Contents, a collection of the poems of eight Persian Poets, Kapurthala State Library, Foll. 178a-242b. Dated 849 A. H., 1445 A. D.
- H. R. K. Haft Iqlim by Amin Ahmed Rāzi, Manuscript Kapurthala State Library, written in 1002 A. H., 1594 A. D.
- K. G. L. Khazinat-u'l-'Aşfiyā' by Ghulām Sarwar, printed at the Hitt Press, Lahore. Beginning of Composition in 1280, completion in 1281.
- K. I. B. Kitāb-i-Tawārīkh u'l-'Auliyā' (Udu), Vol. II, by Sayyid Imām-u'd-Din, printed at Bombay.
- K. I. L. Kuliyāt-i-'Irāqi, printed at Lahore, published by Shaykh Nāshī Bakhsh Mohd. Jalāl-u'd-Din.
- K. N. K. Kuliyāt-i-'Irāqi, printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Kānpur in 1909 A. D.
- K. N. L. Kuliyāt-i-'Irāqi, printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow, in A. D. 1891, A. H. 1309.

- K S L *Kulliyāt-i-ʿIrāqī*, Manuscript Prof Shahrānī Collection, Panjab University, Lahore, written in first half of the VIII Century A H
- L B C *Literary History of Persia Vol III, the Tartar Dominion*, by Prof Edward G Browne, Cambridge University Press, 1928
- L N B *Lataʿif-i-Ashrafi* by Nizām Hāfi Gharīb Yamāni, in 60 Chapters (*Latīfas*), Manuscript, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta Transcribed in the middle of the XII century A H
- M A S *Maykhāneh* by Mullā Abd-u'n-Nabī Fakhr-u'l-Zamāni Qazwīnī, edited by Principal Mohd Shafi published by Messrs Altai Chand Kapur & Sons, Lahore, 1926
- M S B *Muʿāt-ul-Khayāl* by Shih Khān Lādhī, printed in Bombay
- M S K *Majālis-ul-ʿUsūshāq*, by Sultān Husayn ibn Sultān Maṣṣūr ibn Bāyqarā, Nawalkishore Press, Kanpur, 1897
- M S L *Makhran-ul-Gharāʾib* by Sandelvi, Manuscript, Panjab University Library, Lahore
- N J N *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* by Jāmi, composed in the year 883 A H printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Kanpur, 1874 A D
- Q A L *Qasī ʿArīfān* by Ahmed ʿAlī, the 1st Chapter composed in 1176 Copied in 1291 by Hāfiẓ Mohd Jamāl-u'd-Dīn First copy from the original writing of the author Manuscript, Panjab University, Library, Lahore
- R W S *Riyād u'sh Shuʿarā* by ʿAlī Qulī Khān Wāleh Dāghistāni, Manuscript, Shahrānī Collections, Panjab University Library, Lahore
- S D J *Siyar-u'l-ʿArīfin* by Dervish Jamālī Manuscript, Panjab University Library, Lahore
- T F N *Tārīkh-i-Firāshteh* by Mohd Qāsim Firāshteh, published by the Nawalkishore Press, 1281 A H, 1865 A D
- T H L *Tazkira-i Husayni* by Mu Husayn Dost Sambhali, Manuscript Panjab University Library, Lahore
- T S B *Tazkirat-u'sh-Shuʿarā* by Daulat Shāh Samargandī, edited by Prof E G Browne Composed in 892 A H (A D 1487). edited in 1901

V—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

(16) PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF *Yoga-Vasishtha* AND *Gita*

by

DR BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT, M A, PH D

Of the vast amount of Indo-Persian literature produced during the Muhammadan rule in India, the translation of Sanskrit works on Indian sciences and religions received an unprecedented official patronage during Akbar's reign¹. The spirit of enquiry initiated by Akbar led to the gradual evolution of Indo-Muslim thought in the next few centuries. The interest of Muslim scholars in Indian literature, however, was semi-academic, semi-philosophical, but it created a comparative outlook, which brought about slowly and imperceptibly a process of new cultural synthesis.

The *Yoga-Vasishtha* is a very rare and valuable didactical work in Sanskrit on Hindu Gnosticism. According to V. Mitra², in Sanskrit it is the earliest work on *Yoga* or speculative and abstruse philosophy delivered by the venerable sage Vasishtha to his royal pupil Rama. It embodies the *loci communes* or common-places relating to the sciences of ontology—the knowledge of *sat*, real entity, the *asat*, the unreal non-entity, the principles of psychology or doctrines of passions and feelings upon other cognitions, volitions and other faculties of mind and the tenets of ethics and practical morality all derived from Platonic dialogues between the sages and tending to the main enquiry concerning the true felicity, final beatitude or *summum bonum* of all true philosophy.

The *Yoga* philosophy had already been made accessible to the Muhammadan world, when in the beginning of the eleventh century,

1 For a detailed account of the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian during Akbar's reign, their origin and history, vide the *A'in-i-Akbari*, pp 104 ff, the *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, Tome VII and the present writer's *Muslims and Indian Sciences* in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan, Vol IX, 2, 1943, pp 148-158 and Vol XII, 4, 1947, pp 298-314.

2 *Yoga-Vasishtha Mahārāmayāna of Vālmīki* (Preface), Calcutta, 1891.

3 *Indian Literature*, p 239.

Alberūnī translated into Arabic Pātāñjali's and Kapila's treatises on the *Yoga* and theistic philosophy—the *Yogo-Sūtra* and the *Sonkhya-Sūtra*. The copies of the above translations are very rare and according to Weber³, the contents of these works do not harmonize with the originals⁴

Many Persian translations of the *Yoga-Vasishtho* made at different times are still extant. One is by Paodit Aoandan (called Bandhan by Ethe)⁵ which has also been noticed in the Bodleian Catalogue (No 1328) and also by Rieu⁶. A translation was made by the order of Akbar in the year A D 1598. This manuscript has been noticed by Dr Ethe⁷. Another translation is probably that of Šūfi Sharif Qushjahānī entitled *Tuhfa's Mojlis* or *Aṭwār dar ḥall-i-Asrār* based on the *Yogavāsishthasāras* (Weber *Berlin Catalogue*, p 186), divided into ten chapters each called a *Tūr*. Both Rieu and W Pertsch have noticed at length this manuscript⁸.

But by far the most original translation of the *Yoga-Vasishtho* is that made at the instance of Dārā Shikūh and under his personal supervision in the year A H 1066 (A D 1656). The copies of this work are not rare in India. In Europe copies of this translation are preserved in the Bodleian Library⁹, the India Office¹⁰ and the Bibliotheca Sprengeliana¹¹. Pandit Sheo Narain gives a detailed account of this translation in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Vol II, I, pp 31-32). The work was lithographed at Lucknow in 1887 but copies of this edition are now very rare.

Dārā Shikūh's translations from Sanskrit include that of the Upanishads, entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar*¹² (wr 1067 A H), the *Bhāgavat-*

4 For details of Alberūnī's translations, vide Sachau's *Alberūnī's India* (London), 1914, p 246, and V Mitra's preface, *Yogo-Vasishtho* etc (Calcutta)

5. *Vide Catalogue of Persian MSS in India Office*, Vol. I, No 1971

6 *Vide Catalogue of Persian MSS. in British Museum*, Vol. I, p 61a

7 *Ibid supra*

8 *Vide Rieu* Vol III, p 1034b, No x and *Berlin Catalogue*, p 1022, No 4

9 *Ethe and Schans Catalogue*, No 1328.

10 *Cat of Persian MSS in India Office*, 1971

11 *Dr Fober's Catalogue*, No 16661

12 The entire work has been edited by the present writer. For details vide my article entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar J R A S B* (Letters), Vol XV, No 1, 1949 where a full summary of contents is given

Gītā (wr between 1065-67 A H) and a translation of the *Yoga-Vasishtha* made at his instance. His other works on Hinduism are the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam, the *Mukhālamāt* or Seven Dialogues on comparative mythology with a Hindu saint named Lāl Dās. The *Risāla'ī Ḥaṣṣ Numā* though a treatise on Sūfī practices, shows distinct signs of the influence of Indian Yoga philosophy. Dārā Shikūh claims that he had read a Persian translation of the *Yoga-Vasishtha* by one Shaikh Šūfī (probably Šūfī Sharīf Qutbjahānī, *supra*) prior to A. H. 1066, when he ordered a retranslation of the work. Some of the physical exercises detailed in the *Risāla* e.g. the *ḥabs-i-dam*, the *āwurd-burd*, the astral healing, the centres of mediation in the heart and brain, bear a close resemblance to Hindu *Tāntric* meditations. The *sālik's* journey through the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Jabarūt*, *Malakūt* and *Lākūt*, for instance, is compared by him to the Indian *Avasthātman* or the four world of *Jāgrat*, *Swapna*, *Sasupatī* and *Turīya*. The *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, written in 1066 A. H. prior to the translation of the *Upanishads*, shows clearly that by that time Dārā Shikūh had acquired considerable knowledge of Yogic and Vedantic philosophy, together with Sanskrit technical vocabulary of Indian mythology and cosmology etc., which would enable him to make a comparative study of the same with their equivalents from Islamic thought.

The translation, as in the original Sanskrit, is divided into the following six *Praṇāmas*:

1. بَرَکاتِ دَیْنِ (Vairāgya-praṇāma) Vanities of Life
2. مَسْکُوتِ دَیْنِ (Mumukṣhavyavahāra-praṇāma) Renunciation
3. اَپَیْتِ دَیْنِ (Utpatti-praṇāma) Creation
4. اِسْتِیْتِ دَیْنِ (Sthiti-praṇāma) Preservation
5. اَپْشَمِ دَیْنِ (Upasama-praṇāma) Dissolution
6. نِزْهَاتِ دَیْنِ (Nirvāṇa-praṇāma) Beatitude

The Preface, gives an account of the circumstances which led to the translation of the *Yoga-Vasishtha* into Persian. The translator writes "Gratitude, adoration and submission are offered to the One, the Sun of whose glory shines in every atom of the cosmos and whose grandeur is manifested in the Universe, although, He is hidden from all

13 For details, *vide* the present writer's article *Mukhālamāt Bāb Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh* in the *Pisva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan, Vol IX, April 1944, pp 326-339

eye and is behind the Veil, boundless benedictions in all sincerity and faith free from error, omission or sanctimoniousness to that choicest product of His creation, to the personification of all that is best: *the Muhammad, the Prophet, and the same to 'All, the object of his love'*

"Let it be known to the noble soul that the scholars, who before this translated the *Yoga-Vasishtha* into Persian and omitted some of the Sanskrit terms, have not been able to convey the subtleties and full sense of the text. It was for this reason that in one of the months of the year A H 1066 (A D 1656) the crown of the kings, the refuge of the world, the descendent of the glorious kings, God's best creature, the initiate in divine mysteries, the embodiment of what is grand and noble, the God-knowing king, Dārā Shukūh, son of Shāh Jahān ordered as follows: 'Since the translations of this sacred book which are extant, have not proved of much use to the seekers of truth, it is my desire that retranslation should be undertaken in conference with learned men of all sects who are conversant with the text. My chief reason for this noble command is that although I had profited by perusing a translation of it ascribed to Shaikh Sūfi¹⁴, yet once two saintly persons appeared in my dream, one was tall whose hair was grey, the other short and without any hair. The former was Vasiṣṭh and the latter Ram Chandra, and as I had read the translation already alluded to, I was naturally attracted towards them and paid my respects. Vasiṣṭh was very kind to me and patted me on the back and addressing Ram Chandra told him that I was brother to him because both he and I were seekers after the Truth. He asked Ram Chandra to embrace me which he did in exuberance of love. Thereupon Vasiṣṭh gave some sweets to Ram Chandra which I took and ate. After this vision a desire to cause a retranslation of the book intensified me."

THE PERSIAN translation of the *Bhāgavatgīta*, in 18 *adhyāyas* was made by Dārā Shukūh, probably with the help of some pandita, between the years A H 1065-67. It is described as an attempt to present "the highest and the best tenets of Hinduism in the most attractive garb." Although a number of other versions of the same work exist in India, I have not come across any good manuscript of Dārā Shukūh's translation, with the exception of one (that, too, of doubtful character) in the private collection of Syed Ramadān 'Alī Shāh Gardezī of Multan. Other Persian versions of this most important Indian Scripture, "the Song of the Most High"—comprising the discourses between Śrī Kṛṣṇa on Divine matter, which was interpolated as an episode in the sixth *Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* are as follows:

Gīta Sunbodhanī, translated from the Sanskrit commentary—*Sunbodhanī*, date not known¹⁵, a versified Persian translation by

14 This translation, as its title ترجمہ منتخب حوکی بالمشاف indicates is not complete. *Vide* *Ethe*, Vol I, No 1972

15 (*Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Bodleian Library*, 1391)

Akbar's poet laureate Faidi, another Persian translation from Sanskrit ascribed by Etche¹⁶ and Ricu¹⁷ to Abul Faḍl, another version entitled as the *Mir'āt-ul-Haqāiq* with comparative comments in Islamic terminology on its philosophical import by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī in 1065 A. H.¹⁸ Three other Persian translations are mentioned one by Etche by an anonymous author, the other by J. Aumer in the *Munch Catalogue* (p. 140), and one is said to be in Library of King's College, Cambridge.

According to Etche (*Catalogue of Persian MSS in the India Office*, No 1949), a copy of Dārā Shikūh's translation is wrongly ascribed to Abul Faḍl, as it indicated by a note on fol. 13 of the manuscript copy. In view of this categorical statement, it is essential that differentiation may clearly be made between the two translations of Abul Faḍl and Dārā Shikūh. Apart from an abridged version of the *Gītā*, included in the *Rasnuṣma*, a Persian translation of the *Mahābhārta* made by four scholars at the instance of Akbar¹⁹, wherein the whole discourse between Śrī Kṛishna and Arjuna is condensed into a few pages, it does not seem likely that Abul Faḍl also made a translation of the *Gītā* in 18 *adhyāyas* in a separate form. Abul Faḍl himself does not mention it among the translations made for Akbar²⁰, nor does Badā'uni include it among the various Sanskrit works which were translated during the period²¹.

16 *Catalogue*, Vol. I No 1950

17 *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 7676, Add 6607, Vol. III p. 1034b

18 Etche *Op Cit*

19. For details vide Dr. Bikrama Jit Hasrat *Muslims and Indian Sciences* (III) in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan April 1947, pp. 305-308

20 See the *Amr-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, p. 104).

21 The *Muntakhb-ul-Tawārīkh* Vol. II, pp. 401 ff

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति ।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

All these manuscripts are in the hand-writing of one writer and there is a remark —

این همه از خط مولوی مرادعلی صاحب مرحوم

The manuscript is 9½"×5½", with about 15 lines on each page, and a total number of 96 pages. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The subject matter of every *rubā'ī* is given in Arabic in red ink at the beginning and then follows full explanation. Only 50 quatrains are given.

In the introduction Dawwānī says — "I had written some quatrains in my youth, and my friend, asked me to put them together in book-form. Once upon a time when I went to pay my homage I presented this book to him

جلال الحق والسلطان والامير
والدين سلطان ايلدرم با بريد

The language of the commentary is like that of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*. In the colophon is written —

تمام شد شرح رباعیات ملا جلال الدین دواوینی - بروز شنبه یازدهم رمضان ۱۲۰۷
در هنگامی که مشاغل بر بیدار صورت بسته بود

Some of the quatrains are given below, so that the readers may be able to form some idea of the style and themes of the book.

The beginning of the book is as follows —

حمداً لله عم الخلق الالهة معبود سواي یل لیس سواي، نرات دوگون را را آسب
عدم-عبر از حرم رحمت او نیست پناه

حدن سزادار سرادق کبریا للقدس و تعالی از میر آنحضرت اعلی مددور نتواند
یافت و شکر دکانی د معمار آ لام آن صاحب والا از مبالغان کوی عدم و علا در وجود
نتواند آمد

In praise of God, he writes —

من وصف کمال تو میارم گفتن این در گرانمایه ندازم سخن
هم چون تو بگویم کمال تو که نا گفتن را تو باشد و ز تو آشفتن

God is concealed as well as manifest —

آن شمع که نور چشم تاریک من است
هجران وصال او بد و نیک من است
در چشم من است و فایب است از نظرم
من دورم از د و دس که عزت یک من است

Man is nothing without the light of God which permeates his being —

ما یب مشور از من ای دل و جان تنم
وی دانیش و بیلش و مستی در نهادم
از خون چو بکون می مکرم هیچ دم
چون از تو بکون می مکرم حمله ملهم

The commentary on this quatrain is as follows —

مستن در حد ذات خود هیچ نیست چه از خون هیچ و خون ندارد بلکه هیچ
ذات ندارد پس همه چیز از او معلوم باشد حتی خودی خون و نظر در حقیقت
ظاهره درو همه چیز است چه حق است و معانی چهارچوبه سرور مذکور شدن با
همه صفات کمال احاطه از هر ذره از ذرات موجودات متعلق است

Man's wisdom cannot perceive the greatness of God —

چند امده نام عرصه هستی بزمون
معلوم شد حقیقت بود و نبود
در بانیه طالب دل از هم فرسود
وو کمنه مایهون نشا می دشوون

The phenomenal world is the reflection of god —

در جام جهانی عکس رخ یار بهوش
در آینه دل رخ دلدار بهوش
یک روز چو در روز بسیار امده
ظاهر شده در صورت اموار بهوش

The comprehensiveness of the heart of man —

دل بر رخ بصرین حدوت و کدم است
آینه اسکندری و جام جم است
از منزل دل اگر مهابی می طلبی
پا لا بر از انلوم و چوید و عدم است

The world is a mirage —

در دیدارِ مستحقی سزایی ست جهان
 بر سبیلِ فلان نفسِ حبایی ست جهان
 رو چشمِ حیا و حجابِ بر بند و بند
 کز رویِ بختِ حیا و حوائی ست جهان

As *sālik* should not fix his heart on the hopes and fears of this transitory world —

ما چند روی از پس امید و هراس
 بتدریجِ حیا و غیر ' خود را بشناس
 دلِ برکی از پی منزلِ دُردان ' گذرا
 و قاعدۀِ دنیا نهادند اساس - - -

The attributes of man are the reflection of those of God —

ای حالِ نیتِ سزایِ بیگانه‌ای من
 ز آینه‌یِ رحمتِ تو گو یا بی من
 من در در و بر صد هزارانِ بوسه
 و آنکه تو درونِ دلِ سودائی من

None knows the real Truth —

در حلقه و مدرسه گشتیم بی
 انصاف که در هر دو ندیدیم کسی
 دیدیم ' بی‌ فسادِ گوئی چندی
 قانع شده از دور بهانگِ جری

The *sālik* should busy himself with the knowledge of his soul, and should not waste his time and energy in dealings with ordinary persons —

بالا تری ای دوائی از حد قیاس
 به صحبتِ ترا کسی تو خود را بشناس
 زین دونِ ملتانِ حصالِ انسانِ مطلب
 کایهانِ بهشتِ اناس از تناس

Commentary —

کمال لایس در معرفت خود است چنانچه مشهور من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه بآن مشهور است و در کتب منزله ندیده بود اعرب و تفسیر یا اربسان تعرب در ب و کمال توجه به معرفت نفس بی قطع مانع از حلقی مفسر میگردند ' چه اشکال به غیر مانع توجه به معرفت است و در میاندنی حائل که سالک به تحقیقش بوحید مستحق دهد توجه به غیر قاطع گلی است ' تا زمانی که بهر کف و حدت حلقی رسد-آن زمان در نظر شهید او غیر صادق و صلا بسک کثرت اودا مانع شهوت وحدت بشود

Some quatrains are in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, a fact which proves that Dawwānī believed in the Shi'a creed —

در ملک حقیقت است آن شاه مدار
دست طلب از دامن آن شاه مدار
از باب مدینه علوم است در آی
زبان در که رحمتی زود به منزله یار

حور شهید کمال است مدی ساه ولی
اسلام مصید است ایمان علی
گر بهنگی بویں سخن می طللی
بلکر که ز بیانات اسما است چلی

(18) THE GULZĀR-I-IBRĀHIM AND THE KHWĀN-i-KHALIL

by

DR NAZIR AHMAD—LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

The *Sih Nāṭh* (or the three prose pieces) of Zūhūrī, which by the common consent of the critics, is the best example of ornate prose and consequently one of the most celebrated Persian prose books, has a most disputed historical back-ground. A group of scholars holds that these pieces are three separate prose treatises bearing their own titles. The opinions of some of them are given below,—

1 Khān Arzū in the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is* remarks¹ —

مؤظهوری رسالہ دارد در مدح بادشاہ مذکور (ابراہیم عادل شاہ) مسمی بہ نورس

2 Sarkhush in the *Kalimāt* observes² —

در نظر رسالہ نورس و حواصیل خلیل گزار ابراہیم بنام عادل شاہ بسیار خوب نوشتہ

3 Zubairi in the *Basā'in*³ states

انچہ در مدح طرایی، اشعوب بیان را در میدان تصاحت درانیدہ از حواصیل و گزار ابراہیم و دیباچہ نورس ظاہراسی

4 Sahhā'ī in the *Sharḥ-i-Sih Nāṭh* says⁴ —

شرح گزار ابراہیم نیز از جامہ عام رقم مہبائی بہ اتمام انجا میں خواہش آید شاہ جامہ از دست اہلکام و در گوشہ عزالت نن رزم اما معانی طالبان آسودہ نہ می گذارند تا حواصیل خلیل کمتر دہ دہود گرساہ چشمان از شگمہ بتعل طہرمت لب نہ خواہند بسی

1 Fol 496a

2 p 198

3 Fol 125

4 p 207, also *vide* pp 120 and 208 etc

5 Shams in the Bahār-i 'Azīm points out⁵ —

اگر ظہوری این بہار عظیم بنیادِ اہل بیت گلزارِ ابراہیم از دل بر کدہ در نورس
را مہوگ کہدہ انگاشدہ دست از ماندہ جانِ حلیل شستہ الخ

The headings of the 2nd and the 3rd pieces at least in the printed copy of the Sih Nathr run as follows —

"دیباچہ دوم مسمیٰ گلزارِ ابراہیم" "دیباچہ سوم کہ بحوانِ حلیل
شہرہ دارد"

In addition to these, a large No of Mss of the book suggest that it is nothing but a collection of three prose treatises

There are again some⁶ who contend that the Sih Nathr is a collection of three prefaces written to the Kitāb-i-Nauras of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil II (d A H 1037), Amongst them Professor 'Abdul Ghani holds a fantastic view in so much as on the one hand he calls the Sih Nathr, three prefaces to the said Kitāb-i-Nauras, and on the other, assigns a particular title to each of them. Some⁷ Mss of the Sih Nathr, likewise, bear headings like this, which suggest as above —

حکایتِ نورس مسمیٰ بہ حوانِ حلیل

Yet the last group of biographers though few in number, unequivocally claim that it is a collection of three prefaces, the first to the Kitāb-i-Nauras, the 2nd to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the 3rd to the Khawān-i-Khalīl, the last two being anthologies prepared by Malik and Zuhūrī alone. Ibrāhīm Khalīl's following⁸ statement is very accurate —

از جملہ مکتوباتش سہ دیباچہ است کہ بر نورس و گلزارِ ابراہیم و حوانِ
حلیل نوشتہ

Ghulām 'Alī Āzād did not fail to arrive at a correct conclusion⁹ —

(ماب و ظہوری) تاہم بہ مشارکت دارند چنانچہ ظہوری در دیباچہ حوانِ
حلیل می نوآید الخ

⁵ Fol. 14a

⁶ They are mostly later writers and their views are not to be taken very seriously, vide Dr Muhy-ud-Din, Zor's Urdu Shah Pāre Vol 1 p 35 and History of Urdu Lit (Trans) pp 74-75

⁷ R A S B collections, Majmū'a, No 359

⁸ Şuhuf-i-Ibrāhīm, 581a

⁹ Sarw-i-Āzād, p. 33

Undoubtedly these prose pieces mentioned by such terms as *مثنوی*, *رساله* و *دیباچه* etc were collected and compiled under the title of the *Sih Nathr* and are three prefaces to the above mentioned three books written after long intervals. The controversy has mainly been caused by the angle fact that the three main books were consigned to oblivion and so the prefaces were, somehow, detached and collected together under the present¹ title which does not go beyond the date of its publication²

It is thus obvious that a description of the *Kitāb-i-Nauras*, the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* and the *Khwān-i-Khālīl* would adequately remove the wrong notions centred round the historical aspect of the *Sih Nathr*. Since we have various valuable Mss of the *Kitāb-i-Nauras* it is deemed undesirable for the present to enter into its detailed description. But as the last two books are quite unknown and apparently no copies are available, it would be very fruitful to introduce them so as to have a correct notion of the historical back-ground of the *Sih Nathr*.

The *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* was a kind of anthology in verse containing nine thousand lines of all verse-forms, and was completed jointly by *Zuhdī* and *Malik* at the instance of *Ibrāhīm 'Ādil* to whom it was dedicated. The following clear statement occurring in *Malik's* preface to the same book reveals its correct nature —

از پرده بخت این نعمه بدر داد و از محل امر این مقام برداد که دوران
نزدیکی و نزدیکی دوری شاهان دینی و فائزانی صوری ملک و ظهوری چهره
پوشیدگان معانی و روزه کشادگان صوری در صفت هر چه پیرایه حال سلطنت
است و آرزو گردن مملکت به هزار بیت ذکر گریں از دسر مثنوی منبع انوار و
نوع قصائد و غزل و ترکیب بند و ترجیع بند و قاعده و رباعی چون جواهر
آبدار از کمر زحمت ساک انوار در آورده الخ [کلیات ملک و روق ۱۱۰] (دیباچه
گلزار ابراهیم)

The title of the book appears in this line —

شکست این نظم و مرغان بهلیت حوالی — که شد گلزار ابراهیم نامش — (ایضاً)

1 The following points are significant —

1 This title is not traceable in any Ms copy. 2 The chronological order of the printed copy is not kept in most of the Mss. 3 A fairly large No. of Mss contain only two or even one piece.

2 Dr Rieu fixes A. D. 1846 as the date of its first publication, but the printed copy lodged with (?) was published in A. H. 1259 corresponding to A. D. 1843. Hence the date of its publication was earlier than A. D. 1846 or even 1843.

The author of the Ma'āthir agrees with the above in these words —

(ح ۳ ص ۳۹۷) نه هزار بیت در اندام سخن به مدح عادل شاه گشته سستی به گلزار ابراهیم ساختند

Exactly the same is found under Malik, but in the Bānkīpūr Ms some additions are made as follows —

آن دو مصاحف شمار. آن کتاب را بنامت بودو نوشته اند و هر یک چهار هزار و پانصد نظم و نثر گشته و نوشته و دیباچه بر آن نوشته و یک جلد کرده گلزار ابراهیم ساخته و اس احتراع این در بزرگوار است که به شرکت کتاب تمام نموده اند—
[دوق ۸۹]

This remark differs from that of Malik in respect of these —

1 According to Malik the book was prepared at the instance of the prince while nothing as such is mentioned in the Ma'āthir

2 In the Ma'āthir both of them are stated to have composed one half, but Malik does not state as such

3 In the Ma'āthir the anthology is stated to have contained prose portions also while Malik is silent on this point

Ibrāhīm³ Khālī endorses the views expressed in the Ma'āthir, but Iskander Munshī while agreeing in details wrongly gives its title 'Kitāb-i-Nauras' and thought⁴ earlier the correct number of its lines, i.e., as nine thousand, yet later on he gives only nine hundred⁵ (in words). Professor Mohd Shafi, however, mentions⁶ no difference though he quotes both the pages of the 'Ālam Arā-i-Abbāsī and so do Āzād⁷ and 'Ishq⁸. The title of the Kitāb-i-Nauras as quoted by Iskander Munshī has led Professor Mohd Shafi to deem it as identical with Malik's Manba'ul-Anhār for the simple reason that in the Maykhānah⁹ its title is given as Nauras Nāma. Consequently he makes an attempt to

3 Vol 3 pp 447-48

4 Suḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm Fol 581, also *vidē* حاشیہ رقم fol 22

5 Vol 1, p 132 (تاریخ عالم آراء عباسی)

1 Vol 3 p 752

2 Maykhāna p 268 (foot notes)

3 Khizāna-i-Āmra p. 411.

4 Nishtar p 1669

5, p 268, but on p 259-60 its title is not given

find out 4500 lines (i.e., Malik's portions in the joint anthology) in the *Manba'ul-Anhār*, but failing that he remarks⁶ —

دورس نامه ظاهراً همین منظری بنام ملوک‌السلطنه در کتاب حاتم دیوان هند
موجود است و بعد از اینهاش از چهار هزار و پانصد کم است

Zuhūrī's own remarks found in his prefaces to the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* and the *Khwān-i-Khalil*, explicitly indicate that he was Malik's partner in preparing the *Gulzār* and the *Khwān*, e.g.,⁷

فصل ازین پیاویش گزار ابراهیم و انکار در گستردن حوان حلیل سهیم و عدیل
ملک الکلامه است

It is strange that some writers have misunderstood *دبیاچه گزار ابراهیم* and *دبیاچه حوان حلیل* for the two main books, though it is clear as crystal that the *دبیاچه* in which Zuhūrī speaks about himself in the first person and about Malik (who was called *ملک الکلام*) in the third person, can in no case be a work of Malik. The *گزار ابراهیم* and the *حوان حلیل* referred to in the above remark, are without slightest doubt, different from the prefaces of Zuhūrī. It was due to this misunderstanding that scholars of fair renown have assigned proper names to these prefaces about which we have spoken earlier. Fortunately Āzād of Bilgrām gives a correct idea about the prefaces as well as the anthologies in this⁸ sentence —

(ملک و ظهیری) به مشارکت یک دیگر سبکها در سبک تصویر کشیده اند
چنانچه ظهیری در *دبیاچه حوان* نوشته اند

According to this remark the *گزار ابراهیم* and the *حوان حلیل* were not identical with their prefaces. The author correctly thinks that the latter were written by Zuhūrī alone, while the former were the joint productions of Zuhūrī and Malik both.

The author of the *Futūhāt-i-Ādil Shāhī* gives many original and even conflicting things as under —

"Malik and Zuhūrī were the joint writers of two books, *vis*, *حوان حلیل* and *گزار ابراهیم*, both of which contained 9000 lines, besides prose writings. It is said that in a gathering of scholars, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh while discussing the anecdote of Firdausī and Sultān

— 6 Maykhāna p 268 (foot notes)

7. *Kullīyyāt-i-Zuhūrī* p 827

8. *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p 33

Mahmūd, ordered for the payment of one 'Hān' for each line to the joint writers of the above composition. The total payment amounted to 9000 mohars which were carried away on several camels. But on re-counting the lines, it was found that they were nine thousand and five hundred, and accordingly the whole payment was made to them. Later on five hundred lines were found to be purely repetition and so a number of courtiers lodged a complaint wishing that the excess money be returned. But the king remarked that the money once paid was paid for ever " (pp 372-73)

It differs from other statements in respect of the following —

1 It assigns different titles to both the anthologies, apparently the *Bāgh-i-Ibrāhīm* is a wrong substitution for the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* and the *Gulistan-i-Khalīl* for the *Khvān-i-Khalīl*

2 Contrary to all statements it shows that both of them contained only nine thousand lines, though only the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* comprised so money

3 It shows that both contained some prose portions as well, though in the Ms copy of the *Ma'āthir* the *Gulzār* is stated to have contained some prose, Yet neither of them is supported by any other authority,

However in view of Zuhūrī and Mahk's own remarks which are also confirmed by the eminent scholars, regarding the title of the book which alone contained nine thousand lines, it would be wholly incorrect to accept the view expressed in the above remark. However, the phrase 'یک چاد کرد' occurring in the *Ma'āthir* suggests that both of them wrote separately and that each of the separate portions, contained about 4500 lines, besides the prefaces. Possibly the title of the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* was given when they were contained together and the apparent copy of which (its contents will be discussed later), contains the two sections separately. The prose portions in the book consisted of the prefaces which were not to their separate sections, but to the joint composition. But Dr Rien in the following note on the authority of the same Ms copy of the *Futūhāt* has stated a single book and a different name —

"Both stood in high favour with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh who rewarded them, according to the *Futūhāt-i-'Adil Shāhī*, for the *Gulshan-i-Khalīl*, then joint production, with a present of 9000 gold pieces"

1 Rieu Cat of Persian Mss in British Museum (under *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*)

About the anecdote quoted in the *Futūhāt* we find no reference in any book except a similar account though differing in its details in the *Maaba'-ul-Anhār*², some lines of which are quoted below —

در راست مسلکی عادل حدادند ابراهیم' به شمه و مبادند و حسن حسن
مهندی که در قیمت شاه نامه طایر را نامه صاحب و عاقبت معبودی شاه دکن که
سهم سخن را طایر داشت —

دین به شهنامه جمال عروس	دست چنبر دست به استاد طروس
حائیه را گشت پذیر سخن	دوگر شاه نامه چو آمد به بن
سست زگی بعضی تلو بدایان	از حسن آل رشتی مهندی
نگدلی برن ده بازار شعر	گشت چلیں شهره که در کار شعر
قیمت یک الف دنیا مد پذیر	گوهر شصت الف به قیمت رسید
عهد سخن گشت ابراهیم عهد	کرد شاه مژگوی از بعض عهد
سهم طایر صاحب رهی شهرآز	از به طایر سهم بر آمد ز کار

However, since the *Mathnawī* was included in the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, this particular incident can neither refer to the reward on the composition of the former, nor to that of the latter.

The author of the *Natā'ij-ul-Afkār*³ ascribes the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* and the *Khwān-i-Khālil* to Zuhūrī alone who was, in reality, Mālik's partner in preparing them. Saxena⁴ enumerates two books bearing the same titles among Zuhūrī's works (other than the *Sih Nathr*). Similarly, the author of the *Qāmdas-ul-Mashāhur* mentions the *Sih Nathr* and three other works, *vis*, *رساله نورس*, *گلزار ابراهیم* and *حوال خلل* among Zuhūrī's compositions. Apparently these have been borrowed from the *Kalimāt-us-Shu'arā* and the *Basātin-us-Salāṭin* in which the last three works have been ascribed to Zuhūrī. But these three were identical with the three pieces which are collectively termed as the *Sih Nathr*. Though this is too incorrect, yet one cannot measure the depth of the folly of those authors who claim the three works along with the *Sih Nathr*, to have been written by Zuhūrī⁵.

Just contrary to these is the account of Sprenger who attributes the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* to Mālik only. He further commits a mistake by stating that according to Āzād the name of the book is *Nauras* for

2 *Kulliyāt-i-Mālik* (R. A. S. B. Ms.) Fol 75b

3 p 117

4 *History of Urdu Literature* (Translation) pp 74-75

5 Vol 2 p 49

6 *Oudh Catalogue* p 481

the obvious reason that the latter has¹ quoted only Iskander Munshi's view which has nothing to do with his own

Fortunately Ms No 1500² in the India Office Collection which is stated to be the Kulliyāt of Zuhūrī's works, is, in all probability, identical with the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. The said Ms has two separate sections, one containing Malik's works and the other, those of Zuhūrī. This is fully in consonance with the statement of the Ma'āthir which clearly shows that both the poets wrote their portions separately. The cataloguer was, however, puzzled while dealing with its separate portions and as the Ms is claimed to be a Kulliyāt of Zuhūrī's works, he has attempted to ascribe all its contents to the same poet, but wherever he has failed to find any clue he has passed over it, e.g., with regard to Malik's preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm he does not mention its author but presses on with the remark³ that—

It is "of the same character as Zuhūrī's well-known prefaces but different from these three and all other treatises hitherto known as composed by the same author, in spite of the frequent mention of *كفر إبراهيم*. This treatise in ornate prose seems, like three mentioned above, written in homage of Ibrāhīm 'Adul Shāh II"

With regard to the Manba'ul Anhār he mentions that in the Oudh Catalogue (p 482), it is included in Malik's Kulliyāt, but on the authority of its lines quoted in the Khulāsat-ul-Kalam⁴ under Zuhūrī, he claims that it should be ascribed to him

As regards the series of *tarkīb*, *tarjīb* bands, *qaṣidas* etc though he does not mention the name of the author, yet he holds them all to belong to Zuhūrī

Since the contents of the India Office Ms are just the same as stated by Malik himself and since about half of the said copy has been composed by Zuhūrī and it is perfectly in keeping with the statements of 'Abdul Bāqī and Iskander Minnshi and lastly since the Ms concerned has separate sections of each as has been claimed by 'Abdul Bāqī etc, it is almost proved that it is nothing but the oft-mentioned Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. A detailed description of the Ms would further prove the same —

1 A prose treatise of the same character as Zuhūrī's three well known prefaces but different from these. Though the title is not given

1 حواصی عامرہ p 411

2 The's Catalogue Vol 1 pp 820-22

3 pp 820-21

4 A biography of mathnawī-writers by Ibrāhīm Khallīl

in this copy, it is undoubtedly identical with Malik's preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm⁵ in view of the following —

(a) Its beginning⁶ as quoted by Dr Ethe is quite-similar to that of the MSS of Malik's Kullīyyāt preserved in R A S Bengal and Rāmpūr collections

⁷(b) Of the examples quoted in the India Office Catalogue all except one, are traceable in Malik's Kullīyyāt

(c) Dr Ethe has neither given its closing line, nor has quoted the concluding qit'a, which contains even the poet's pen-name, but since the last distich⁸ is traceable in the above Catalogue, undoubtedly, not only the whole qit'a therein, but its conclusion is also just the same as in other copies

(d) in the closing qit'a the following line contains the pen-name of the poet —

ملک شد باحدار ملک معنی ملک بوبت راء بر طرف با مش

Similarly the following line, occurring both in Malik's Kullīyyāt as well as in the India Office Ms, gives his pen-name —

دور بشی را حانوا شهر ملک شاهى ملک نعمة به عاتقه داک

But despite all this, it is strange that Dr Ethe did not mention its author

2 The Manba'ul-Anhār, Its beginning⁹ as quoted by Dr Ethe is just the same as in Malik's Mathnawī having the same title and found in both the Mss of his Kullīyyāt This point has been accepted by the Cataloguer himself but he rejects it on the ground that its 294 lines

5 The Cataloguer of the Cuzon collections (R A S B) has very innocently remarked as follows (p 194) —

"It seems to be undoubtedly from Malik's pen (cf 30 his 'ملک شد باحدار ملک معنی و نعلی', at the end of this work) and there is (on the back) nothing improbable that Malik might have written it for Zuhūrī who was his relative"

6 اے نورس گلزار ابراهیم از نو وے آنش نوروز تاب بزم از نو

7 گلزار ابراهیم نام نهادم

8 شکست این نظام و مرغان قیامت حوائی که شد گلزار ابراهیم نامش

1 Its 1st distich is this —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
هدى الى صراط المستقيم

have been quoted in the *Khulāsat ul-Kalām* under Zuhūrī, but no line contains either the pen-name of Malik or that of Zuhūrī. All the lines quoted there are taken from the above poem in which Malik's pen-name appears many times. As for example —

fol 69	حکیم ملک را منہ در پیش کن	پس بہ آریں فکر دل خویش کن
72	ہر ملک مکہ گدا آریں	ہر ملک العدل ہزار آریں
73a	خواست ملک تا در معرہ رید	منک شود ہر دل معنی رید
73b	ہا ملک از شعلہ بہ حسر بہ دہ	دست من و آستی او درہ
76b	ہست ملک قصہ این رنگان	منشا و پیدائی دل حلقان

3 The *tarkīb*, *tarjī*-bands and *qasidas* intermixed with *ghazals* and concluded by various strings of *rubā* is beginning —

منع است کلید ہر کشا دہم ہر نہ در چرخ در کشا دہم

This initial *tarkīb*-band had the following heading —

بہ تمنع در نہ کلید کشایں از ذلہ کشائی نہ گرفتیں و دلیل مدحت عادل
حدود ہر کمر ترکشہ بلد کردہ از حادہ گرفتیں —

Though Dr Ethé has not mentioned the author, yet he means to ascribe them to Zuhūrī only. The fact, however, is that all the poems have been composed by Malik in which his pen-name appears many times and that they are included in the poet's *Kulliyāt* as well. The first *tarkīb*-band in praise of Ibrāhīm, contains 9 bands and covers fol 185a to 187a in the R A S B Ms of his *Kulliyāt*.

The next section belongs to Zuhūrī —

1 Preface to the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, beginning and end as in the second preface in the *Siḥ Nathr-i-Zuhūrī* (p 821)

2 Series of *tarkīb*, *tarjī*-bands, and *qasidas*, beginnings

اے کہ شدہ از تو زبانی ہمہ جلس غمت زبیب دکان ہمہ (p 821)

All the poems are from the pen of Zuhūrī. However, the usual initial *qasida*, as found in the Bode Catalogue and in the Berlin Catalogue No 931 and in the Rampur Ms, beginning—

—اے شخص دہ دنا و دنا ہر بقایت فلانہ جملہ گور

is missing here. The long *tarjī*-bands in imitation of Sa'dī and Wāḥshī are also not traceable. The first *tarkīb* in praise of God and the prince (Ibrāhīm 'Adil) pp 179 to 181 in the Rampur Ms

3 The ghazals³ beginning—

برداشتی نگاه در دین بر آدم
در گشتن آمدی در شیدن بر آدم

The initial ghazal beginning

آنکه خواهد داشت مرد/ و خدش امان ما
گشته و خدش آفتاب مطلع دیوان ما

4 A large collection of rubā'is divided into 22 sections, beginning—

بر مهر و عارض تو ندیم خوش است
پیش تو دمه مستعدۀ مظاهر خوش است

This section does not contain *ghī'a* and *mathuawī* as against the 1st

Fortunately the first four chapters of No 679 of Zuhūrī's *Kullīyyāt* in the Bānkīpūr collections, are identical with the second section of the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*. The following details of the said Ms would reveal that it agrees completely with the above

1 The preface to the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* by Zuhūrī, beginning and ending as usual (foll 1—8)

2 The *qasidas*, *tarkīb* and *tarijī'* bands intermixed, beginning as in the India Office Ms (foll 8-69). This section contains 21 *qasidas*, five *tarkīb* and two *tarijī'* bands of which all being properly headed, are in praise of the prince of Bijāpūr. Like the India Office Ms, it does not include the long *tarijī'* bands in imitation of Sa'dī and Wahshī, though Malik had two parallel poems exactly of the same nature

3 The ghazals beginning as above (foll 69-78)

4 The rubā'is divided into 22 sections all of which being properly headed, deal with various merits of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. The 1st heading quoted here and its 96 rubā'is are missing in all other Mss of his *Kullīyyāt* including that of Rāmpūr. Similarly the 14th and the 19th headings are excluded from the Rāmpūr Ms (foll 78-121)

The total number of lines is as follows—

1 *Qasidas*, *tarkīb* and *tarijī'* bands amounting to 2220 lines

2 Ghazals amounting to 370 lines

4 [†]Rubā'is amounting to 1952 lines

That gives a total of 4542 lines

The above shows that no Mathnawī of Zuhūrī's is contained in the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*. Apparently his Mathnawī similar to the *Manba'ul-Anhār*, written in imitation of the *Mākḥzan-ul-Asrār* was not completed till then. However, Zuhūrī's one Mathnawī, having no particular title, was composed a short time after the completion of the said anthology. The Cataloguer of Bodleian Library gives A H 1009 as the date of its completion on the ground that its closing line contains the following chronogram —

شد به اندام بس که رود ابرار گشت تاریخ انبیا 'آمار'

But the word "آمار" does not give the date of the poem but of the building³ constructed by Shāh Nāwāz Khān for the obvious reason that the line occurs among those which are in praise of the same building under a separate head. Thus the poem must have been composed some time later than A H 1009 and so could have not been included in the above *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*.

The actual date when it was completed is not known. However, this much is certain that Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was then running in his third 'ashraḥ' which was to be completed in A H 1009. Thus it may be said with certainty that the anthology was finished before this date. It contains the *Manba'ul-Anhār* in which we find a reference⁴ to Nauraspūr, a newly projected city whose construction, according to contemporary⁵ sources, was not taken up until A H 1008. Similarly, the Nauras Mahal is also⁶ mentioned in the poem, but it was finally finished only in A H 1010. Thus it is supposed that the *Manba'ul-Anhār* had been finished before the completion of both the Nawras

1 Beginning

اے بناها همه نهادے تو در کرا هرچه هست دادے تو

It is included in the Rampur Ms of the *Kulliyāt* (pp 778-799)

2 Catal of Per Mss, in Bodleian Lib (Sachau and Ethe) p 673

3 a g vide two lines —

منااسل دیده را دهند چلا در هوا کس نه دیده کان طلا
مرد شد بدربار مالے چند شد به هر ماه کار سالے چند

and also *Firishtah* Vol 2, pp 80-81

4 *Kulliyāt* p 816 (دہیاچے گلزار ابرار)

1. Fol. 71a

2. Fol 67a

3. The *Tadhkirat-ul-Mulūk* p, 348 and *Futūḥāt* p 158

Maḥal as well as Nawraspūr. Hence it is quite correct to fix a date between A. H. 1008 and A. H. 1009 which the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm was finally completed.

On the presentation of the book the prince of Bijāpūr rewarded the poets heavily. According to the Ma'āthir⁴, Ibrāhīm 'Adil honoured them by awarding ninety thousand "lāris" which was equal to forty thousand rupees. The same amount with its equivalent sum has been mentioned in the Khulāsat-ul-Kalām⁵ and the Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīm⁶. In the Futūḥāt⁷, the reward paid at the rate of one 'hūn' or gold mohur per line, amounted to nine thousand hūns. But this coin was somehow or other concerned with the 'lārī' coin as is evident from these words occurring in the Futūḥāt itself:

الحمد لله را یک هون بدهند نه هزار هون را که زر لاری بود بر شکران بازگردد به
سلطان یاران برسد

In the 'Ālam Ārā⁸-'Abbāsī⁹ both the amount of reward and the coins in which they were paid, agree completely with those stated above, but here the amount to be carried on several camels' back is not mentioned. The later biographers like 'Ishq and Āzād have chosen to adopt the version of the 'Ālam Ārā in which it is further stated that each of the two authors composed its half. This is similar to one found only in the Ms. copy of the Ma'āthir. But the distribution of the reward equally, i.e. in proportion to their share, seems to have been Iskander Munshī's own creation found nowhere¹⁰ else.

The amount of reward in gold, according to Malik's own statement, was equal in weight to the load of four camels —

چون گلزار ابراهیم به لب چش نبول رسید چهار شکر زر در حجرة ظهوری و
ملک زانو زدند

This is fully supported by the Futūḥāt where the number of camels is not mentioned. But one need not be alarmed for Malik received

4 pp. 397 and 448.

5 Fol. 22

6 Fol. 581

7 p. 373.

8 pp. 132 and 752

9 Even in the 'Ālam Ārā on p. 752 such distribution is not mentioned.

10 Kulliyāt pp. 12-13

reward in gold equal to one camel load by the same pricee on the occasion of the Maiba'ul-Anhār Thereupon Dhuni was so annoyed that he composed a Rubāi attacking Malik¹¹ —

در مدح و ثناءت ای شهنشاہ دکن معذورم دار اگر نہ گفتہ سخن
حریف است کہ ہر یک شکر در گہرم حوں درہزار بیت بد پر گہرم

It is known that the liberal prince rewarded Dhuni¹² equally. Once¹³ again the prince was so much pleased by the poet's repartees that he ordered for the payment of gold in the manner of *abyad* system of reckoning. It is further reported that the same poet got one thousand gold mohurs for composing a caricature of the Sultān to which Malik and Zuhuri refer¹⁴ as follows —

شاہ کہ دشنام بہ رحمتِ حرد یاد دعا را بہ چہ قہمتِ حرد
کاش دشنامش را بہ رخ می حرد و درہائے سوزِ حرد تا با سوزِ حرد

The *Khawān-i-Khalīl*, Zuhūrī and Malik prepared another work on the same model as the foregoing one probably at the instance of the Sultān which bore the title of *Khawān-i-Khalīl*. But unfortunately, so far, no writer has, exclusively, given its true nature. However, Āzād in his statement to the effect that both these poets composed jointly, has referred to this anthology for the obvious reason that he has quoted a sentence from Zuhūrī's preface to this work. Similarly the views of Gulshan and Saxena, though not very significant, prove the existence of the *Khawān-i-Khalīl* beyond any doubt. We have also examined Zuhūrī's own views about the same which, read with other statements, categorically prove that the preface was different from the anthology i.e. the *Khawān-i-Khalīl*, in so much as the former was in prose and was written by Zuhūrī alone, while the latter was in verse and was a joint production of Zuhūrī and Malik both. The exact nature of the book has been given by the latter in the following statement which clearly proves that it was jointly written by them so as to supplement the

11 e.g., vide *Maikhāna* pp 960-61

12 Ibid

13 The *Futuhāt* p 375.

14 *Kulliyāt* Malik fol 76a and *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī* p 826

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं शब्दा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

one may reasonably conclude that his object is literary and critical and not historical

Whatever the case may be both *Sahbā'ī* as well as the footnote writer are incorrect in assigning a proper name to Zuhūrī's preface. The only flaw in the annotation of the above line lies in the wrong substitution of the preface for the actual book itself

The anthology contained five forms of the verse, viz., *qasidas*, *ghazals*, *qit'as*, *mathnawī* and *rubā'īs* as is proved by Malik's following⁴ remark —

گوش و رهاں از گشت و شلود معصو (شده) چشم و چراغ در رنگ و بر حدقه
و دایقه به چاشنی و کلام از لایب حالی مانده —

سالار طبعیت پسندیده چند رنگ نعمت مازول بمدد نزالات خضراب حدس
تصدیه و منزل و قطعه و رباعی و مثنوی

But nothing is known about the numbers of lines it contained and the reward the authors obtained for it. However, Zuhūrī has stated in its preface that he was⁵ in his 70th year and since he was born some time in A. H. 943-44, the preface and the book were written some time before A. H. 1014. Just as both Zuhūrī and Malik wrote prefaces to the *Guẓār-i-Ibrāhīm*, so they did to the *Khawān-i-Khalīl*, the former's being the last in the *Sih Nathr*, while Malik's single available copy being included in the Rāmpūr Ms of his *Kullīyyāt*. It seems they must have adopted the same course in compiling the anthology as they had done earlier. But in the absence of historical data nothing can be said with preciseness.

4 *Kullīyyāt* p 13

5 *Kullīyyāt* p 827 (preface to the *Khawān-i-Khalīl*.)

(19) "CONTRIBUTION OF HINDU POETS AND WRITERS OF
HYDERABAD-DECCAN TO PERSIAN LITERATURE"

by

Q. S. KALIMULLAH HUSAINI

For centuries India and Persia have been neighbours and have had close cultural relations with each other. Their cultures, though distinct to-day, bear close relationship to each other. The same is true of their languages, Sanskrit and Persian, which belong to the Aryan family and are cognate. Besides, hundreds of Persian families residing in Khurasan had been forced by the atrocities of the Persian king Afshar to seek refuge in India. They fled to the Punjab and sought shelter in the district round about Lahore, Multan and Delhi. This is the first instance of the direct historical connection of Persia with India, which sowed the seeds of Persian culture in Indian soil.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmūd and his successors the Persian language progressed to a great extent and Muslims and non-Muslims both adopted it as both a court and a literary language. The Hindus took keen interest in the study of Persian. As a result of this the Hindu nobility, of the Punjab who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavid kings were holding important positions in the State. They also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was due to the continued immigration of cultured Persian families into the Punjab.

Persian language and literature also flourished during the reigns of the Ghūris and Slave kings. The Ghūris were from the beginning devoted to Persian poetry and were subject to Persian influence. The Hindu literati also developed a taste for Persian and spoke and wrote in that language.

During the reign of the Moghul Emperors and their nobility, Persian literature reached its zenith. Especially the courts of Akbar, Jahāngir, Bairām Khān and 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān were cradles of learning and literature. Poets and writers flocked to these courts for fame, honour and reward.

The Qutb Shāhi monarchs of Golkonda did not lag behind these courts. Many of the monarchs were poets themselves and composed verses both in Persian and Dakkhī languages, and their Diwāns are still extant. They were great lovers and patrons of arts and learning. Although it is not within our purview to enter into the details about this dynasty, yet we cannot pass on further without mentioning the names of a few noted Hindu poets and writers of this period. They

were —Girdharilal, the author of the Ta'rikh-i-Zafar-arā-i-Deccan, Munshi Subhan, and the author of Khulāsatul Twārikh. The poets of this period were Birhauan, Hunar, Gian Rai and others.

During the reign of the Āsafjāhi Dynasty the land of the Deccan produced innumerable poets and writers. The Muslims and Hindus of this State played a prominent part in this field and contributed a good deal to Persian literature.

It is a vast subject, and I have, therefore, confined myself only to those poets and writers who enjoyed great reputation and popularity among their compatriots. I have also quoted specimens from their poetry to show its merits.

The following are a few selected poets and writers with whom I would like, for the present, to deal briefly —

Dabir, Mauzoon, Dhahin, Shafiq, Shādān, Shād

DABIR, Dula Rai was born in Burhanpur. He was a nephew of Lala Khushhalchand, Barhat. He was a good poet, an excellent prose-writer and the author of the famous Ta'rikh-i-Āsafi. He died in Burhanpur in 1225 A. H.

The following are a few verses from his poetry —

نه هر انسان هزار ندارد نه هر دریا گهر دارد نه دارد
میادهای را نهان نیست پیدا که می گوید کبر دارد نه دارد

وقت جوانی جلوس است بهایان منده
نه تنگ تنگ بود و سمت مهدان منده

می نهد دخی تیر نکش بر سر خاک
تبع از او منده حلقه مرغان منده

2. *Mauzoon*, Raja Madan Singh was appointed Accountant-General in the reign of Āsaf Jāh. For his meritorious services Nāsir Jung Shaheed awarded him a *manṣab* of rupees 2,000, colours, drums and the title of Raja. Musṭafānagar Fort was under his protection. Once, it is said that the English attacked the Fort in the year 1199 A. H. and the Raja defended it to his last breath and succumbed to the wounds he received in the battle. He was an able man, highly competent both in prose and poetry, and left a *diwān*. He was also noted for his wit and humour.

Ghulām 'Alī Āzād trained and patronised him

A few verses from his poems are quoted below —

بویا کلند مردگان شکوه ملک
موزوں چه نکلماست که در چشم زار نیست

لب او کر درین محفل تبسم آشنا گردد
دل از ما به روزی مسمی رمی آب از گهر گردد

حسن او به دلفاب می بینم در کس آینه اب می بینم

در سر کوه تو دلت آینه ترسان ترسان
چند گل از چمن حسن به دامن دامن

ز دات و لا صفات ناصر بود چنان را بهار حوی
بهر و اقبال و نغم و دولت چو حیر سازد جدا پدید

3 *Shafiq*, Lachhminarayan His grandfather Bhawanidas came from Lahore to the Deccan with the army of 'Ālamgīr and settled down in Aurangabad His father Hansaram wrote a book entitled 'Darbār-i-Āsaf Jāhī, which contains laudatory poems on the reign of Āsaf Jāh

Shafiq was born in Aurangabad on the 2nd Safar 1158 A H From his early youth he was educated and patronized by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgramī Samsā'ud Dawlā awarded him a manṣab and the title of Dulichand He had an excellent taste for poetry In the beginning he composed verses under the pen-name of Sahāb, but when Āzād came to know about it he changed it to Shafiq

Shafiq composed verses both in Persian and Urdu, and was considered one of the best of the pupils of Āzād He held a high position among his contemporaries in poetry, historiography and authorship His verses are characterised by simplicity of diction, gracefulness and high poetical excellence His poetical works comprise two voluminous diwāns, in Persian and Urdu, but, unfortunately, they have not been published as yet His famous work entitled Gul-i-Ra'nā "Lives of Poets" is also unpublished In this excellent work he imitated Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, his tutor, in scrutiny of facts, carefulness, accuracy and research He has clear ideas about the subject he chooses to write on He died in Aurangabad

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminīyopanisadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमान शब्दा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

At the time when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh left for the Deccan, Shādān's ancestor Moolchand applied to Nizām-ul-Mulk for permission to accompany him. Thus he arrived in the Deccan.

In course of time Chandulal was appointed as the Collector of the Customs Department, and rising from one high post to another he was ultimately raised to the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad, and was awarded the highest title of Maharajah.

Maharajah Shādān was a great patron of learning. Being himself a poet and an author of high rank, he held 'ulamās, poets and all sorts of learned men in great respect. During the period of his prime-ministership poets and learned men flocked to his court from Persia, Hind, Sind, and other places. They were paid good salaries, the minimum being one hundred rupees and the maximum one thousand. He used to hold poetic assemblies and literary discussions after 12 o'clock at night. He composed verses in Persian and Urdu, and has diwāns in both the languages, which have been published. His poetry was characterised by sublimity of thought and simplicity of diction. While he revealed literary taste in the gathering of learned men he discussed with mystics problems of the unity of God, path of truth and other doctrines of mysticism. Sometimes he eagerly listened to people recounting the miracles of the saints and at other times he argued with poets about the beauties of proverbs, metaphors and similes of the ancient poets. At times he attended meetings where devotional and mystical poems were sung. In the company of the historians he listened to anecdotes of chivalry and generosity of the great men of the past and felt edified, while he trembled at their cruelties and brutal deeds. With astrologers he talked of probabilities, of good fortune and misfortune.

In short he used to have talks with different people on different topics till 2 or 3 o'clock at night. In spite of his going to bed so late, he was an early riser, and soon after that he was occupied with his daily routine work. His greatest fame and popularity were derived chiefly from his charity and munificence.

A few verses from his Diwan are reproduced below —

بسکه در لایز و دم جان و دلم پرورد است

اب هر رنگ ندارد که بون شهید ما

شعر شادان بجه عنوان بقلم نظم کند

اندازم از اطاف تو سبزه است رنگ و ریخت ما

شبه زلف هم آغوشم از شود دلبر
 شب برونات بمانم تمام صبح را
 زلف دولت چارون عمر لعل شادان
 کجا خیال که تا به برم مسکین را
 مکان لا مکالمه در بحر دل جا کجا آرم
 لعل از عیب می آید که اینها لعل اندازم

6 Shād, Maharajah Kishen Pershad, was Peshkar, Minister and Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Deccan. His father's name was Raja Hari Kishen. Maharaja Shād was born in Hyderabad in 1281 A. H., and was brought up and educated here. His maternal grandfather, Chandulal had no son, therefore, Kishen Pershad was taken care of as his own son. He learnt Arabic and Persian from six scholars of these languages. He acquired great skill in calligraphy. From the early part of his youth he began composing verses and got them corrected by Bijhulal, Tankin. Day by day his poetry progressed well. It is interesting to note that he also became a pupil of the late Nizām, Malibool 'Ali Khān, with the pen-name "Āsāf" in poetry. Being a great mystic and pantheist the greater part of his poetry deals with the topics of mysticism, pantheism and unity of God. This was greatly appreciated by the mystics. He was a staunch believer in equality in merit of all religions, therefore, he treated Sāfis, Pandits and Christian missionaries with great respect. High and low were all alike to him. In politeness he was unrivalled. His bounty knew no bounds. He was a great scholar of Persian and Urdu. He composed verses in these languages and his diwāns have been published. One printed diwān, Khumkāda-i-Rāhat especially contains eulogies on the Prophet Muhammad. In this he has given expression to his deepest feelings of love and reverence for the Prophet, and the strong desire, which he cherished, in visiting the Prophet's country and his tomb. He was a gentleman with all round accomplishments. In short he possessed such sterling qualities as are not to be found in any man in this age of materialism.

He passed away in 1359 A. H. in Hyderabad, Deccan.

He was a versatile writer and produced about 40 books on different subjects, among his books are —

برم خیال (۳ جلدین) 'مطلع جزو شید' 'از معانی و زوایا' 'مختصر الفرائض'
 مثنوی آینه وجود، ایصال شان، نعت شاد، و غیره۔

The few verses quoted below will hardly do justice to his simplicity of style, sublimity of thought, critical insight and poetic excellence —

مست تو ام از باد و جام آرادم
مهد تو ام از دانه و دام آرادم

مقصود من از کعبه و بهائیه موئی
وریه من ازین هر دو مقام آرادم

بجز آن حواحه هند الهی شاد
کس دیگر مرا مشکل کشا نیست

لست داعیه غیر عشقه در دلم درن دگر
منزل یار است ایلحا منزل بهکا نه بهست

دل که بود دینام رقیب شد آخر
گمان نبود که من مار آستین دارم

یک نفس غیر از وصال دوست نتوان زیستن
در طریق عشق دشوار است آسان زیستن

توبه کردی از گناه و غرق عصیا لی غفور
والے بر تو منکمل مردن پشیمان زیستن

Besides those persons who have been described above, there are other Hindu poets, authors and learned men whose names at least, must be mentioned here For instance —

Raghuender Rao, Jadhav, the composer of quatrains, Raja Giridhari Pershad, Bāqī, Raja Narsingraj 'Alī, the poets, Raja Rajeshwar Rao Asghar (the compiler of the modern Persian Farhang, whose great Dictionary of Modern Persian words is yet to be published), Raja

Makhan Lal Girdharilal and Bal Pershad (the authors of the *Tā'rikh Yādgar-i-Makhanlal*, *Tā'rikh-i-Zafar Arā-i-Deccan* and *Gulzar-i-Mu'asirin*) Baṣāvan Shādān, (the author of *Amir Nāma*), Āzād, Saran Bali Gauṇ, the relative of Raja Shivaraj Bahadur, and the other poets, Tamkin, Rai Bhujulal, Hāqir Mahasingh, Dāgh, Lala Nihal-karan, Fāḍul, Rai Jawala Pershad, Raja Madansingh, Mahtāb, Mohanlal, Nafees, Rai Bhawani Pershad, Hunai, Gian Rai, Waqār, Mudabbur-ud-Dowla, Munshi'ul Mulk, Raja Jawala Pershad, Mukham Jang and many others

VII—PRĀKRITA AND JAINISM

(20) ON THE TEXT OF THE DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA

by

PROFESSOR DR A N UPADHYE,

KOLHAPUR

The Text of the Dhūrtākhyāna, a unique satire in Indian literature, has been edited by Śrī Jinavijaya Muni¹ from three Mss, two of which, namely A and B, look quite old and may be assigned to the 16th century A D There is not the least doubt that it is the work of Haribhadra who flourished in the middle of the 8th century A D² Contrasted with the antiquity of the author, it has to be admitted that the Mss of the Dhūrtākhyāna are of a very late period To reach an ideally critical text, it is necessary that older Mss of the Dhūrtākhyāna must be secured and collated In the meanwhile I am presenting here a couple of passages quoted in the Sanskrit commentary of Abhayadeva³ (of the second half of the 11th century A D) on the Praśnavyākaraṇapāṅga. Abhayadeva does not mention his source, but the gāthās quoted have close agreement with the text of the Dhūrtākhyāna

The Dhūrtākhyāna II 28-30 run thus

पुत्रिष्वपि जगतिष्वपि वचसि महाभूषणजिह्वं गदिरं ।

सावयवमं जलेयं महोपमाय तदिह बरं ॥

वीर्यपरंपरेण योजितं अभिकृतं सुधिरं कल ।

कुटुम्बं तु भागलाभं अदं सुमीहं तं कुतः ॥

तस्य सुतासुतयावरमभुज्यन्ते वयसव जय साव ।

अहं भावं ता गामो कहं यु य माह्वं वाकुं के ॥

With these may be compared the following lines quoted by Abhayadeva⁴

सत्रायकप्रसूतमुनववादिनां सतमिरधमाचक्षते ।

पुष्प आशि जगमिष पञ्चमहामुनवज्जिव गभीर ।

स्वायथं जलेषु मह्यमाय तर्हि ब्रह्म ॥ १ ॥

वीर्यपरेण योजित आचिञ्च सुरकाज्जो कुह ।

कुहं सुमानायां जगन् भूमी य संवृत् ॥ २ ॥

तथ्य सुरासुरवारगसमन्वयस्यवप्यप जग सत्य ।

उपपद्य मयियमिष बभञ्ज -सुराध-सत्यमि ॥ ३ ॥

The first five lines have much in common, if not practically identical. The last line shows that Abhayadeva is not *directly* quoting from the Dhūrtākhyāna. He specifies the source of Brahmanḍapurāṇa. It is quite reasonable to presume, therefore, that it must be an earlier passage which, by adding a relevant last line to suit the contextual argument, Haribhadra has employed in his Dhūrtākhyāna. By keeping the first five lines nearly identical, he has presented his facts in an authentic manner, based on an earlier source.

The Dhūrtākhyāna II 32-37 stand thus

सो किल जुगतस्तस्य उदययोगययीकए कोप ।

वीर्यपरेण योजितो उदयजगमि ॥

पिच्छुह्म गवतसथापरपण्डसुराधर तिरिक्कज्जोणी अ ।

पणययथ जगमिष पञ्चमहामुनवज्जिव ॥

पणविहे जगमिष पिच्छुह्म याम्मोहपायथं अह सो ।

संदरगिरि एव तुंग महासमुद्रं य धिरीयय ॥

जंघमि तत्स सयय ज्जुह्म तर्हि बाज्जो मयभिरामो ।

संपुण्यसरीरुज्जो मिदमरुक्कुं चिज्जुह्मो ॥

हयो पसारिओ से रितिया एहेहि वच्छ मयिओ अ ।

आधे मसं विज्जमाहु मा मरिहिसि उदयवाहीए ॥

सेय य धिपु हयो कोहज्जो सो रिसी उज्जोतस्त ।

पिच्छुह्म उजरमि अय ससेवयकायाया सव ॥

With these may be compared the following lines quoted by Abhayadeva

तथा—

सो किञ्च जलपसमुत्थेषु ह्यपयोगमवमि जोगमिम ।

बीती परपरेण भोजतो उदयमवमिम ॥ १ ॥

स किञ्च मार्कण्डेयि ।

पेचङ्गु सो तस्य वावरपण्डसुरवरतिरिक्कतोणीय ।

एगत्रव जगमिण्य महभुवविमज्जिय गुहिर ॥ २ ॥

पवविहे जगम्मी पेचङ्गु नगोहपायव सहसा ।

मवरतिरि व तु ग महासमुद् व विचिञ्चुत् ॥ ३ ॥

खंभिम तस्स सयय अचङ्गु हहि जाल्लो सखसिरायो । [विष्णुरित्थमः]

सविद्धो सुद्धहिअलो मिठकोमलकु चियलुकेसो ॥ ४ ॥

हत्थो पसारिअो से महरिसियो एह तत्थ मणिअो य ।

सय हम् विज्जगलु मा मरिहिसि उदयवुद्धीए ॥ ५ ॥

तेण य वैचु हत्थे व मीकिअो सो रिसी तअो तरस ।

पेचङ्गु उदरमि जय ससेज्जणकायण सभ ॥ ६ ॥

ति, पुन' सष्टिकात्ते विष्णुना सृष्ट कुर्वन्तता चास्य प्रतीतिवर्धितत्वात् ।

The agreement between these two passages is substantial, and the apparent differences are merely verbal. Here too Abhayadeva does not mention either Haribhadra or the Dhūrtākhyāna. As in the case of the above passage, there is no positive clue to the source. It is possible to argue both ways: either Abhayadeva has taken this passage from the Dhūrtākhyāna, or both Haribhadra and Abhayadeva are using an earlier source for their respective purposes.

Though the Dhūrtākhyāna is studied in details⁶, there is still much scope to study its antecedents and sources in Indian literature⁷. The first passage possibly indicates that Haribhadra had before him some Prākṛta sources. A story like the one narrated by him is said to be found in the Nāstīhacūṛṇ⁸. I request other scholars to shed more light on the sources of the Dhūrtākhyāna.

FOOT-NOTES

- 1 Singhī Jain Series, No 19, Bombay 1944
- 2 See the concluding gāthās and especially the symbolic term *viraha*
- 3 Śrī-Praśnavyākaraṇāṅgam, Āgamodayasamiti Ed, Bombay 1919, pp 33 f
- 4 I have reproduced these passages almost as they are in the Āgamodayasamiti edition
- 5 Better read *vithinnanā*
- 6 See my essay 'Dhūrtākhyāna A Critical Study' included in the ed. of this work by Śrī Jinavijaya Muni noted above
- 7 It is strange, if not audacious, on the part of Mr. H R. Kapadia (Anekānta-jaya-patākā, Vol II, Baroda 1947, Intro p 125) to say specifically that I have not noted the common verse in the Prabhāvakacarita and its mention of Kitava-kathānaka pañcaka He has appropriated not only the contents but also expressions from my Critical Study He should have read the whole Essay with open eyes and balanced mind, especially the foot-note No 1 on p 47.
- 8 My friend Dr J C Jain informs me that the story is found in the Piṣṭukā, Vol I, p 92 This book has not been accessible to me as yet

(21) FORGOTTEN LAND OF JAIN HERITAGE, PĀTALIPUTRA—THE
ANCIENT THIRUPADARIPULIYUR IN DRAVID DASH]

by

SRI D G MAHAJAN

Jain Ācārya Samantabhadra's name has been associated with the *Pāṭaliputra* and it has been a belief of the scholars till late, that Ācārya Samantabhadra has visited this Pāṭaliputra-named Patna at present. This belief has a basis in the following rhyme in Sanskrit in the inscription —

पुर्व पाटलीपुत्रमर्धे मेरी मया साधिता ।
परचात् माखव सीतु उक्त विवश काशीपुरे वैदिके ॥
प्राप्सोह करहाटक बहुकट विवाशकट सकट ।
यावार्धे विचराम्यह करपते बाहु^१क विकीरीत ॥^२

It is an inscription found at Sravanabelgola, a most famous Tirtha-ksetra holy place of the Jain religion, since before the Christian Era, in Mysore State, South India. This being the only one of its kind, naturally much importance is given to it. My learned friend Pandit Jugalkishor Muktiyar² and others, on the strength of this inscription are led to believe that Ācārya Samantabhadra visited Pāṭaliputra-Patna during the travel he made to the country of the then Bīratavarsī, as referred to in the above inscription,

2 While on tour of South India, on the occasion of the Indian History Congress sessions held at Madras and Annamalai Universities in the years 1945 and 1946 respectively, for the research of the Jain culture in the ages before, I came across a town called Cuddalore, which was then known as Pāṭaliputra and hence a doubt arose in my mind as to whether the reference to Pāṭaliputra in the above inscription as the

1 Sravanabelgola inscription No 54 old and 67 new. It is also called "Mallisenaprasasti" which was written in Śaka Samvat 1050 i.e. A.D. 1100.

2 "Ātmanīmāṃsā" p. 4 referred to in 'Swami Samantabhadra' by Pt. Jugalkishor Muktiyar.

place which Ācārya Samantabhadra visited is to this Pāṭaliputra, a new find or to the other, which is now known as Patna in Bihar-North India

3 For this one has to test the question from the following points of view —

(a) Why should Ācārya Samantabhadra have gone to Pāṭaliputra in North India and whether it was a seat of learning and centre of religious activities then-in his times? Whether at all the town was in a flourishing condition as it was a capital of the Magadha—in that period? No doubt that Pāṭaliputra was a flourishing city in the times of Chandragupta Maurya, as the capital of Magadha. It lost its importance after the overthrow of the imperial throne of the Mauryan Dynasty, sometime in 184 B C, when Pusyamitra and his son Agnimitra—the founder of the Śuṅga Dynasty, occupied it, invading Magadha and tremendous destruction has been suffered by the capital Pāṭaliputra, and Agnimitra took his capital to Vidiṣā in Malva the modern Besanagar near Bhilsa in Gwalior State. The other capital was Avanti-Ujjain being at the other end of the Magadha Empire³

Again Pāṭaliputra was invaded by king Kharavela of Kalinga Desha, and of Hatigumpha fame and complete destruction was made in the 1st century B C of the city of Pāṭaliputra, due to the severe blow at the hands of King Kharavela when he invaded Magadha and made Agnimitra his vassal⁴. Thus evidently it will be proved that Pāṭaliputra was under complete destruction and never regained its lost importance and magnificence, glory and grandeur for ever. All these events took place before the Christian Era and since then there is nothing to the credit of Pāṭaliputra to show that it had regained the same past days, upto the times of Ācārya Samantabhadra, which means a very long and most considerable gap of time of nearly five hundred years or so.

(b) Whether it was a seat of learning at the time of the visit of Ācārya Samantabhadra? Samantabhadra's time is so far fixed or apposed as Śaka Samvat 60, i.e. 138 A D^{4b}. From the above discussion it is clear that as Pāṭaliputra was under complete destruction, it cannot be a seat of learning and of importance in religious activities. Secondly why should Ācārya Samantabhadra go to Pāṭaliputra at such length from a place in Tamilnadu, when there were other most important

3 Ancient India' Vol No 4, page 113 and 114, by Dr T L Shah

4 (a) Ancient India' Vol No 4, page 113 and 114, by Dr, T L. Shah

(b) Mr Lewis Rice in his "Inscriptions at Sravanabelgola" and preface to "Karnatakshabdanusasan" "Pattavali" published in Bhandarkar Oriental Report 1883-84, page 320 and "Swami Samantabhadra" page 196 a Hindi book by Pandit Jugalkishor Muktyar

place of learning, namely Kanchipuram, Madura, etc, so near from the place from which Ācārya came in Tamil land the ancient Thondaimandalam. In the time of Ācārya, Urayur, Kanchi Madura and others were big centres of learning and all were in South India, full of Jain Mathas-monasteries, temples-Bastis and Pallis, schools etc of the Jain religion⁵. It is also presumed that Ācārya might have taken Dīkṣā and become Muni at Kanchipuram or near about it as it appears from the later part of the said inscription⁶ (c) Was Ācārya in a position to undertake such a long and hazardous travel, when he was suffering from a deadly disease "Bhasmakavyādhī" and hence can not be said to have undertaken such a risky travel at the cost of life, a good for nothing. From the sequence of the text of the inscription it appears probable that Ācārya might have visited Pāṭaliputra of Southern India-Tamilnadu, which was very near to his birth place and dīkṣāsthanam etc⁷. This will be clear from the following possibilities

4 Pāṭaliputra in Tamilnadu is made out as follows —

(a) In South India Kanchipuram or Kanchanapuram-the present Canjeeveram, Madura, Urayur, Bhaddalpur, Patalipur, Uragapur, etc, were the great centres of learning and religion, activities and debates used to take place amongst Jains, Buddhists, Śivaites and Vaiṣṇavites on religious subjects. "Bhaddalpur" referred to in other inscriptions and manuscripts was no other than Pāṭaliputra or Patalipur, the ancient name in Tamil was 'THIRUPADARIYUR', the corrupt form of which is 'Thirupapuriyur'-the present CUDDALORE TOWN, the head-quarter of the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency⁸.

5 "Swami Samantabhadra" page No 12 a Hindi book by Pandit Jugalkishore Muktiyar

6 Sravanabelgola inscription No 54 old and 67 new, as thus

काष्ठां नानादकोह सज्जनिततनुलांशुशे पांडुपिडः ।

पुण्डरीकेशाक्षमिषुर्दशरपुरनगरे नृहमोजी परिज्ञाद् ॥

वाराणस्यामभूषणिवरचदत्त पांडुरांगरपरवी ।

राजन् वरदासित कश्चि स चक्षु पुरतो जैननिग्रधवादी ॥ १ ॥

7 Studies in South Indian Jainism page No 30

Prof A F Rudolf Hoernle-Indian Antiquity Vol. XXI -

There father Pattavalles of the Digambara pages 60 and 61

8 Prof. A F Rudolf Hoernle-Reports on the Archaeological Survey of India Vol No 1906-0-7.

In my tour in January 46, I visited the town of Cuddalore and made survey of the most ancient sites of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. The PETTAI⁹ is the very ancient suburb of the town, nearly 2 miles away. There is a very old Jain idol nearly 4½ ft high in Padmāsana posture placed in the premises of a private person of Mandam village who celebrate the function supposing it the idol of Viṣṇu. The idol is placed on a raised platform under a big tree. It is coated with dark coating, due to applying oil by the villagers at the time of worship. No animal sacrifice is made before the said idol, the identity of the idol being not known to them. From here a straight road goes to 'THIRIAHINDRAPURAM' a very ancient site, at the foot of a hill 100 ft in height, on the bank of the river 'Gadilam'. There are several ruins and relics of the ancient times, spread all over the area of 12-15 miles, of the old city of 'Pāṭaliputra'. There are ancient caves, palaces and temples, shrines, Mathas monasteries, etc., in ruins fully buried under earth and debris, showing their existence in the past by old pillars and stones out of the said ruins. The main temple of Viṣṇu is also ancient and main shrine dates to the Pallava Period and fine specimen of ancient architecture is seen. The river Gadilam that flows on the North of Thirupappuliur at present, used to run by the south of it in olden days, along the Eastern Ghat Valley and even today we can notice the old bed of the river, which is very fertile land under cultivation at present. Visit to this place will quite convince a person that river was flowing on the south of the town in olden days. Some years before there was one Jain idol in the premises of the temple, but it is not found now. This idol was brought from the ruins in the part of the place⁹.

The environment of Thiruvendipuram, the most ancient spot of Pāṭaliputra, can be verified fully and satisfactorily on the strength of the Tamil works¹⁰, which deal with information regarding the existence of ancient Pāṭaliputra, in the heart of the Tamilnadu, from the very beginning of the Christian Era to the period of King Mahendravarmān I, who was converted from Jainism to Saiva sect at the instance of Saint Appar, who was himself a convert from Jain religion. The Viṣṇu temple in Thiruvendipuram has a very lofty Gopuram and large Sabhāmaṇḍapam, Gaibhagṛham etc., about which it is said that Muni Vyāghrapāda worshiped Śiva under the tree of Padarī or Patali or Padali and since then it got this name.

From Cuddalore Pauruṭi town is nearly 15 miles away, which can be conveniently visited by railway train. A straight road goes to Tiruvadikka; nearly 1½ miles from the town of Pauruṭi. This is a small village nowadays having a most ancient temple which originally

9 Epigraphica Indica Vol No 5 and Vol 331

10 Tamil "Pariyaparaṇam", "Sthalaparaṇam", and "Thevaram" Rhimes etc.

belonged to Jain religion. The temple is famous by the name "Gupadhareccharam" which might have been worshiped by a great Jain Acharya Gunadhara or Gunabhadra, or the idol in the temple might have been installed by him. Besides it can not give a sound interpretation by calling so. The temple is in utter ruins. In the Mūlagṛham there is Śiva Lingam of a very large size, made of black granite with shining polish and Shalunka-the Yonipitham below it is very beautifully and artistically carved. There is also a Viṣṇu image in Sabhāmaṇḍapam. The original Jain Tirthankar idol which was in the temple on the main Vedisthānam, has been thrown away and placed just outside the temple, under a Neem Tree by the side of the main street. The image is nearly 3½ ft in height in Padmāsana posture. Its original pedestal and upper portion of the head and face has been damaged badly. There is no inscription and Lāchanam on the pedestal of the image, but from the architecture it can be assigned to the Pallava time!!

At a distance of few furlongs there is a big temple named "Virāṭeśvaraim". It has a very lofty Gopuram in the rampart walls, inside there is a little tank and further there is Main Temple of Śrī Virāṭeśvara. In the compound premises there is one Jain Image in Padmāsana posture, without any Lāchanam and inscription on the pedestal, nearly as large as the Jain image of the "Gupadhar Viccharam" temple and of the same type, but not mutilated or damaged or obliterated, but in good condition, from all points of view. This is the same temple where famous saint Appar was converted from his original religion to Saiya Sect. In fact this Appar who was Jain by birth became Jain Muni and was named "Dharmasen", but he was very badly displeased due to difference of opinion amongst the Jain Sangha, whom he was leading as a head of it while he was on the way to visit Jain Tirthaksetra-holy place named "Thirunarainkūram" or "Thirunarangondai" on the banks of the river Gadilam, only 40 miles from Pāṭaliputra from where he was started. He returned to this Virāṭeśvaraim temple and got converted himself and accepted the new sect Śaivism. Afterwards he converted the said Virāṭeśvaraim temple, which was originally Śrī Mahāvīrā Temple. This Jain Mahāvīr Temple was in the western part of the city of Pāṭaliputra the then "Thirupadaripuliyur" or Thirupparuliyur, which is nowadays 15 miles away from the present town of Cuddalore in the above mentioned small old village Tiruvadikai or Thirivadi, on the Gadilam.

In support of the above investigation of the old sites of ancient Pāṭaliputra, let us examine some of the ancient Tamil and other works

11 South Arcot District Gazetteer of the Madras Presidency

12 Tamil "Periyapurāṇam"

Tamil "Tevaram Rhimes" sung by Tamil Saints from time to time

They throw light on the existence of Pāṭaliputra in Tamilnadu in the days of Ācārya Samantahhadra. It is well known fact that the city of Kanchipuram was the capital of Pallava Kings who ruled over the country of Thondaimandalam and the Telugu country upto the river Krishna. The country between two Pinaras was called Thondayamandal or Thondainadu. The present North Arcot Dist. of the Madras Presidency was called the Southern Pinar and the parts of the Nellore District and the Eastern Ghats were called the Southern Pinar. This country was divided into so many Nadus and each Nadu into many Kottams. This was the land which produced many great men and personalities, such as Pandits, Scholars, Munis, Yatis, Logicians, Philosophers, administrators, Naiyayiks, Vedantis various religions and sects that existed in the country¹³. Almost the whole Tamil literature is full of work of merit in literary field and civic life of the country Thondaimandalam and thus Kanchipuram was one of the big centres of learning in north of the country, with Pāṭaliputra in the centre and Madura in the southern part of the Tamilnadu¹⁴.

It is quite clear from the Tamil works¹⁵ that Pāṭaliputra was a very large and flourishing city, equally famous as the Pāṭaliputra-the capital of Magadha, in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The city was spread far and wide, nearly 15 miles. This ancient Pāṭaliputra is mostly described in almost all the Tamil works and literature as the city of "Thirupadaripuliyur"-Thiruppapuliyur¹⁶. Now let us see how far Thiruppapuliyur means a city of Pāṭaliputra. The city was called after a tree Padari in Tamil, while Puliyur means a tiger village (i.e. Puli-a tiger and Ur or Oor-a place). Puliyur is the suffix given to those places villages, towns, cities, etc. where Muni Vyāghrapād (Muni having a tiger like legs with lower body and above a human body) worshiped Siva Lingam under the tree Padari. The peculiarity of this tree Padari is said to be that it bears only flowers and no fruits, the leaves and flowers have got the value of disinfecting and hence it is used in Homas of the Saivaites, as combination of Vibhūties i.e. sacred ashes. The tree Padari is also called Padali or Patali in Sanskrit and the place Patalipur or Padalipur or Pāṭaliputra, and the forest round about the place is called "Pataliyana" or as given in Sanskrit. Such type of description has been found in almost all the Tamil works and literature¹⁷.

13 Rao Bahadur Pro. A. Chakravarti M.A. Madras-his Historical Preface to "Kural" translated in English

14 South Arcot Dist. Gazetteer of Madras Presidency

15 Tamil "Patalipur Purāṇam" manuscript No 1136/5

16 Tamil "Puliyur Pūranam" in Sanskrit,

17 A. Tamil "Parjatakachai Mahatma" Mass No 11303.

Also we learn from Purāṇa^{17b} and other works very fine description of this Pāṭaliputra, written at different times by different writers. While giving account of Patalivanam which was round about the city of Pāṭaliputra in those days through which the river Gadilam was flowing near the city it is said Patalivanam was abode of Munis and Rishis for centuries. We get even today a great number of Samadhis-thānams or Nishadis of the ancient times with the prehistorical burial grounds spread throughout the Patalivana area¹⁸

The existence of the city of Pāṭaliputra is also supported by the Archaeological finds such as inscriptions and other material found in excavations made by Government-amongst which inscriptions are found from the ruined ancient temples at Pāṭaliputra. Out of which one was in the Garbhagrham of the said temple. This inscription gives two stanzas about the description of the temple, which begin with "Talatya Thirupadaripuliyur" and states that the temple in the town of Patali of thick foliage has been founded for the deity named "Kadanyajom Mahadev" etc.¹⁹ Thus it is quite clear that "Thiru" in Tamil means "Sri" in Sanskrit, "Puli" in Tamil means a form of tiger and Ur in Tamil means a "Pura" in Sanskrit. In short it gives complete reference to the existence of the ancient Pāṭaliputra.

Even the Government records give us the information that throw sufficient light over the existence of the ancient Pāṭaliputra in South India, as described up till now in the above paras. It says thus "In Cuddalore which is the old Thirupadaripuliyur, there is the big temple honoured by the songs of Saiva Saints. There is the Chola inscription in the temple. It appears that during the times of Appar, the Jain Temple in this place was demolished and a Temple of Siva called "Gunapatiswaram" was built by Mahendravarman²⁰ at Thiruvadihai on the river Gadilam." Further we get reference in the publication that Pāṭaliputra was being called also as "Palibotra"²¹

17 b Tamil "Kanchi Puranam" all manuscripts from the Maharaja Sarfoji Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore city, South India

18 Tamil "Periyapuranam part II page 52 under the heading "Thirupuliyur and Titupuliyuratam" or "Tiruvittam" (Both Mass in the Tanjore Library)

19 Tamil work "Thirupadaripuliyur-Kalambakam" a work verified structively directory by M. T. V. K. T. Tewar

20. "District History of South Arcot" by Mr. P. V. Jagadiah Ayya of the Archaeological Survey of India, page 35

21. Mr. Apté's Dictionary page 1046 and "Classical Account of India" and

(b) The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India by Mr. Nundalal Day, M. A., B. L.

which was destroyed by the river that was flowing by the town in the middle of the 8th century A D Besides the destruction made by nature-rivers etc of the old city of Pāṭaliputra, it was more and more the scene of dreadful and tremendous destruction made by Mahendravarmān I of Mādura and Saint Appar the new convert to Saiva sect, and they jointly began to give such a crushing blow to Jain religion that it was absolutely rooted out from the land of Tamiḻ, by converting the Jains and their possessions and associations and ultimately destroying Jain temples-Basus and Pāḻis, Mathas-monasteries, Chaityas, caves, caverns, holy places, Jain idols and images carved on the Jain pillars, Mahamandapams, etc. It is said that thousands of Jains had to sacrifice from the hands of these converts

In the vicinity of this ancient Pāṭaliputra there are good many ancient Jain places still in existence, such as Thirunarankuḍram, Thirukkōilur, Devanur, Tondur, Perumdur etc In some of the villages round about them, there are many ancient Jain Samādhis-thānamis-Nishadhis and as such the tradition is that nearly 6000 Munis Samādhis-thānamis are at Thiruvannamalai and Thirukkōilur, in South Arcot Dist. No doubt there are prehistorical burial grounds spread all over the part in great number as compared to any other place in Tamiḻnadu There are also ancient natural caverns and caves still in dilapidated condition at Kalarayan Hills This district specially was a great centre of the Jains and their religion was quite at its zenith from the very beginning of the Christian Era, upto the times of Mahendravarmān I (6th century A D)²²

From the above discussion the following facts are clear—(1) Pāṭaliputra—the present Patna was not at its zenith and important place in the 2nd century A D when Ācārya Samantabhadra is said to have lived (2) Ācārya Samantabhadra might have visited the Pāṭaliputra in Tamiḻ land the ancient Thoodaimandalam-South India, which is associated with other cities when Jain religion and culture had attained the highest degree of importance

Thus I have made an attempt to show this in my humble way I have nothing to say about other scholars who also must have based their ideas about Pāṭaliputra Patna, on some records or other I have given this only with a view that the scholars may again try to find the truth in the light of observations made by me on the subject matter

22' (a) Gazetteer of the South Arcot Dist. and archaeological reports of the southern circle, Survey office Madras

(b) Rao Bahadur Prof. A. Chakravarti M A.—preface to "Kural" English translation

(22) PUSPADANTA'S RĀMĀYANA AND ITS COMPARISON WITH
VĀLMIKI'S RĀMĀYANA

by

SRI V M KULKARNI M A

Puṣpadanta gives the Rāmāyana version in Sandhis (or Paricchedas) 69-79 (both inclusive) of his Mahāpurāṇa, composed in the Apabhramśa language. These 11 Sandhis are of varied length, each Sandhi being divided into Kadavakas, unequal in number, thus Sandhi 69 has the largest number of Kadavakas, viz, 35 while Sandhi 76 has the fewest number of them, viz, 10. The titles of the various Sandhis are eloquent of the subject matter dealt with. These titles give an idea of the contents of the poem and serve as a table of contents.

- 69 रामककयभरहसत हयुवलीयामनाभयिभारययाम
- 70 सीयाविवाहकवजायं
- 71 शारव-भ्रातमयंरावयमयजोहण
- 72 सीयाहरण
- 73 सुगीवहयुवतकुमाराममयसीयादस्य
- 74 हयुसतदूषयमयं
- 75 पाणिपिहययारामककयविजासाहण
- 76 यदयययमोहय जकावाह
- 77 राहवरावयवकसंयहय
- 78 रावययिहयय विहीलयपहबंजो
- 79 रामककययाह गुयकितय

With these preliminary remarks, we turn to Rāma's story as found in this ornate poem. Divested of all rhetorical embellishments, poetical descriptions of nature etc, and digressions that are not essential to the understanding of the story, we get the following outline of the Rāmāyana as presented by Puṣpadanta —

King Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha requests Indrabhūti Gautama, the principal pupil of Mahāvira, to instruct him correctly regarding

the life of Rāma, in accordance with Mahāvīra's own instructions, as the Rāma story told by Vālmīki contains many absurdities and lies regarding Rāma, Rāvaṇa, etc. — *Indrabhūti*, thereupon, narrated the life history of Rāma as follows —

In the city of Ratanapura in the Malaya country there was a King *Prajāpati*. His wife *Kāntā* gave birth to a son called *Candracūla* (the soul of *Lakṣmaṇa*). *Vijaya* (the soul of *Rāma*), the son of the King's minister, was a friend of *Candracūla*. In their youth they carried off by force *Kuberdatā*, the wife of a merchant called *Śrīdatā*. The King, when informed of this incident, ordered his minister to take them to the forest and kill them. The minister took them to the forest and showed them to a Jain monk, *Mahābala*, by name. He told the minister that the two youths were destined to be *Baladeva* and *Vasudeva* in their third birth. They then turned monks, practised austerities. *Candracūla* once saw *Suprabha* *Baladeva* and *Puruṣottama* *Vāsudeva* on their way, and entertained a *Nidāna* that he should enjoy a similar fortune in his future birth. The two monks, after their death, were born as *Goda* *Maṇicūla* and *Suvarṇacūla*. In their subsequent birth they were born as sons to King *Daśaratha* by his wives *Subalā* and *Kaikeyī*. *Suvarṇacūla* was born of *Subalā* (birth day *Phālguna* *Kṛṣṇa* *Trayodaśī*, *Māgha* *Nakṣatra*) and named *Rāma*, while *Maṇicūla* of *Kaikeyī* (birth day *Māgha* *Śukla* *Pratipad* *Viśākhā* *Nakṣatra*) and named *Lakṣmaṇa*. *Rāma* was of fair complexion while *Lakṣmaṇa* of a dark one. Besides these two, *Daśaratha* had two more sons called *Bharata* and *Śatrughna*. He was ruling over *Vārāṇasī* but subsequently, after the end of the *Sagara* family, he migrated to *Ayodhyā*.

Now there was a King *Janaka*, by name, who ruled over *Mithilā*. He was a follower of the sacrifice cult. He expressed his willingness to offer his (adopted) daughter, *Stiā* in marriage to him, who would protect the sacrifice. On his minister's advice, *Janaka* sent an envoy to *Daśaratha* to seek *Rāma*'s aid. *Daśaratha* consulted his *Purohita*, who told him that the two boys should be sent to *Mithilā* for they were destined to be the 8th *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* and that they would destroy *Rāvaṇa*, the tormentor of the whole world. *Daśaratha* asked him about the rise and prosperity of *Rāvaṇa*. He narrated the history of the past life of *Rāvaṇa* —

There was, in the city of *Nāgapura*, a King called *Naradeva*. He renounced the world and practised penance. On seeing a *Vidyādharma*, he entertained a *Nidāna* that he should have a similar fortune in a future birth. He was, after his death, born as a God. Now there was a King called *Sahasragrīva* of the *Vidyādharas*, who ruled over *Meghaśikhara* on the *Vatadhya* mountain. He quarrelled with his kinsmen and shifted to *Trikūpagiri*. There he built the city called *Lahkā*. In that family of the *Vidyādharas*, the soul of *Naradeva* was born as a son to *Pulastī* and his wife *Meghalskamī*, and named *Daśagrīva* (*Rāvaṇa*). *Maya* gave his daughter, *Mandodari*, by name, in marriage to him.

Once Rāvana was moving in his car called Puspaka. He came across Maṇivati, the daughter of the King of Alakā. Maṇivati was absorbed in her meditation. But the presence of Rāvana disturbed her and she entertained a Nidāna that he should be her father in her next birth, carry her off in the forest and die on her account. She, after her death, was born as daughter to Rāvana and Mandodari and named as Sitā. As it was predicted that she would bring disaster on her father, she was put into a box and left buried in a field near Mithilā. She was discovered by a farmer while ploughing his field, brought to Janaka, who adopted her as his daughter. The *Purohita* advised Daśaratha to send Rāma to Janaka so that Rāma and Sitā would be married. Daśaratha did accordingly. Janaka gave his daughter in marriage to Rāma. Later Daśaratha got Rāma married to seven other girls and Lakṣmaṇa to sixteen girls. On Rāma's suggestion he and Lakṣmaṇa, with their families were sent to Vārāṇasi.

Nārada, notorious for his nature of provoking quarrels between others, went to Rāvana and told him of Sitā's ravishing beauty. He suggested to Rāvana to abduct Sitā, who was really fit for him. Rāvana's mind was filled with a longing for Sitā. On the advice of Mārīca, Rāvana sent Candra-nakhā (better known as Śūrpanakhā) to Vārāṇasi to know the mind of Sitā. She went to the park where Rāma and Sitā and other couples were enjoying various sports. She assumed the form of an old lady (Kaṇṇukūṭi) and approached Sitā. She found that Sitā was a chaste lady and would never surrender her honour to Rāvana or any other person. She returned home and reported to Rāvana the outcome of her mission. Rāvana then thought of abducting Sitā. Disregarding the opposition of Candra-nakhā, Rāvana accompanied by Mārīca, set out for Vārāṇasi in his Puspaka car. They arrived at Vārāṇasi and found Rāma and Sitā in the park. Rāvana forced Mārīca to assume the form of a golden deer and tempt Sitā. Rāma pursued the deer and got exhausted. The deer came back to Rāvana, leaving Rāma at a far off distance. Rāvana then assumed the form of Rāma and carried off Sitā to Laṅkā. She was kept in the Nandana-Vana park. Sitā then realized her misfortune. As he was afraid of losing his supernatural power by dallying with an unwilling woman, Rāvana did not rape Sitā. He asked the Vidyādhari to persuade Sitā to making love to him. The Vidyādhari recommended Sitā to respond to Rāvana's love but she paid no attention to their talk. She resolved that she would take food only on getting the news of her Rāma. If she failed to get any news of him, she would meet her death by resorting to Sallekhanā fast. About that time Rāvana obtained the Cakra indicating his status of an Ardhacakraṇ.

In the park Rāma did not find Sitā. He made anxious enquiries about her but he could not get any information about her. He was overpowered with grief. Servants were sent in all directions in search of her. They found only the upper garment worn by Sitā. Rāma inferred that Sitā must have been carried off by some Vidyādhari. At that time, Daśaratha's messenger arrived. His letter read that it

was Rāvaṇa, the Lord of Laṅkā, that had abducted Sītā. Bharata, Saṁrugha, and tributary princes arrived there on hearing of Sītā's rape.

There arrived then two Vidyādhara, Sugrīva and Hanumān. Sugrīva narrated his story. His elder brother, Vālin, by name, had driven him away from the city called Kīlākila. His companion was Hanumān, son of the Vidyādhara Pavana and his wife Añjanā. They had gone there to seek Rāma's aid in winning the kingdom of Vālin, on the good advice of Nārada. Now Hanumān volunteered to bring news about Sītā. Rāma offered him his ring and letter as tokens to convince Sītā that he was really Rāma's envoy. Hanumān crossed the ocean and arrived in Laṅkā. Assuming the form of a bee he entered Rāvaṇa's palace and made a close search for Sītā. At last he found her in the park. At night Rāvaṇa went to Sītā and tried to seduce her by requests, flattering words and even threats. Sītā made no reply. It was Mandodarī, who rebuked him. He, feeling ashamed of himself, went away. Mandodarī approached Sītā, closely observed her and found her to be her own daughter. She was grieved to find that the father should have fallen in love with his own daughter. Mandodarī told Sītā of her parentage, and asked her to take courage. Hanumān was glad to witness the whole scene. He sent all the Vidyādhara ladies to sleep, assumed the form of a Vānara and appeared before Sītā, he explained to her who he was and told her some secrets between her and Rāma thus convincing her of his being a true envoy of Rāma. She received with joy the ring and the letter. He asked her to take food with a view to keeping body and soul together. Next morning he returned to where Rāma was, and conveyed the news of Sītā to Rāma.

Rāma, greatly pleased, embraced Hanumān. On Sugrīva's advice he sent Hanumān as an ambassador to Rāvaṇa. He went first to Vibhīṣaṇa, who expressed profound sympathy with Rāma's just cause and took Hanumān to Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa however insulted him, and he returned with the angry reply to the proposals of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Hanumān told Rāma that Rāvaṇa was not willing to make peace. At that time Vāli's envoy approached Rāma. Vālin was willing to form alliance with Rāma and help him in regaining Sītā, on condition that he drove away Sugrīva and Hanumān. Rāma sent a counter proposal that Vālin should march with Rāma to Laṅkā and offer him his elephant-jewel Mahā-Megha so as to persuade him to drive the two allies away from him. Vālin did not agree to this. On the contrary, he gave a challenge to fight. They marched at Kīlākila and Lakṣmaṇa killed Vālin and the kingdom was bestowed on Sugrīva. Later on they went to Kīṣkindhā, spent the rainy season there, the heroes secured supernatural powers by propitiating the Jina images.

They traversed the huge distance and reached the ocean. The spies reported to Rāvaṇa of the encamping of the enemies on the sea shore. At the news of the approaching army of Rāma, Vibhīṣaṇa advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa was enraged at this. He

accused him of envy, and ill-will and cowardice Vibhīṣana, greatly offended, with a view to retaining the independence of Laṅkā, allied himself with Rāma, who solemnly promised to install him as King in Laṅkā after Rāvaṇa's death

Hanumān and other Vidyādharas assuming the form of monkeys invaded Laṅkā, destroyed the Nandana-Vana park and set the city on fire Rāma, on Vibhīṣana's information sent Vidyādharas to Laṅkā to disturb Rāvaṇa in his religious fast which he had undertaken to win supernatural powers They went there and did the job

Then Rāma and the whole army crossed the ocean in a celestial car built by Prajāpati lore The two armies met A fierce battle took place Also some cases of single combat between the chief heroes of the two fighting armies First Rāma and Indrajit fought With Śakti Rāma sent his opponent into swoon Rāma and Rāvaṇa then fought, Rāvaṇa killed counterfeit Sitā to dishearten Rāma Vibhīṣana told Rāma that it was all Māyā Later Lakṣmaṇa appeared on the scene, requested Rāma to allow him to fight with and kill Rāvaṇa He ultimately killed Rāvaṇa Sugrīva and other heroes met Sitā, told her of the war and victory and then they brought about reunion between Rāma and Sitā And Vibhīṣana was installed by Rāma on the throne of Laṅkā

Afterwards they wandered over the earth, Lakṣmaṇa lifted the Pūrva-kopśilā to the great amazement of all, and brought the whole earth under their control They met Śivagupta Jmeśvara, who explained to them the nature of Samsāra and the true Dharma Rāma accepted the duties of a Jain householder Lakṣmaṇa because of his Nidāna in the past life remained indifferent to the true Dharma After Daśaratha's death the two brothers migrated to Vārāṇasi, leaving Bharata and Śatughna in charge of Ayodhyā Rāma had a son, Vijayarāma, born of Sitā and seven other sons Lakṣmaṇa had a son Pṛthvīcandra, born of Pṛthvī, and several others After Lakṣmaṇa's death, Rāma put his son Pṛthvīcandra on the throne and himself became an ascetic With Rāma, other heroes such as Sugrīva and Hanumān accepted asceticism Sitā and other queens became nuns In due course Rāma and Hanumān attained liberation Sugrīva and Vibhīṣana, and Sitā and Pṛthvī became, after their death, gods, Lakṣmaṇa went to Hell In due course he would come up, practise penance and achieve liberation

This summary of the contents of the poem reveals that this version is vastly different from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Puṣpadanta has introduced remarkable changes and has transformed the story to suit his own purpose These changes may be considered under three suitable headings omissions, additions and modifications

Omissions—In Book I, Bālakāṇḍa, we learn that when the sons had grown to manhood, the great Rṣi Viśvāmitra went to the Court of

Daśaratha Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went forth with him to slay demons, for which they were rewarded by the Rsi with magic weapons Viśvā-mitra also accompanied the princes to the Court of King Jaśaka of Videha to attend Sitā-Svayaṃvara Our version leaves out this portion,

In Book II, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, we are told of the events at the Royal Court, the Court-intrigue, the doings of Kaikeyi, the origin of the entire trouble, the death of Daśaratha owing to the grief for Rāma, Bharata's arrival, his reproach of Kaikeyi, his visit to Citrakūṭa to bring back Rāma, Rāma's firm resolve, Bharata's return with Pādukās and so on Our poet entirely omits all these occurrences

In Book III, *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*, we are informed of the forest life of the exiles, their stay in the Daṇḍaka, the killing of Virāḍha, the man-eating giant, their fateful meeting with Śūrpanakhā, the killing of Khara and fourteen thousand Rākṣasas, Śūrpanakhā's flight to Laṅkā, her incitement to Rāvaṇa to gain possession of Sitā, Jaṭāyu the vulture and his attempt to save Sitā, the deliverance of Kabandha from a heavy curse by the two brothers This whole section has no place in our version

In Book IV, *Kiśkindhākāṇḍa*, we come across Sampāt a brother of Jaṭāyus, who told the Vānaras, led by Aṅgada that he had seen how Rāvaṇa had stolen Sitā away and taken to Laṅkā He described to them the position of Laṅkā and the monkeys descended to the ocean But when they saw the immeasurable sea before them they simply despaired of getting across it This episode is not to be found in our version

In Book VI, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, we are told of the construction of the bridge over the sea by Nala and others, of the repudiation of Sitā by Rāma, and of the Fire-Ordeal through which Sitā came out safe and thus proved her purity and innocence Our poet entirely omits these famous scenes

In Book VII, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, we hear of the desertion of Sitā by the model King, the refuge given her by Vālmiki, the birth of the twins, Lava and Kuśa, the horse-sacrifice organized by Rāma, Rāma's discovery of his sons, Sitā's oath to prove her innocence, her vanishing with Mother Earth into the depths, Rāma's renunciation of the throne, in favour of his sons and his entering heaven, where he again becomes Viṣṇu There is absolutely nothing to correspond with this portion of the Rāma's story in the present version

Additions—The most important additions by Puṣpadanta are the description of the past lives of the most prominent personalities of the

Rāmāyana The poet describes, with a wealth of detail, the previous lives of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa and Sītā The following table would help remembering the main points —

Birth I	Birth II	Birth III	Remarks
Vijaya born of Prajāpati's Minister at Ratnapura	Suvarṇacūḍa born as a God in Sanat-kumāra heaven	Rāma born of Daśaratha and Subalā at Vārāṇasī	Rāma is born of Subalā and not Kausalyā, birth day Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Trayodaśī, Māgha Nakṣatra Fair Complexion
Candracūḍa, born of King Prajāpati and Kāntā at Ratnapura	Maṇicūḍa born as a God in Kamalaprabhā heaven	Lakṣmaṇa born of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī at Vārāṇasī	Lakṣmāṇa is born of Kaikeyī and not Sumitrā, birth day Māgha Śukla Pratipad, Viśākhā Nakṣatra dark complexion
Naradeva King of Nāgapura	Born as a God in Saudharma heaven	Born of Pulastī and Meghalakṣmī at Lohkā	Rāvaṇa is a Vidyādhara and not Rākṣasa He is an adherent of Jainism
Maṇivattī, daughter of King of Alakā		Sītā born of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, adopted by Janaka	Maṇivattī's own Nidāna responsible for her birth as Rāvaṇa's daughter and his falling in love with her and her abduction by him &c

Further, Rāma is shown to have *seven* wives in addition to Sītā and one son, Vijayarāma, from Sītā and seven others. Lakṣmaṇa too is shown to have 14 wives and several sons. Again, the introduction of Śivagupta Jineśvara and his sermon on Saṃsāra and the true nature of Dharma, Rāma's adoption of Jainism, are some other notable additions.

Modifications—According to Puṣpadanta's version Daśaratha first ruled over Vārāṇasī and after the end of Sagara's family he migrated to Ayodhyā. He did not perform any sacrifice to obtain the four sons. Daśaratha is shown to be alive even after Rāma returned from Laṅkā. The name of Bharata's or Śatrughna's mother is not even mentioned. Lakṣmaṇa is shown to be Kaikeyī's son. And the name of Rāma's mother is Subalā, not Kausalyā. Janaka gives his daughter Sītā in marriage to Rāma for guarding the sacrifice and there is no reference to the bending of Śiva's bow. The golden-deer episode and Sītā's rape are differently told. Śūrpaṇakhā is portrayed in a much better way. It is Daśaratha who informs Rāma that Rāvaṇa has abducted Sītā to Laṅkā. The episode of Vālmi's slaying is told in a different way. He is killed by Lakṣmaṇa in straight fight. Sītā is shown to be Rāvaṇa's daughter. (No adequate cause is given by the poet why Rāvaṇa does not return Sītā even after learning that she was his daughter.) Hanumat enters Rāvaṇa's palace assuming the form of a bee and not that of a cat, (or a horse-fly). It is Hanumat who is sent as an ambassador and not Ahgada. It is in his third visit that Hanumat destroys the park and sets the town on fire and not in his first visit as is shown by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. Because Hanumat appeared before Sītā in the form of Vānara, he is popularly called a Monkey-God! As an envoy of Rāma, he first meets Vibhiṣaṇa and then Rāvaṇa. The heroes secure supernatural powers by worshipping the Jinas. The army of Rāma crosses the ocean in a celestial car built by supernatural-power. In the battle Indrajit is only defeated by Rāma by putting him to swoon by Śakti and not killed. There is no mention of bringing medicinal herbs from the Himālayas by Hanumat. It is Lakṣmaṇa who kills Rāvaṇa and plays more active role in the whole story. Rāma first adopts the duties of a Jain householder and later, after Lakṣmaṇa's death, turns a monk. Some other heroes too become monks, queens like Sītā turn nuns. Lakṣmaṇa goes to Hell and in due course, the poet promises, he would achieve liberation. After death, Rāma and Hanumat attain liberation while Sītā is born as a God. Rākṣasa and Vānaras are shown to be Vidyādharas by Puṣpadanta.

After noting these various changes in the story we turn to some other aspects of the story. The *atmosphere* of the Rāmāyaṇa is purely Brāhmanical while that of Puṣpadanta's version is surcharged with Jainism. As regards the *characterisation*, we find that with Vālmiki, Rāma is an embodiment of Dharma, an ideal son, brother and King, Sītā is an ideal Hindu lady, an incarnation of fidelity and chastity. Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata stand for ideal brothers. Hanumat is an ideal devotee-Bhaktā. Rāvaṇa is, in spite of his greatness, wicked, cruel,

cunning and lustful Puspadaota by modifying certain episodes has removed the inconsistencies apparent in Rāma's character (e.g. the slaying of Vālin and entirely dropping the Repudiation scene). Rāma is an ideal husband in spite of his rejection of Sītā as he loved her dearly and thought of no other woman. It is extraordinary that here we have been told that Rāma had eight wives. It is also shocking to a Hindu mind that Lakṣmaṇa should sink down in Hell. But sentiment apart, it is in accordance with the Jain law of Kaiṁba. Bharata and Kaikeyī who play such an important role in Vālmiki's story are almost ignored by our poet. Rāvaṇa is shown in more favourable light.

The purpose behind these changes—Puspadanta has deliberately made these changes. His main purpose is to illustrate the metorable law of Kaiṁba and a special phase of it called Nidāna. This is why the previous lives of the heroes are added to the poem by our poet. There is also another object in introducing these changes and that is to remove some absurdities and inconsistencies found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. (Thus Sītā is naturally born of Mandodarī. Hanumān is called a Vānara as he appeared before Sītā in the form of a monkey &c). Lastly, the Jain poet is interested in giving his version laden with the spirit of Jainism so that it may serve the followers of Jainism as a complete substitute for the great popular Hindu Epic the Rāmāyaṇa.

A comparison of Puspadanta's poem with those of his predecessors—Jain and Non-Jain—and the task of finding out his own contribution to the Rāma Story would be undertaken in a separate paper.

VIII—HISTORY SECTION

(23) THE DATE OF NAHAPĀNA

by

PROF DR A S ALTEKAR

The date Nahapāna is one of the knotty points of ancient Indian history and widely divergent views have been expressed on the subject. Messrs Dubreuil¹ and Bakhle refer the years of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era and would place him in the last half of the first century B C.² Marshall also held the same view, mainly because of the imitation of the motifs of the Sanchi stupas in the caves of Nahapāna.³ R D Banerjee placed him slightly later, he thought that Nahapāna and Rudradāman must be separated by at least a century.⁴ Jayaswal placed Nahapāna's overthrow in 58 B C, he thought that the Vikrama era was founded by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi to commemorate his destruction of the power of the Śaka ruler Nahapāna.⁵ R G Bhandarkar⁶ and Rapson⁷ refer the years of his inscriptions to the Śaka era and place his overthrow by Gautamīputra soon after Śaka 46 or 124 A D. This latter view is at present generally subscribed.⁸

There are, however, serious difficulties in accepting this view. Gautamīputra ruled at least six years after the overthrow of Nahapāna in or before his 18th regnal year. He, therefore, continued to rule down to 130 A D, if we assume that Nahapāna was overthrown by him in his 18th regnal year coinciding with the (Śaka) year 46 of Nahapāna's latest record. Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi, who ruled at least for 25 years. The Nasik inscription No 2 issued by his grand-mother Balasiri in his 19th regnal year gives a

1 Early History of the Dekkan, pp 19-25

2 J B B R A S, N S. Vol I, p 69

3 C H I, Vol I, p 537

4 J R A S, 1925, p 19

5 J B O R S, Vol XVI, p 249

6 B G, Vol I, II, p 166

7 B M C A K, p cx

8 Raichoudhary P H A I, p 405

glorious picture of the might of the Śātavāhana empire. According to Rapson and Bhandarkar its date cannot be earlier than 149 or 150 A. D. But Rudradāman I claims in his Gznar inscription, dated in 150 A. D., that he had twice defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Deḷkan, and wrested away from him Aparānta (Kohkona), Suratha (Kathiawar) and many other provinces. It is difficult to imagine that Balasiri would have thought of giving a glorious account of her son's conquests in 149 or 150 A. D., if they had all evaporated into air by that time. There are no indications whatsoever to suggest that Vāsisthiṣputra Pulumāvi had suffered any defeat in his reign. It is further noteworthy that Rudradāman gives the name of the Deccan ruler overthrown by him as Śātakarṇi and not as Pulumāvi. This Śātakarṇi was spared by him because he was not a distant relative. There is no evidence to show that Pulumāvi had any relationship with Rudradāman. If we place the overthrow of Nahapāna in 124 A. D., it is difficult to understand how Rudradāman could have defeated a Śātakarṇi before 150 A. D. Surely that Śātakarṇi could not have been the great Gautamiṣputra Śātakarṇi.¹

In order to overcome this serious difficulty R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar advocated the ingenious theory that Gautamiṣputra and Vāsisthiṣputra were ruling together.² They maintained that the years in all the Nasik records are to be referred to the reign of Pulumāvi. So the 19th year of Pulumāvi was only one year later than the 18th year of Gautamiṣputra. Gautamiṣputra was alive in the 18th year of Pulumāvi's reign, as also in his 19th year, when Nasik cave No. 2 was dedicated.

All this is difficult to understand and believe. Several arguments can be advanced against the view of Bhandarkars. If Gautamiṣputra was ruling at Paithana simultaneously with his son Pulumāvi at Nasik, how is it that no single coin in the Jogalthembi hoard has been restruck by Pulumāvi, who was the *de facto* ruler over the Nasik area? It cannot be argued that Vāsisthiṣputra struck no coins, because his father was living, for we have actually found several types of his coins. The argument that Balasiri's description in Nasik inscription No. 5 that she was a Mahādevi and Mahārājmatā shows that she was both at the same time showing that her son was ruling along with her husband, is weak. In Nasik inscription No. 2, Balasiri is called *Mahādevī mahārājamātā* and *mahārājapitāmāhī*, are we to assume that her husband, son and grandson were ruling at one and the same time? In this inscription, Vāsisthiṣputra Pulumāvi makes a grant, the merit of which he assigns only to his father. This would suggest that Gautamiṣputra was dead at the time when Balasiri got his eulogy engraved in the cave.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested this possibility in *B. C. Vol. I*, 11 but it is hardly believable. No other scholar has subscribed to this view.

² *B. G.*, Vol. I, 11, p. 165. *I. A.*, 1948.

Now can it be argued that Nasik inscription No 5 dated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign refers to the monks ataying in the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Pulumāvi's reign. The cave dedicated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign was a joint gift of that king and his mother, the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Pulumāvi was a gift donated by the donor's grand mother. A careful examination of the plan of the cave shows that what Gautamīputra and his mother excavated in the year 24 of the former's reign was merely the Verandah of the cave No 3, having one room at its either end. What Gautamī donated in the 19th year of her grandson's reign was the big cave behind the present verandah, having 18 cells around a big court yard, 43×37 feet in dimension. It cannot be, therefore, maintained the record engraved in the 24th year of Gautamīputra presupposes the cave donated in the 19th year of Pulumāvi. The earliest epigraph in this cave dated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra merely records the grant of a field to the monks, this field was till recently in the possession of Ushabhdāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna. The next record issued 6 years later refers to monks residing in the cave (at Trirashmi mountain), which was a joint gift of Gautamīputra and his mother. So during the interval of six years, a small cave was constructed. The third record engraved in the 19th year of Pulumāvi's reign refers to the cave *vimanavaravisesa mahadīkhalena* as magnificent, and in no way inferior to a first class *vimāna* or divine temple.

The spacious cave obviously took about 20 years to excavate, and by the time of its dedication, Gautamīputra was no longer living. This made his aged mother sad and induced her to engrave the eulogy of one who was associated with her in the first dedication.

It is thus clear that we have no evidence to show that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi were ruling conjointly, rendering the defeat of a Śātakarṇi possible before the year 150 A D. It is thus clear that the overthrow of Nahapāna cannot be placed in c 124 A D.

Can we then accept the view of Messrs Dubreuil, Banerji and Bakhle and place the overthrow of Nahapāna at the beginning of the first century A D? Arguments advanced in favour of this view are hardly convincing. Banerji relies much upon the palaeographical differences between the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāna and the Gīrnar inscription of Rudradāman and concludes that at least one century must be presumed to separate the two records¹. But Bühler has admitted the script of Ushabhdāta's records at Nasik is similar to that of Pulumāvi's record there, thus showing that the two were more or less contemporary. In ancient India communications were difficult and it is, therefore, fallacious to compare the palaeography of the records of places separated by hundreds of miles. We can compare the script of Nahapāna's records at Nasik with that of the records of Gautamīputra

1 J R A S 1925 pp 19 ff

Śātakarṇi and Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi at the same place, and these are similar and contemporaneous

The theory that the years of Nahapāna's records are those of the era of Ages founded in c 60 B C has yet to be proved. It is a mere hypothesis. The argument that Nahapāna was a Parthian and his son-in-law Ushabhadāta a Śaka, and, therefore, the former should be presumed to be a viceroy of one of the great Parthian or Śaka rulers like Azes, Vonones or Gondopharnes is a weak one. Did not the great Śaka ruler Rudradāman flourish in the Deccan a hundred years later than the latest of the Śaka-Parthian emperors of the north? There is one important numismatic fact going against this view. In Nasik inscription No. 12 reference is made both to the silver Kāśhāpaṇas and to golden *śivarṇas*, 35 of the former are equated to one of the latter¹. It is clear that gold coins were in circulation in the days of Nahapāna. Azes, Azileas, Vonones and Gondopharnes are known to have issued no gold coins. They became common only with Wima Kadphises and we can hardly place Nahapāna before his date. The argument that the intelligible Greek legend on the coins of Nahapāna points to an early date like c 50 B C is not of much force, because we find that Wima, Kanishka and Huvishka were issuing coins in correct Greek language down to 150 A D. It was further to be remembered that intelligible Greek legend appears only on a few coins of Nahapāna. On the majority of them it is altogether corrupt.

The architecture argument of Marshall is also not very strong. He argues that the form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* figure beside the entrance at the cave of Nahapāna all bespeak a date approximately contemporaneous with the Sanchi *toranas* of about 50 B C. In the first century A D or B C, we had no daily newspapers publishing the photographs of new buildings on the morrow of their completion or dedication. The fashion at Sanchi may have taken some decades to become popular, and there is nothing improbable in the sculptures at Nasik imitating motifs that were in vogue at Sanchi a century earlier.

It is argued that the coins of the Jogalthembi hoard show that not all the pieces that bear the name and bust of Nahapāna were really issued by him. Scott, who analysed this hoard, points out how there are different types of busts to be seen on them, on some Nahapāna is short-necked, on others long-necked, on some he is straight-nosed on others hook-nosed, on some his face is pleasant, on others stern, on some he is lean and on others fat. While admitting the possibility of one and the same person being thus diversely represented by the artists of unequal capacity, he felt it more probable that the busts on the coins

1 Cf *Panchatrinśaka śvarṇakṛta*

1 C H I, I, p. 637

of Nahapāṇa were not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons of Nahapāṇa, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour and for some strange reasons caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, while refraining to record their personal names¹

This argument is ingenious but there are insuperable difficulties in accepting it. Contemporary history shows that even rulers like Jayadāman, who were quite insignificant, used to issue coins in their own names and not in those of their more famous predecessors like Chaubhāna. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how the successors of Nahapāṇa should have obliterated their own names, if they were ruling over a prosperous kingdom. It appears that Nahapāṇa could get artists of only very inadequate capacity and qualifications. In the far off Dekkan, it was not easy to secure artists who would be well grounded in Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and Greek scripts and should also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is old. It is also significant in this connection that coins which have correct Greek script have corrupt Kharoṣṭhī script and *vice versa*. It cannot be, therefore, maintained that the great Nahapāṇa flourished at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and that he was succeeded by several successors, whose coins were counter-struck by Gautamiputra about a century later.

In my opinion Nahapāṇa ruled from c. 55 A.D. to 105 A.D.; this theory explains all known facts of contemporary history. (1) The years in his records need not be referred either to the Śaka or the Vikrama era. They are 41, 42, and 46 and can be his regnal years. On some of his coins his bust is like that of a youth of 25, on others like that of an elderly person of 45, while some coins show his face with sunken cheeks and toothless jaw, showing that he ruled right up to the advanced age of 70 or 75. A reign of 46 years was thus perfectly possible in his case. The years 41, 42 and 46 of his records can well be his regnal years.

(2) Gold currency, as shown above, had come into vogue in the reign of Nahapāṇa. Its issue was started by Wima Kadphises, who under no theory can be placed after 100 A.D., he was probably ruling as early as 50 A.D. We can, therefore, very well understand the reference to the *suvarnas* or gold coins in the records of Nahapāṇa's son-in-law, if we place his reign between c. 55 and 105 A.D.

(3) The *Periplus* states that Aruke belonged to the kingdom of Nambanus, whose capital was Munnagar. Fleet has shown how a copyist's mistake would convert Nahapāṇa into Nambanus. The *Periplus* was written in the latter half of the 1st century A.D. and we can well understand its reference to Nahapāṇa as a contemporary ruler, if we place him between 55 and 105 A.D.

(4) Numismatic facts can also be well explained by this theory. If Nahapāna ruled from c 55 A D, the time of his predecessor Bhūmaka would be from c 30 to 55 A D. He is thus separated only by about 25 years from Spalyris and Azes II. We can, therefore, well understand how he should be adopting on the reverse of his coins the motif of Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, which is strongly reminiscent of the motif of Arrow, Discus and Bow, which occurs on the joint coinage of Spalyris and Azes II. Nahapāna who ruled from c 55 A D naturally continues this motif.

(5) It is generally agreed that the Mathura Kshatrapa Rajuvula and Soḍāsa were ruling in the first quarter of the first century A D. We can then well understand how the motif of the Lion capital, which was dedicated by these rulers should appear on the obverse of the coins of Bhūmaka who was separated from them only by a decade or two.

(6) All known facts of Sātavāhana history can be explained only by the hypothesis of Nahapāna's rule during 55-105 A D and by no other. (a) It is now generally accepted that the king Polemaios of the Deccan and Tistanes of Ujjayini, whom Ptolemy mentions as contemporaries, were Pulumāvi and Chashtāna, the grand-father of Rudradāman. Chashtāna came on the scene after the overthrow of Nahapāna in c 110 A D. Soon after that date Pulumāvi succeeded his father. We can, therefore, well understand how Ptolemy writing in c 140 A D should mention these two as recent contemporary rulers.

(b) The huge Jogalthambi hoard does not contain any coins of Chashtāna, Jayadāman or Rudradāman. Obviously the power of these rulers had not yet penetrated to northern Maharashtra, nor had commerce introduced them at Nasik. It was probably buried in panic on the eve of the threatened invasion of Rudradāman in c 140 or 145 A D. The counterstruck coins of the hoard were thus current for about 40 years and we can therefore well understand how they were considerably worn out by that time.

It is clear that Gautamiputra defeated Nahapāna himself and not any of his successors. In his earliest inscription at Nasik dated in his 18th regnal year, he donates a field in the village Kakhadī, which is expressly described as enjoyed by Ushabhadāta. This Ushabhadāta can hardly be any other than the son-in-law of Nahapāna. There are scores of land grants recorded in the inscriptions in the caves in Western India. None of them, except the present record, gives the name of the former owners of the fields granted. If it is mentioned in this case, the reason must have been the well-known position of the earlier owner. The monks wanted some lands and Gautamiputra in the flush of his victory gave them a field owned by the son-in-law of his great enemy. It would however appear that at the disappearance of Ushabhadāta, his retinue was withdrawn from the village, which resulted in its practical desolation. It soon became a deserted

village and therefore the monks approached Gautamiputra six years later with a request for the exchange of the above field. We can hardly explain the total desertion of the village of Kakhadī within a short period of less than six years, unless we assume that Ushabhadāta, who is mentioned as the owner of the field was the son-in-law of Nahapāpa.

(d) According to our theory Nahapāpa was overthrown in c 105 A D. Gautamiputra ruled at least six years more and his death and the accession of his successor Pulumāvi may be placed in c 112 A D. The latter ruled for at least 24 years as proved by the inscriptions, if not for 28 as stated in the Purāṇas. He thus becomes a contemporary of Chashtāna, who was ruling at about 130 A D.

The long eulogy of the conquests of Gautamiputra issued in the 19th year of his son's reign suggests that down to the time of its issue in 131 A D, the conquests remained intact. There is nothing to suggest that Pulumāvi was defeated by Rudradāman before 131 A D.

The Amdhāo inscriptions of the latter only show that in 130 A D Rudradāman was trying to lay down the foundation of a small principality in the desert of far off Kachha. There is nothing to show that he had by that time inflicted any defeat on Pulumāvi and wrested away from him Gujarat, Kathiawar or Aparanta (Kokan).

It is further noteworthy that the king of the Deccan defeated by Rudradāman is expressly named by him in his Gurnar record and his name is Śātakarṇi. He could obviously not have been the great Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, nor could he have been Pulumāvi, for the simple reason of his name not being Śātakarṇi. To argue that the Gurnar record loosely refers to Pulumāvi as a Śātakarṇi as the latter name was common in the Śātavāhana dynasty is hardly convincing. We are entitled to presume that an official eulogy cannot vaguely refer to a king who was defeated twice by the hero praised in it. The name given must be a personal one especially since the king defeated was also a not distant relative of Rudradāman.

Who then was this Śātakarṇi and how was he related to Rudradāman? Kaṇheri inscription No 11 records the gift of a minister of a queen of Vāsūsthīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who is described as a daughter of Mahākshatrāpa. Unfortunately the name of this queen's father is not fully preserved, but it is obvious that he can be none other than Rudradāman I. The next Śaka ruler, whose name begins with R# is Rudrasimha, but he ruled as Mahākshatrāpa from c 181 A D, his daughter could hardly have been married to Vāsūsthīputra Śātakarṇi, who from his name appears to have been a brother of Vāsūsthīputra Pulumāvi, who was ruling from c 112 to 136 A D.

The fact that Jayadāman did not assume the higher title of Mahākshatrāpa, which was claimed by his father is also significant. The proud claim of his son Rudradāman that he had won that higher

title for himself would show that Jayadāman was defeated most probably by Pulumāvi in c 130 A D. The victor may have demanded the marriage of his younger brother Vāsisthīputra Śātakarṇi with a Śaka princess and a daughter of Rudradāman, the son of the defeated king, may have been married to him in c 130. It is also not impossible that while struggling for existence, Jāyadāman and Rudradāman may have themselves made a proposal for this matrimonial alliance hoping to improve the status of their family by it. That Vāsisthīputra Śātakarṇi of the Kanheri record did actually rule as an emperor is shown by a unique coin of his in the Prince of Wales Museum which closely imitates the Kshatrapa prototype.¹ The presence of a Śaka princess in the capital as the queen of the issuer will sufficiently explain the adoption of the Kshatrapa type for a few of his silver coins by the husband.

According to Purāṇa Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi was succeeded by Śivaśrī, who is expressly described as Śātakarṇi by the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He ruled for seven years and according to our chronology his reign would be between c 135 and 142 A D. His successor is described simply as Śivaskandha by *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata*, but as Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi by the *Matsya* and the *Brahmaṇḍa*. The exact period of his rule is not recorded in any Purāṇa but it may well have been from c 142 to c 157 A D. Both these kings were undoubtedly Śātakarṇis as shown by the Paurāṇic evidence and they were also the contemporaries of Rudradāman. Probably the latter was defeated by Rudradāman.

Could Rudradāman have defeated and humiliated his grandson through his daughter two times? Kings in ancient times had many wives and Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi may have been a son of Vāsisthīputra through a queen other than the Śaka princess. As he was a step-son of his daughter, Rudradāman naturally described him as related not very distantly *sambandhāvidūratayā*.

All the known facts of history can thus be satisfactorily explained by assuming that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by Gautamiputra in c 105 A D. Rudradāman avenged this defeat by twice defeating Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi, who was most probably a grandson of Gautamiputra but probably not born of his Śaka daughter-in-law and earlier wife. And now we can well understand why Rudradāman describes his relationship with the Śātakarṇi he overthrew as not distant. He was the step son of his daughter and so his relationship with Rudradāman was neither close nor distant, the record therefore naturally describes it as *avidūra* or not distant. It is not impossible that by the time of the outbreak of the war Rudradāman's widowed daughter had repaired to her father's capital after her husband's death in c 142 A D, her relations with her step son Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi, the ruling Śātavāhana emperor, might have been far from cordial, and she might not have

been inclined to oppose her father's invasion of her late husband's kingdom tooth and nail. Out of regard for her feeling, however, Rudradāman may have refrained from pressing his victories home when he defeated Śivaskanda in two successive battles between 148 and 150 A. D. and was in a position to annex Gujarat, Mālvā and Konkan.

It is interesting to note that if we assume that the first Sātavāhana ruler Śimuka rose to power in c. 225 B. C. and add together the reign periods of the 22 predecessors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the period of the latter's rule, is found to be c. 90 to 114 A. D. Four successive Sātavāhana kings Maṇḍalaka, Puṇḍra-sena, Sundara Svaticarṇa and Chakora had short reigns of five, five, one and half a year respectively during c. 52 to 63 A. D. It was just at this time that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were trying to snatch away several provinces of the Sātavāhana empire. Some of these kings may have fallen in the long war thus ruling for short periods only.

It will be thus seen that all the known facts of history can be best explained only on the assumption that Nahapāna was overthrown by Gautamīputra in c. 105 A. D. The theories that he ruled at the end of the first century B. C. or that his inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era have to be given up.

(24) "MODOURA, THE (. .) OF THE GODS" OF PTOLEMAIOS

by

PROF SCHRADER-KIEL

In the chapter "Menander and his kingdom" of his monumental work "The Greeks in Bactria and India" (Cambridge, 1938) Dr W W Tarn has discussed the names of the towns in what must have been Menander's kingdom as given by the geographer Ptolemy in a valuable list plotted out by him from a mass of material (itineraries, etc.) now mostly lost but which must have then been at his disposal. Among them is also Mathurā, which is mentioned as *Μαθουρα ἡ τῶν θεῶν πόλις*, in literal translation into Sanskrit, *Madhurā yā devānām* (translation ours). This (the Greek name), says T (p 251), "is generally rendered either as 'Mathurā of the gods', which does not translate the Greek, or 'Mathurā, the city of the gods'", which "cannot be the correct translation". Mathurā, no doubt, was a famous centre of religious thought, full of religious buildings, Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist and Jain ones, and in this respect could well have been called a "city of the gods". But why then the Greek should not have called it so, *ἡ Θεοπόλις*? Because says T, there is no instance in Greek "where with a definite article followed by the genitive of the person the omitted word is 'city', it is always 'son' or 'daughter'-that is the regular Greek usage-and there is no reason for translating Ptolemy's phrase differently because the genitive of the person is plural and not singular, 'daughter of the gods' is good English and good Latin, and I think good Greek also" (three foot-notes referring to Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, Virgil, and Hephaestion of Thebes), especially when you are not too sure just which god it might be" (p 352). "Ptolemy must witness to some lost story about a nymph Modoura who personified Mathurā and was really an Indian Yakṣī" (p 253).

It is hard to subscribe to this view. It suffers from the inaccuracy which was found in other places of Tarn's book by U N Ghoshal in his excellent review in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of December 1938 (pp 857 ff). There is, of course, that Paurāṇic story of Śatruḡha's founding Mathurā on or near the place where he had conquered the stronghold Madhu (yana) of Lavaṇa, son of the demon Madhu. But there is nothing in it about a Yākṣa or Yākṣiṇī. And no Yākṣiṇī would be called "daughter of the gods". Mathurā, which is called *Māloga*, with the *h* preserved, by Megasthenes (3rd century B C), is not known in Indian literature as a personal name. The *h* "the"

following it in the phrase can therefore only refer to the city, not to a person. Śatrughna, however, who founded it, and the two brothers, Kṛṣṇa and Balaiāma, both of whom were born there, were all of them Avatāras, full or partial ones, of Viṣṇu. Could not these have made the city appear to be one "of the gods"? This much is certain that the plural cannot possibly here refer to a single person. But the phrase does not sound Indian. Could it then be an incorrect translation of an Indian epithet (such as *deva-prasīda*) used to distinguish this Mathurā from other towns with the same or a similar name? Perhaps this can be substantiated from Indian literature.

(25) ON THE DATE OF THE ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIOURGA

by

SRI G S GAI, DHARWAR.

These plates have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXV, pp 25-31. The date-portion has been read as Sam 600 60 3 A (A) *svayuja buddha trayadatyāhi Somavāre* and this year has been referred to the Śaka era. Recently Professor Mirashi has questioned both the reading of this date and the era to which it is referred¹. His arguments are

(i) The details of the date do not work out satisfactorily and, therefore, it is doubtful if the date really refers to the Śaka era

(ii) Since there is no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, the date is plainly not in the Śaka era

(iii) The reading of the date is incorrect. The sign for 100 is followed by the sign which denotes 4 and not 6 so that the symbol has to be read as 400 instead of 600. Thus the date is 400 60 3 : i.e. 463

(iv) This revised date must be referred to the Kalachuri era and since the usual epoch of A D 248-49 of this era does not yield satisfactory results here, the date has to be referred to the newly suggested epoch of A D 250-51 which would then make the date regular²


After going through these arguments of Professor Mirashi, one gets the impression that just with a view to finding out a second instance of the use of the epoch of A D 250-51 of the Kalachuri era, he has hit on the date of the Ellora plates and has tried to adjust it to suit his case. Let us consider his views point by point in the order given above

1 *Ind Hist Quart.*, vol XXV, pp 84-5. The Professor seems to have discussed this question in further details in his article on Danti-durga which still awaits publication

2 According to Professor Mirashi, this revised date of the Ellora plates supplies a second instance of the epoch of A D 250-51 of the Kalachuri era, the only other instance being furnished by the date of the newly discovered Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVIII, pp 1 ff.)

(i) It is not convincing to say that because the details of the date do not work out satisfactorily, the date does not refer to the Śaka era. There are several records which specifically mention the Śaka and other eras but the details of the dates do not yield satisfactory results. In such cases, we have only to say that these dates are not regular. It is also possible that we do not know what almanacs were followed while recording the dates in those days and that our present method of verifying them from the tables like those given in the *Indian Ephemeris* may not be too perfect.

(ii) The second point relates to the absence of specific reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. It may be noted that in many Rāṣṭrakūṭa records the date is expressed in words as well as in figures in one and the same record and a word like *aṅkataḥ* or *aṅkaśiḥ* is used in connection with the latter expression. Reference to the era is made while giving the date in words and the date in figures is preceded by the expression *Saṃvat*, without the specification of the era³. Since the Ellora plates record the date only in numerical symbols and not in words as well, it is possible that the writer has omitted the reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. The date of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I⁴ is recorded, without specifying the era, as *samva* [765] and there is no doubt that this date refers to the Śaka era. Therefore, there can be no objection to the date of the Ellora plates being referred to the Śaka era.

(iii) The third point refers to the reading of the date. It is not possible to agree with Professor Mirashi in taking the sign which follows that for 100 as denoting 4 instead of 6. The Professor attaches more importance to a cross line in the lower portion of this symbol than to its entire shape which is like . A reference to plate LXXI-lower section (figures for 6) and plate LXXIV-lower section (figure for 600) in *Ojha's Indian Palaeography* would clearly show that the symbol under consideration is 6 only and not at all 4. So the reading of the year as 600 is quite justified. In this connection attention may be drawn to the symbol for 600 found in the Antoli-Chharoli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II of date Śaka 679⁵ expressed both in words and in numerals.

Let us now examine what is called the cross bar at the lower end of the sign for 6 (in 600) on which the Professor takes his stand.

3 See Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, Nos 4, 73, 77, 92 and 105.

4 *Ibid.*, No 72.

5 *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol XVI, plate between pp 108-09. A similar symbol for 600 is used in the Manori plates of Mangalarasa, dated Śaka 613. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVIII, pp 17 ff.)

A clue to the method of writing and engraving of copper-plate grants is obtained by a close study of some of these records. It seems that the writer first wrote down the inscription on the plates with some paint or ink and then the engraver was engaged to carve out the letters accordingly. In order to ensure the proper size and shape of each individual letter-curves, lines, loops, circles, etc.-the writer seems to have made use of dots or points at various places⁶. Afterwards these dots were removed and only the letters were inscribed. But sometime, through oversight or mistake, these dots remained there and the engraver did not omit to carve them also, along with the letters. A fine specimen of such a record is supplied by the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, printed facsimiles of portions of which accompany the article of Professor Mirashi⁷. In these facsimiles we notice, for example, the dots found along with the individual letters of the word *visarppanārthasā* in line 14. In the Ellora plates of Dantidurga also we notice that some of these dots have been retained and engraved along with the letters proper. For example, in the letter *a* of *asmad-* (line 21) two dots can be seen on the two sides of the horizontal line. In the same line of the record such dots are also seen with the letters *ma*, *ma* and *na*. It is, therefore, likely that the so-called cross at the lower portion of the sign for 6 in the date of Ellora plates stands for two such dots, rather elongated, on either side of the line which were intended to secure the proper place and shape of that line. So it may not be a cross at all⁸.

(iv) Whereas the year of the date has been shown to read as 600 only, the question of referring it to the Kalachuri era does not arise and has, therefore, to be left out of consideration⁹.

6 Something like what modern ladies do while drawing artistic designs with colour-powder (*Rohgavalli*). It is also not unlikely that the cross bar may have been intended to connect the sign for 6 with that for 100. In the numeral 600 occurring in the Antroli Charoli grant cited above a cross-bar connects both the signs for 100 and 6.

7 *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol XXV, plate facing p 86

8 Cf. the actual cross of the line in the case of the subacript *ka* in *ushka* in line 25 of this record

9 It may, however, be remarked that though the eras are prevalent region-wise, not a single record of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty has been discovered so far which is dated according to the Kalachuri era. It may also be observed, in passing, that with all the adjustments suggested by Professor Mirashi in regard to the date of the Ellora plates to make it regular, the verification shows that the thirteenth *viśva* was current only for 07 of that day (i. e. Monday) and was followed by the Fourteenth *viśva* which was current for the rest of that day.

Thus Professor Mirashi's view that the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga should be read as 463 and should be referred to the Kalachuri era are not tenable

Having confirmed the reading of the first symbol in this date as denoting 600, let us proceed to consider the second symbol which has been read as 60 by S K Dikshit, the editor of these plates. This symbol is like 4 and resembles the shape of the Devanāgarī letter *pa* which also forms the basis of the figure for 40 in early records. A comparison of the symbols for 40 given in plate LXXII—lower section (figures for 40) and plate LXXV—upper section (figure for 45) in Ojha's book would show that the sign in the Ellora plates under discussion resembles the symbol for 40 with the exception of a small stroke at the lower end. I, therefore, propose to read this symbol in the Ellora plates as denoting the figure 40 instead 60, so that the date would be (Ś) 643 and not (Ś) 663 as read by the editor of the record. This revised reading of the date *viz* Śaka 643, *Ātwayuja* *śu* 13, *Saināvāra*, would regularly correspond to Monday, 8th September, A D 721 when the thirteenth *tithi* was current till 69 of that day¹⁰.

10 It is proposed to discuss separately the implications of this early date for the Rāstrakūṭa king Dantidurga

I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to Professor Mirashi who was kind enough to send me reprints of some of his learned articles, the reading of which stimulated my interest in the topic discussed above

(26) SAMUDRAGUPTA'S AŚVAMEDHA

by

SRI JAGAN NATH, JULLUNDUR

The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Samudragupta is an outstanding event of his reign and the Gupta Kings themselves looked upon it as an exceptionally great achievement. Samudragupta struck a special class of coins to commemorate the performance. In the records of his successors, Samudragupta is invariably given the epithet of *cir-otsann-āśvamedh-āharitā*. This epithet has been translated by Dr Fleet as "the restorer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had been long in abeyance".¹ This rendering gives the impression that the performance of this time-honoured Vedic rite had not been witnessed for a long time past, so that Samudragupta was virtually to be credited for reviving an extinct practice. While it is easy to rectify one of the mistakes in this translation—namely, to translate *āharitā* as 'performer of a sacrifice' for $\text{ṛ} + \sqrt{\text{hr}}$ means 'to offer a sacrifice'—it is more difficult to explain the word *cir-otsanna*. Several explanations have been attempted by eminent writers.

As early as 1923, Dr Hemchandra Roychaudhury observed as follows —

"But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several Kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pusyamitra to that of Samudragupta, e.g. Śātakarni, the husband of Nāyanikā, Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka, and the Pallava Śivaskandavarman. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these southern monarchs".² However this explanation does not seem to be adequate, for the conquest of the eastern coast of the Deccan, must have established closer contact between the North and the South, and the Gupta officers could not have been unaware of important happenings at the Southern courts.

About the same time Shri D B Diskalkar also raised this point. Writing in the Indian Antiquary he said —

"Kings like Pravarasena and Bhavanāga may not have as good a reason to celebrate the horse-sacrifice as Samudragupta undoubtedly

1 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, 44, 54

2 Political History of Ancient India, First edition, p 281

had, yet the rite as such was in practice not very long before Samudragupta and how can it be said that he revived it?"³

The point has also been discussed at some length by Dr. Krishna swami Aiyangar in his admirable monograph—*Studies in Gupta History*. He remarks "Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *asvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude (*cirotsanna*). *Cirotsanna* would literally mean, long decayed or given up for as a matter of history we do know that after the days of Aśoka, who, in his Buddhist fervour, put an end to it, there were several celebrations and several celebrants. Puṣyamitra is said to have celebrated it, his contemporary Khārvēla of Kaṭiṅga seems to have celebrated something akin, and a Śātavāhana ruler of the Dakṣiṇa, the great Śātakarṇi lays claim to having done it equally. It would, therefore, be difficult to understand *cirotsanna* in the sense that it was given up for long. The term *cirotsanna*, however, is found used in the same connection, of the *asvamedha* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself where it was explained in the sense that it had lost some of the elements constituting the sacrifice and therefore a sort of expiatory ceremony had to be performed. That means it is an old time ceremony, which had lost some of the details of its performance even so long ago as the time of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The ceremony is brought to a close by the performance of a special *atirātrasona* as it is called, which is a ceremonial apology for the shortcomings in the performance of the elaborate sacrifice. It is just possible that in the Gupta inscriptions it has that meaning, but there is perhaps a little more in it than is implied in this explanation"⁴. After pointing out that Puṣyamitra and Pravarasena were not as great conquerors as Samudragupta, and their claim to suzerainty was not quite uncontested, Dr. Aiyangar concluded —

"Hence the *cirotsanna* here might mean that the *asvamedha* sacrifice was not celebrated for long as a full detailed imperial sacrifice, and Samudragupta might lay claim to having done it, it may be since the days of the famous celebration of the *Rājāsūya* by Yndhishtira"⁵

However, Dr. Aiyangar was not right in his interpretation of the reference in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, as referring to a sacrifice which had lost some of its constituent elements. The expiatory rite had to be performed for quite a different purpose.

The latest writer to throw light on this point was Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Writing in the *Indian Culture*, he observed as follows

3. *IA*, 1923, 17

4. *Studies in Gupta History*, pp. 44-45

5. *Ibid.*, 45

"All things considered, Samudragupta can alone very well claim to have celebrated an *Āsvamedha* of the Epic style which was in abeyance for long. Certainly it was not performed with such *éclat* by anybody except perhaps Puṣyamitra who, however, came into collision with one enemy on only one confine of his dominions and does not seem to have wielded sway over the whole of India as the Gupta sovereign did."

This is more or less a repetition of the view of Dr Aiyangar, and it leaves out altogether the hints given in the Vedic literature regarding the nature of an *utsanna* sacrifice. A study of the relevant Vedic literature indicates that the word *utsanna* has a purely technical sense which has not been taken note of by any of the scholars whose views have been quoted above, and which might offer a better and perhaps the true explanation of the word.

The following are some of the important passages where the word *utsanna* occurs as an adjective with sacrifice in Vedic Literature

- 1 अस्त्रयज्ञो वै एष अद्वयमेव कस्तद्देवानाहुर्मिदं सर्वं वै क्रियते न वा सर्वं इति ।

"The horse sacrifice is an extensive sacrifice, who knows, they say, if all of it is done or not." Taittirīya Samhitā, V, 4, 12, 3 translated by A. B. Keith

- 2 अस्त्रयज्ञो वा एष अद्वयं किं वा अद्वैतस्य क्रियते किं वा न ।

ibid V, 3, 1, 7

- 3 अस्त्रयज्ञ इव वा एष अद्वैतस्य क्रियते ।

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 5, 2, 4, 8, and II, 6, 2, 19

- 4 अस्त्रयज्ञ इव वा एष अद्वयमेव किं वा अद्वैतस्य क्रियते किं वा न ।

ibid XII, 3, 3, 6

It is of great significance that the adjective *utsanna* is applied to important Vedic rites like the *Āsvamedha* and *Cāturmāsya*, which cannot be described as the ceremonies that were in abeyance when the Taittirīya Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa were written. It is unimaginable that either the *Āsvamedha* or the *Cāturmāsya* were regarded as 'obsolete' in the heyday of Vedic ritualism.

The meaning of *utsanna* is suggested by the concluding portion of the quotation from the *Pāṇiniya Saṃhitā*. It says that it is difficult to be sure whether all the details of the ritual have been properly gone through. The reason of this uncertainty evidently was that these performances were very extensive, and one could never be sure that there were no omissions. In the contexts of these passages, the meaning "extensive" or 'elaborate' suits excellently well and we should attribute this sense to *utsanna*.

In the light of the Vedic passages, the expression *utsannāṣṭu medhāhorti* may, therefore, be translated as, 'the performer of the long protracted horse-sacrifice'.

(27) THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

by

DR RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

History is the flowing cumulative stream of myths and traditions. The chanting or recital of myths, tales and ballads during festivals, marking the cycles of seasons, is the beginning of history, spurring a people to epoch making adventures. All history is in a sense myth making. Myths are by no means futile or fictitious as presumed by the nineteenth century historians who in their turn formulated or tacitly supported the myths of the Individual, State, Nationality, Race, Power and Progress in the background of European development. Myths poetically and pregnantly embody the tradition, values and aspirations of a people. These are conserved and transmitted by social memory, and bind them present to the past in belief, thought and action. The "units of history" are simply myths and traditions in action, what Rickert called "value structures" through which universal values are evidenced in historical actuality—the broad and enduring historical constants that pervade the stable social arrangement and culture of a people and underline the recurrent patterns in their social life and development. Human history is a total cumulative ensemble or gestalt in which the broadening and lengthening warp of facts and events on one hand, and woof of myths and traditions on the other are inextricably inter-woven in the web of time. The gestalt approach to history as a cumulative, moving, forward-looking whole, with the attention focussed on the dynamism of myths, traditions and values into which the whole can be resolved or split up, makes possible the right understanding and interpretation of human affairs, of "things said and done in the past." Not all myths and traditions are dealt with by history but only those that have functional significance in the emergent cultural pattern. Such are the "units of history" that have to be chosen or discovered and understood in their context with the present and the future. The reality of myths and traditions consists in their fashioning the cumulative sequence with its order, consistency and laws, which is history. The truth of history is the meaning of this inherent order and continuity of the march of Man in which mutable man participates. Man in Indian historiography is three fold. Man the Mutable, Man the Eternal, and Man the Deity. Man is Eternal and Universal the inhabitant not of one country and age but of all countries and ages, the maker of enduring myths and traditions and the bearer of the ultimate values, ever projected towards the future. This is the human image which is ever-present in the vicissitudes and fluctuating situations of history. In the

ephemeral and confused pageant of history this Eternal and Universal Man is indeed the abiding presence, embodied in but transcending the limited, fleeting images of mortal man belonging to a race, country, class or historical and cultural epoch. Finally, there is Man the Deity which is the cosmic urge to advance, manifest in the glory and triumph as well as in the fall and anguish of man, the goal towards which the whole creation moves. This is the Nārāyaṇa of the Purāṇas. The Mahābhārata begins with the homage to the triple images of Man: Nara or Finite Man, Narottama or Eternal Man and Nārāyaṇa or Deity, moving and being moved in the procession of history.

History in Indian tradition is not the biography of heroes or representative men, but an age-less process in which not men but the human species, not particular lives but Life cyclically grow, mature and decay. In India the circle symbolises completion and perfection. The wheel with the movable centre is the symbol of continuing progress in the procession of time (the Chakra of Vedic and Buddhist culture). Thus history, cosmic, human and personal, is envisioned as the cyclic movement of the wheel. An unending series of Great Men, Creators and Kings of the earth, Brahmas and Indras reign, thrive and then pass away in their innumerable universes that come and go through countless cycles of creation, maturation, dissolution and reincarnation. Into this ageless cyclical process of the world organism India imports a moral and cultural purpose through the conception of the procession of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages of history (yugas), the moral order of dharma gradually lapsing from purity and perfection into disorganisation and conflict and then beginning another cycle.

Indian historiography accepts the reality of the triumphs and disasters of history alike and insists that we learn from both the glory and the defeat of dharma and culture, viewed as a dynamic process rather than as a stationary state. This cyclical view of man's earthly destiny and dharma has protected the Indian people against the extremes of optimism and pessimism. And indeed few people have seen such a long and remarkably continuous history of five millennia, have seen such ups and downs of the social order and learnt so much in a yet living civilization from past glories and tragedies as foils for some larger good of the world organism. It is remarkable that both the Hindu and Christian Apocalyptic conception of the end of the social order was not an idea of damnation and catastrophe but of continuity and consummation of the divine will and law—the irresistible perpetual rise of the Dharma-rājya. Such is the tragic malorism leavened with social expectancy of the Indian philosophy of history, born of the assimilation of several millennia of experience into the balance of human progression. Scant centuries cannot obviously provide the stuff out of which a true philosophy of history can emerge. This was stressed by Lord Acton who once remarked, "We can found no philosophy on the observation of four hundred years, excluding three thousand. It would be imperfect and fallacious induction."

In a sub-continent, broken up into many regions with wide variations in climate and natural resources, inhabited by diverse races and peoples and carved out into congeries of kingdoms, empires and republics, unity and solidarity are the most constant political aspirations in history as these are the ancient essential aims of religion, morals and the social order. No country in the world has ever through its metaphysics, religion, art and scheme of social gradation, woven such a rich and enduring fabric of unity amidst such diversity which embraces not only mankind but all sentient life. Out of the welding together of the mass of Indian peoples with their various types, indigenous and exotic, in the Maurya, Gupta and Pala Empires arose the fundamental political principles of the loose union of semi-autonomous states under the king of kings and of the composite and secular culture state or *dharma-raja*. These represent the most constant elements in Indian history dovetailed into Indian empire building and into socio-cultural integration of development.

No doubt the moral and metaphysical conceptions of the Real or Cosmic Man, the Commonalty of Mankind were the spiritual counterparts of the ever-continued, ever-reinforced processes of building up a United India, politically and socially. Empires recurrently fail, as force has its peculiar limitations for national unification in a country with such natural barriers, huge population and infinite social complexity and heterogeneity as India. Thus her civilization draws through the epochs more surely upon myths—the political myths of the Kingdom of Universal Moral Law (*Dharma-raja*) and the Universal Empire, the social myths of the *Caturvarna*, *Varna Sankara* and *Kaliyuga*, the religious myths of the *Avatāra*, the *Bodhisattva* and the Compassionate *Bhagvān* and *Śakti*, the moral myths of Obligations and Sacrifices and the intellectual myth of the Triple Way of Living, of Wisdom, action without involvement and worship (*jñāna*, *karma*, *bhakti*). These have engendered common patterns of morality and ways of living among the principal regions of India from the great snow-clad mountains in the north to the Southern Ocean, and effected that solidarity of Indian society which blood and iron can achieve with but limited and temporary success. It is myth, metaphysics and religion and the forms and symbols of art in which these are the significantly and powerfully revealed from epoch to epoch that have indeed governed the unity, integrity and vitality of Indian civilization.

Every history builds up event by event, age by age, "the unity of the whole", comprising the myths, traditions and norms of mankind, the entity in human history. "The earth is our home" Mankind, is our kin" are basic Indian postulates. Through the divergent and even contradictory lines of development of different human cultures in different regions we find an increasing commonness of patterns of thought, values and faith in the structural order of mankind. We find also individual cultures rising to their highest when plasticity, freedom and universality are at their summit. Both trends contribute not towards "tribe" nationalism but towards a unified world society. Brahmanical

Vedantism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Stoicism, Christianity and Enlightenment have contributed in great measure in different epochs of history to reinforce the spirit of universality. There is a sense of imperative-ness of direction in history, corresponding to the development from the seed to the flower, about the maturation from specific culture to world culture as the destiny of the human species. Yet at no epoch in human history has mankind been so mightily challenged by what Paul Tillich calls the Demonic in history due to the lusts and fears of irrational humanity.

Mankind's historic continuity is governed as much by man belonging to a country, race or class shedding his mutable aspects, his narrow images of himself in his opinions, beliefs and faiths as by the world consciously striving towards a moral and spiritual unity through the synthesis of various cultural traditions and values and their fruitful application in global methods of co-operation. The philosophy of history finds mankind's milestones of advance across the dark sanguinary roads of the past, marked not by dogmatism and absolutism, fanaticism and utopianism that come to possess peoples drive them to violence and fade away in history, but by cultural syncretism, moral and religious humanism and the rising stature of the free human personality. This truth of history is nowhere expressed more than eloquently than in the Indian Epic, the Mahābhārata, written for the clarification of India's cultural values and norms in a period of unprecedented social turmoil and acute rivalry of opinions and faiths like the one we are facing in the present juncture.

"Logical argument is inconclusive, the Vedas are dissimilar,

There is no sage whose doctrines can be taken as authoritative

The verities of Dharma lie hidden in the inaccessible recesses of the soul,

The traditions followed by the many show the true way "

(28) SOME ASPECTS OF THE DIVINITY OF THE KING
IN ANCIENT INDIA AND CEYLON

by

S PARANAVITANA

Yadō tvadhārmikān sarvāṃś tīkṣṇaś dandair nīyacchati, Dhārmikānt c'ānugrhuṇōti bhavaty aīha Yamaś tadā Mahābhārata XII, 68, 45

In my paper, "Sigiri, the Abode of a God-King", I have developed the thesis that it was to set himself up as a god-king that Kassapa (circa 466-484 A.C.) had a remarkable palace built on the summit of the well-nigh inaccessible rock of Sigiri. He identified himself with Kuvera, and his palace on the Sigiri rock was meant to be a representation of Alakā, the Himalayan abode of the God of Wealth. I have therein summarised the evidence for the prevalence of the doctrine of the Divinity of the King in those lands which derived their culture from India, and dwelt on the influence which this doctrine has had on the development of their art and architecture. References have been quoted from Sanskrit authorities, like the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Mahābhārata*, in support of the divine status of the king. It has also been pointed out that, while certain Mahāyāna schools accepted this doctrine, Buddhism in general discouraged it. There appear, however, to have been occasions on which this doctrine influenced the course of political events in the Island in ancient times, it is the purpose of the present paper to collect such evidence bearing on the topic, and to interpret them in the light of ancient Indian political theories and similar beliefs which seem to have been current in India. As the ancient culture and the political institutions of this Island were derived from India, such a study, I presume, will not be without interest to those who are engaged in the task of elucidating the past of that sub-continent.

The political doctrine of the *Mahābhārata*² makes the king identical with a particular god, in accordance with the emphasis which

1. R. A. S., Ceylon Branch, Centenary Volume, pp. 129-183.

2. *Mbh.* XII, 68, 41ff. The references are to the critical edition of the epic published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. *Mbh.* (N) indicates the northern recension with the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha published by Citrasālā Press.

one may place on this or that function of royalty. The god with whom a king is considered as identical may, therefore, vary according to time, place and circumstances. Kassapa considered it politic to represent himself as Kuvera on earth. A ruler of Ceylon before or after him may have endeavoured to be honoured by his subjects as another god. And, in fact, if we interpret certain data in a number of, ancient Brāhmi inscriptions, and references in chronicles, in the light of the political doctrines which we have referred to, a good case can be made for the view that Vaṭṭa-gāmaṇi Abhaya (Circa 104-77 B.C.), who ruled Ceylon some four centuries before Kassapa, wished to be taken by his subjects as Yama, a colleague of Kuvera in the office of *laka-pāla* (world-protector).

An inscription in an early type of the Brāhmi script, found at Koravakgala near Situlpavuva in South Ceylon, records that the cave in which it is indited was fashioned and dedicated to the *saṅgha*, in the reign of a king named Tissa (Skt. *Tisya*, P. *tissa*) by a dignitary named Cema (Skt. *Kṣema*), the treasurer of Pita-mahā-rāja (Skt. *Pitṛ-mahā-rāja*).¹ The long inscription, or rather the series of inscriptions, on the pavement of the Dhakkhūpa Thūpa at Anurādhapura², to be ascribed to the third century on palaeographical grounds, refers in a number of places, to that monument, as founded in the reign of Pita-mahā-rāja. We know from the *Mahāvamsa*³ that the Dhakkhūpa Vihāra was founded in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Pita-mahā-rāja, therefore, is no other than Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. This conclusion is supported by the Koravakgala inscription when it states - that a person who dedicated a cave in the reign of a king named Tissa was the son of a dignitary who held the office of treasurer in the reign of Pita-mahā-rāja, for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was closely followed on the throne by his nephew Tissa, called Mahācūli Mahā Tissa in the chronicle. The identification is clinched by the Pāli commentaries which, in their not infrequent references to the events of the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya⁴, often call him Piturāja.

The fact that an inscription set up a few years after the death of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya refers to him by the epithet of Pitamahārāja and that the traditions recorded by the Pāli commentators as well as by the Dhakkhūpa Vihāra inscription knew him by that name, go to prove that

1. The text of this inscription runs thus: *Pita maharajhaha bhaddakarika parumaha Sumana-puta pramaha Cemaṣa lene rajha Tissaṇa rajhayaṇa nuyale agata anagata catu-disa sagata*.

2. See *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1948, p. 9.

3. Chap. XXXIII, vi 88.

4. See, for example, *Samamahavamsa*? (P. T. S. Edition), p. 448 and *Samanta-pāsādikā* (P. T. S. Edition), pp. 440 add 473.

in his life-time, many of his subjects referred to him in that manner. The reason why such an unusual name was attached to him arouses our curiosity and the old chronicler, too, seems to have realised that an explanation was necessary. For, he refers to the title of *Piti-rāja* (the element *mōha* appears to have been optional) borne by *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* and, moreover, he tells us how the king came to be known by it. *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya*, we are told by the chronicler, adopted as his own son *Mahācūḷi Mahātissa*, the son of his elder brother *Khallāṭa Nāga*. As he stood in the position of father to *Mahācūḷi Mahātissa*, *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* was called *Piti-rāja*, 'the father king'.

This explanation, though charming in its naïfete, hardly carries conviction. The adoption of another's son as one's own is not so extra-ordinary an occurrence as to justify a sobriquet on that account to one who does so. Even less is the justification when the adoption is of a son of one's own brother. If *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* had to be given an epithet based on paternity, it was not necessary to seek the reason for it in the fact that he adopted his brother's son as his own, for he had sons of his own, one of whom, *Coranāga*, succeeded to the sovereignty. Even without any formal adoption, the son of one's own brother is, according to the Sinhalese system of kinship, modern as well as ancient, entitled to be called 'son'. *Vatṭagāmaṇi* was *Mahācūḷi*'s 'father' even without adoption. The explanation of the epithet *Piti-rāja* given in the *Mahāvamsa* appears, therefore, to have been invented, not necessarily by the author of that chronicle, at a time when the real significance of the word had been forgotten. It is also not impossible that the explanation is due to a desire, for reasons which would become clear in the sequel, to prevent its real purport gaining currency among the people.

If the title '*Piti-rāja*' was not due to its bearer standing in the relation of 'father' to another person, it is necessary, in order to explain its significance, to ascertain the other meanings that could have been attached to it. The equivalent in Sanskrit of P '*Piti-rāja*' is '*Pitṛ-rāja*', and this, we know, is not uncommon in the epics as a name of *Yama*—a name appropriate to that god for the reason that he is the king of the *Pitṛs*; i.e. the Manes or the spirits of the departed. In Book I, Canto 48, v. 23 of the *Mahābhārata*, for instance, we read *Vyaktam mayā 'pi gantavyam Pitṛ-rāja-niveshanam* ('There is no doubt that I, too, should one day go to the abode of *Pitṛ-rāja*, i.e. *Yama*'), '*Pitṛ-rāja*' occurs as the name of *Yama* in several other passages of the same epic, for example, II, 8, 30, and III, 181, 14. If P '*Piti-rāja*' and the old Sinhalese '*Piti-maha-rāja*' be understood in this sense, the epithet borne by *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya*, which was preferred by some, in ancient times, to his personal name, would indicate that he desired his subjects to take him as *Yama*, the Divine Judge.

Such a conclusion would also make intelligible an episode in the story of *Vatṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* as it is narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*. A

few months after his accession to the throne, Vajragāmanī Abhaya was defeated in battle by invaders from South India, and was forced to flee for life. When the king, with a few followers and those dearest to him was fleeing before his enemies through the northern gate of Anurādhapura, a Jaina ascetic is said to have cried out that the 'Mahākāla Śihala' was running away. This phrase 'Mahākāla-Śihala' has been translated as 'the great black Sinhalese' and is taken by the translators of the chronicle as well as by writers on and students of Ceylon history as a personal insult which the Jaina ascetic, meanly taking advantage of the occasion, hurled at the king in his adversity. The epithet can, of course, be interpreted in that sense if the scene were shifted from ancient Anurādhapura to modern Europe. We have also accepted the interpretation without questioning because we have unconsciously imbibed the sense of values of the Europeans based on colour. But in ancient Ceylon, or in India, no one would have been offended by being reminded of his complexion. Some of the great heroes in Indian literature are described as dark, for instance Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Draupadī, the heroine of the *Mahābhārata* and Damayanti, immortalised in one of the most beautiful poems in Sanskrit, were dark of complexion. This did not make them the less desirable. Even today, Sinhalese villagers who have not been "educated" and thus trained to judge by values foreign to them will not feel ashamed by such names as Kalu Banda, Kalu Mūke or Kalu Mahattaya, in which *Kalu* 'black' is a component part. Moreover, the Jaina ascetic could not have damaged the king's reputation by referring to his bodily complexion, for which he was not responsible. The Nigāṇṭha, if he wanted to pay back for any real or imagined injury, might have made use of words impeaching the king's character or conduct.

The expression put in the mouth of the Jaina ascetic gains significance if Vajragāmanī Abhaya had set himself up as Yama on earth. 'Kāla' is one of the best known of the names of Yama and *mahā* can be added, according to one's whim, to the name of any important personage, human or divine. 'Mahākāla' would thus be synonymous with 'Pīṭi-rāja' or 'Pīṭimahārāja'. The spectacle of a king who had to flee before his earthly enemies only a few months after he had proclaimed himself to be Yama would have indeed aroused any one's sense of irony. If the Jaina ascetic did not subscribe to these political doctrines which ascribed such divinity to kings, as was very likely, there was no better propaganda than to bring the irony of this situation forcibly home to the people by shouting that the Mahākāla (Yama) of the Sinhalese was taking to his heels.

Yama is generally conceived as a god of fearful aspect, and a king who identified himself with Yama must have cultivated this bearing. There appear to have been current, in ancient Ceylon, folk-tales in which Vajragāmanī Abhaya figured in such a capacity. For Buddhaghosa, in the *Samantapāsādikā*, refers to an incident in which the

gnashing of teeth by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was sufficient to cause the death of an unfortunate individual named Cūlasumanā¹

If the significance of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's title, *Pitū-rāja*, is as given above, it will enable us to understand, in their proper perspective, the events of his reign, as given in the *Mahāvamsa* and the commentaries² Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abbaya (circa 161-137 B C) who re-established the first dynasty of Sinhalese kings after an interval of Tamil domination, so guided his policy that the interest of the royal house became identical with those of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. The king extended his liberal patronage to the *saṅgha* and the *bhikkhus* exerted their great influence with the people to the aim of making the latter attached to the royal house. This happy union between the state and the church continued with little interruption up to the accession of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The majority of the people had accepted the Buddhist creed, and they would have been gratified by the religious policy of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his successors. But there were Janas as well as Brāhmanas, who would naturally have been antagonised by the royal family identifying itself so closely with the interest of the *saṅgha*. They, however, had no chance to express their dissatisfaction by hostility towards the royal family, for the latter had popular support so long as the *saṅgha* was on the side of the king. If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, as we have inferred, proclaimed himself to be Yama, acting on political doctrines not consistent with the tenets of the Theravāda, while remaining an adherent of the Buddhist creed, he would certainly have offended the Sinhalese *saṅgha* which, up to that time, was not divided into sects, and was not prepared to endorse any doctrines opposed to those preached by Mahinda. The displeasure of the *saṅgha* would have resulted in the unpopularity of the king, and those sections of the population who had already been antagonised by the pro-Buddhist policies of the royal family, would have found an opportunity of translating their discontent into action. And this was precisely what happened. A Brahmin named Tiya³, who was hostile towards Buddhism, raised the standard of revolt, and the invasion by South Indian hordes, which drove the king into hiding, was probably not unconnected with domestic discontent.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, in hiding, was gathering forces to regain his throne. In the meantime, those who had wrested power from him did not extend patronage to the *saṅgha*, some members of which must have realised that, in spite of his heretical theories in politics, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi

1 *Pitū-rājā* co *Sīhala-norādassa dāṭhā-kotonāna Cūla sumano kutumbiya-mūraṇe rājadda dāṭṭhobhā Samantapāsādikā*, (P T S. Edition), p 440

2 *Mahāvamsa*, Chap XXXIII, No 34-104 and *Vamsatthappa-kāsīnī*, (P T S Edition), pp 612-623

3 For an account of Tiya's revolt, see *Sammohavimodanī* (P T S Edition), p 448

in power would be more advantageous to the Buddhist Church than the rulers of South Indian origin. Thus we find that an influential *thera* helped Vajjagāmaṇi during his years of misfortune. An incident relating to this period of the king's eclipse gives us an indication that, even when he was reduced to extreme straits, he was not prepared to forego any fraction of the divinity which he claimed for his person. While still rallying the people to his cause, he had the support of eight powerful chiefs, one of whom he very impolitically slew for not having prostrated on the ground before him. This alienated the other chiefs who deserted the king. At this critical juncture, too, it was that same *thera* who persuaded the chiefs not to desert Vajjagāmaṇi Abhaya, by the powerful argument that it was only by supporting him, in spite of his impolitic conduct, that the Buddhist Church could be firmly established.

Vajjagāmaṇi at last regained his throne, but adversity did not force him to renounce his claim to be Piṭṭ-rāja (Yama). He founded the Abhayaṇi Vihāra and granted it to that *thera* who helped him in his adversity. But the older establishment of the Mahāvihāra excommunicated this *thera*, thus leading to a schism in the Buddhist Church. If Vajjagāmaṇi, as we have inferred, claimed to be a god-king (Yama), the establishment of the Abhayaṇi Vihāra in opposition to the Mahāvihāra was perhaps dictated by the necessity of having a community of monks who were not opposed to his political doctrines. With the support of the king, the Abhayaṇi fraternity increased in numbers. The king's lukewarm attitude to the Mahāvihāra, in spite of the traditions of his family, was very likely due to the reason that the members of the fraternity were uncompromising in their hostility towards the doctrine of the divinity of the king. Those who realised that such an uncompromising hostility towards the only leader who could defend the Island against invaders from abroad and anti-Buddhist elements at home, would ultimately undermine the position of the *saṅgho*, probably enrolled themselves as members of the Abhayaṇi fraternity.

If Vajjagāmaṇi Abhaya, as we have suggested, identified himself with Yama he must have done so because the worship of that god was prevailing among the people of Ceylon in his time. If we can, therefore, establish that the cult in fact was known, our hypothesis will receive support therefrom. Yama is frequently mentioned in Singhalese literature but not as the centre of a cult. Images of Yama have been discovered at ancient sites in Ceylon, sometimes in association with those of other *lokapālas*. The ancient Indian belief that he is the Divine Judge who rewards the virtuous and punishes the evil-doers, was made use of by Buddhist preachers for moral ends. Even today, under the name of Yama-rajjuruvo (King Yama), he is known to every Buddhist peasant. He, however, under the familiar name of Yama, does not receive worship as the principal or subsidiary deity installed in a temple.

There is, however, evidence to prove that the deity called Saman in Sinhalese and Sumana in Pali, who is still regarded as one of the four protectors of Ceylon, who figures in the chronicles in connection with the reputed visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, who is the presiding deity of Mount Samanola (better known as Adam's Peak) and whose shrines at Sabaragamuva and Alutnuvara are visited by thousands of Sinhalese Buddhist votaries on the occasion of the Annual Festival in his honour, is no other than Yama Ceylonised. The transformation of Yama which has taken place in Ceylon, and the traits of Saman which betray his origin, form an interesting and fascinating study, the pursuance of which, however, is beyond the scope of our present purpose. I intend to deal with that subject in a separate paper. Here, I confine myself to two links in the chain of evidence which establishes the identification.

A Sinhalese Buddhist of the present day will be taken aback if he is told that the mild and good natured Saman, to whom by force of habit, he pays courteous respect, is the same as the dreaded Yama, the inevitable interview with whom he rarely contemplates with equanimity. But the Sinhalese *Jātaka*, written in the fourteenth century, contains conclusive proof that the identity of Saman or Sumana with Yama was well-known at that time. Compare the following metrical Pali passage from the Bhūridatta Jātaka with the corresponding Sinhalese —

Dhōiā Vidhōiā Varuno Kuvero Somo Yamo Candamō cōpi
Suriyō² Dhiṭtarāṣṭi a nom divya-rajjuruwō do Varuno nam divya-rajjuruwō
do, Kuvero nom divya-rajjuruwō do, Somo nom divya-rajjuruwō do,
Sumana nam divya-rajjuruwō do, Candro divya-pūtrayō do, Suriyā
divya-pūtrayō do³ Sumana nam divya-rajjuruwō (the divine king
 name Sumana) in the Sinhalese text stands for Yamo in the Pali. To the author of the Sinhalese *Jātaka*, therefore, Sumana was the same as Yama.

The name Sumana, as it occurs in the *Mahāvamsa* of the fifth century, is based on the Sinhalese name of the god as it was then pronounced. The genuine Sinhalese form of the name, as it occurs in literary works and is actually pronounced by the average Sinhalese, is *Samono*. In the fifth century, this must have been *Samonā*. We can easily equate the last with Skt *Samano* (the Tranquilizer or Extinguisher) one of the names of Yama.

There is a tradition which attributes to Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya, the discovery of the Buddha's foot print on Mount Samanola (Adam's

1. *Mohāvamsa*, Chap I, vv 33 ff., and vv 77 ff.

2. *Jātaka*, Fausboll's Edition, Vol VI, p 201.

3. *Pansya-ponas-jātaka*, Jināṣhāra Press, Colombo, 1929, p 1499.

Peak) The story narrated in the *Mahāvamsa* (I, 77 ff.) is that the Buddha impressed the foot print on the summit of this mountain at the request of god Sumana who, as we have seen above, is no other than Yama. If Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya identified himself with Yama, the tradition referred to gains significance¹

In this connection, the name Dharmarāja (Skt Dharma-rāja) occurring in a number of early Buddhist inscriptions from various parts of the Island, merits consideration. In two cave inscriptions at Bōvattegala in South-eastern Ceylon², a prince named Damaraja figures as the father of the donor. In a number of cave inscriptions at Kotṭadimūhela, also in the same area, the genealogy of the donor is traced to Damaraja³. This Damaraja, it has been surmised, belonged to a family of local rulers who held authority about the third or second century B.C. In a cave inscription at Mihintale, a Dharmarāja is mentioned as the father of a prince named Asaliya, the donor⁴. The name also occurs in an inscription from a place named Nēṭṭukanda in the Anurādhapura District, but it is not clear in what connection, for the text is not quite clear. It is also not certain whether all the records refer to the same prince. If a ruler of Anurādhapura who had this title is the Dharmarāja of the Mihintale and Nēṭṭukanda inscriptions, there is no means of identifying him with a name forthcoming in the chronicles. 'Dharmarāja' is one of the best known names of Yama. It is, therefore, synonymous with 'Pitī-rāja' and may have indicated divine kingship in the person who bore it. Whether Vattagāmaṇi used this title in addition to Pitī-rāja, and possibly Mahākāla, deserves consideration.

It has been surmised that the king named Dharmarāja, figuring in an inscription at Mihintale, is the same as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya who is noted for his piety and liberality towards the Buddhist Church. In his attachment to the religion of the Buddha (Dhamma), he emulated Aśoka and the title Dharmarāja might have been used by him in imitation of the Indian emperor⁵. Against this, it may be stated that the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya has been dealt with in great detail in the *Mahāvamsa*⁶. It was, in fact, the aim of Mahānāma, the author

1 William Skeen, *Adam's Peak*, Colombo 1870, p. 16

2 *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, pp. 99-100 and pp. 114-115

3 - *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1934*, p. 21

4 *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911* 12, p. 95

5 For Aśoka being styled Dharmarāja, see *Dvayāvadāna*, p. 379

6 Chapters XXII to XXXII

of that chronicle, to glorify Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and uphold him as a model Buddhist king. If therefore, this monarch had the title of Dharma rāja with a Buddhist significance, it is difficult to believe that the chronicler would have omitted to mention a fact so significant for his purpose.

In the case of Aśoka, the title 'Dharma rāja, that he bore has but one significance to a Buddhist. He earned it by his devotion to the Dharma as taught by the Buddha. The character of Aśoka and his actions before he embraced Buddhism, which entitled him to an epithet meaning the reverse of *dhomma*, are often painted in lurid colours, so as to emphasise the transformation made in him by Buddhism.¹ According to these, Aśoka was Dharmarāja or Dharmāśoka only after he became a Buddhist. If a Buddhist king of Ceylon, which derived its religion through the missionary endeavours of Aśoka, is found to have borne a name of Yama, it may not be fantastic to inquire into the possibility that Aśoka himself first adopted the title of Dharmarāja, not in his character as a patron of Buddhism, but in accordance with the politico-religious beliefs which ascribed divinity to kings.

Buddha himself is often referred to as Dharmarāja, but, in the early period of Buddhism, no lay adherent would have assumed a title which was considered appropriate to the Buddha. One can rule out the possibility that Aśoka was called Dharmarāja in order to identify him with the Buddha, or for the same reason that the Buddha was considered to deserve that epithet. If Aśoka was Dharmarāja even before he embraced Buddhism, the Buddhists could continue to use that epithet in referring to him, but with a new significance. The early Buddhist teachers often poured new wine into old bottles. Great psychologists as they were, they understood the passionate attachment which people have for words, and rarely tried to dethrone a word which had established itself. Instead, they adopted it themselves and gave it a new meaning. If Aśoka was known as Dharmarāja before he embraced Buddhism, the Buddhist propagandists could easily explain it as due to his devotion to their own *dharma*. Aśoka himself could have adopted a line of action in conformity with such an interpretation of the title if he had used it before he became a follower of Śākyamuni.

If Aśoka's title of Dharmarāja denoted divine kingship, it follows that he was regarded as the counterpart of Yama on earth. In Further India and Indonesia, when a king identified himself with a god, it was indicated by a visible symbol of that god, a model of the divine abode, Mahāmeru or Kailāsa, for instance. Yama, in popular belief, was regarded as the deity superintending the punishment of evil-doers in Hell, and, if a king wished to be taken as the counterpart of that deity on Earth, it can best be driven home to his subjects by the exhibition

of a miniature model of Hell. And we are told by Hsien Tsang that Asoka, before he embraced Buddhism, did in fact possess a very realistic representation of that place of punishment and torture.

Says Hsien Tsang "At first, when Asoka (Wu-yan)-raja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny, he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls and with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, sharp scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions. He selected an impious man whom he appointed lord of the hell. At first every criminal in the empire, whatever his fault, was consigned to this place of calamity and outrage, afterwards all those who passed by the place were seized and destroyed. All who came to the place were killed without any chance of self-defence."

We need not follow the edifying story of the pious pilgrim in all its details—how a mere novice of the Buddhist order escaped unhurt from the fires of this hell, how the emperor came to the scene to witness this miracle, how the keeper wished to make the emperor himself taste the fires of his hell, how the emperor turned the tables on the keeper and how, after this incident, the institution itself was abolished. But the story can be interpreted as having taken its origin from the memories of a model of Hell exhibited by Asoka to justify his claim to be the counterpart of Yama, if he did in fact, make that claim. The Buddhists would naturally have taken these stories to illustrate the unregenerate character of Asoka in those days before the *dhamma* had influenced him.

If the purpose of Asoka's Hell is such as we have conjectured, that institution appears to have been honoured by being referred to in his Edicts. In Rock Edict No. IV, we read "But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānampriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire and other divine figures." The exact significance of the "masses of fire" (*aghi-khodhān*) has been the subject of much discussion among scholars.¹ The general purport of the edict is to recount the measures by which Asoka promoted the practice of *dhamma* among his subjects. A very effective method of doing this

¹ Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 86.

² Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 7.

³ References to the views of various scholars on this point are given by Hultzsch, *op cit*, p. 7 f n 7.

would be by vividly bringing home to the people the sufferings in hell to which, according to every religion, evil-doers are consigned after death. The word *agrikhakhāṇā* may very well be a reference to what Hsien Tsiang calls 'vast furnaces of molten metal'. Even today, painted representations of Hell, with flames of fire as their chief characteristic, are found in old Buddhist temples in Ceylon, and are designed to serve the purpose which was dear to Aśoka's heart to make people desist from sin. In popular belief, Yama is the overlord of Hell, and the purpose for which that god maintains this very necessary institution is the same as that of Aśoka. If Aśoka at first was considered to be the counterpart of Yama on Earth, the Chinese pilgrim's account of his Hell is probably a popular parody of an institution based on certain politico-religious conceptions, while Aśoka's reference to the "masses of fire" in his own edicts is that monarch's interpretation of it in conformity with the doctrines of the faith that he had embraced later in life.

In the extract from Aśoka's fourth Rock Edict we have given above, the word translated by Hultzsch as 'aerial chariots' is *vimāna* (Skt *vimāna*). This may also mean celestial mansions, for the gods move about in their own mansions. The divine mansion is also the divine chariot. Yama, while consigning evil-doers to the tortures of hell, rewards virtuous men by admitting them to heavenly abodes. He is a righteous judge and, if he has to condemn some people to a state of suffering, the fault is theirs and not his. Aśoka's claim that he had representations made of celestial mansions in addition to masses of fire would thus be in keeping with the conjecture that he was taken to be the counterpart of Yama. In discussing the significance of the representations of elephants referred to in the above extract, Hultzsch has pointed out that celestial elephants are the usual vehicles of the Lokapālas. Yama was a Lokapāla and, if Aśoka was Yama on Earth, the representation of elephants must be as the vehicle of that god. The occurrence of a figure of an elephant below some of the Asokan edicts assumes a new significance in this light. The edicts engraved on the rock above the figure of the elephant have the sanction of Dharmarāja (Yama) in heaven as well as Dharmarāja on Earth.

If Aśoka used the title Dharmarāja with such a significance as explained above, he had ancient tradition to support him. In every age and clime, it was customary for kings to model themselves on the heroes of antiquity, this was particularly so in India. And, in adopting the title 'Dharma-rāja', Aśoka seems to have followed Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ 'Dharma-

1 This epic may not have existed in its present form in the time of Aśoka, but it is not impossible that the kernel of the epic is as old as, or older than 3rd century B. C. At any rate, the story of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas must have been current in India in Aśoka's age or even earlier.

rāja' is one of the commonest epithets by which Yudhisṭhira is referred to in the epic. The title is appropriate to him because he was the embodiment of Dharma, i.e. Yama. That deity was believed to have been the actual father of Yudhisṭhira and, in conformity with this belief, the hero is represented in the epic as always upholding Dharma in actions. The kings assembled for the Rājasuya sacrifice proclaim that it was Yudhisṭhira's championing of Dharma which makes them acknowledge him as their suzerain¹. Like Yama, Yudhisṭhira was believed to possess the faculty of slaying by sight. After the valiant Bhīṣma was slain, Kṛṣṇa, in congratulating Yudhisṭhira, says "having encountered thee, slayer with the eye, he was burnt with your fear-some eye"². Buddhaghosa, in the *Suttantapīṭika* commentary, tells us that the weapon of Yama is his own eye, and that Yama kills by a glance with the eye³.

Bimbisāra, the Magadha king who was the contemporary of the Buddha is described in the *Dīgha Nikāya*⁴ as *dhammāraja dhammarāja*. The old commentators and modern translators have apparently attached no greater significance to this expression than that it refers to Bimbisāra as a just ruler, for it has not been the subject of comment. If the expression meant no more than this one of the two words, *dhammāraja* or *dhammarājānami* would have sufficed. It is not impossible that the *Dīgha Nikāya* refers to a title borne by the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty. If so, the use of the title Dhammarāja was not an innovation by Aśoka, but a continuation, or a revival, of a practice of Magadha kings before him. The influence of the *Mahābhārata* on the names and titles of Magadha kings is not confined to the 'Dhammarāja' 'Ajātasatru', the name of Bimbisāra's son and successor, was also a well known epithet of Yudhisṭhira. The title Dharma-mahā-rāja was borne by some of the dynasties of South India, for example the Kadambas⁵.

In my essay referred to at the beginning of this paper, the evidence has been marshalled for the thesis that a king of Ceylon proclaimed himself to be the embodiment of a god who is the symbol of Wealth (*artha*) and, in the foregoing paragraphs, have been collected evidence

1 *Mbh* II, 34, 12ff

2 *Tvaṃ tu cakṣurvahanam prāpyo dagdho ghoreṇa cakṣuṣū Mbh.* VI, 115

3 *Paramathojotikā*, P T S Edition, p 225

4 P T S Edition, Vol I, p 85

5 G M Moraes, *The Kodamba-kula*, p 31

for the view that kings (in Ceylon as well as India) were sometimes taken as the embodiment of Justice (Dharma). In the *Mahābhārata*, there are certain passages from which the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas—the main theme of the epic—can be interpreted as a conflict between the two principles of Dharma and Artha. We have already dwelt on the topic of the Pāṇḍavas, headed by Yudhis'hira, standing for Dharma. The general impression to be gathered from the epic is that the Kauravas, the opponents of the Pāṇḍavas, stood for the negation of Dharma and not a defensible principle of statecraft like Artha. But we must remember that the epic, at least as it is now, takes the side of the Pāṇḍavas.

There are, however, passages of the epic in which the connection of Artha with the Kauravas is referred to in a manner not deprecatory. In a council of war, Karṇa refers to Duryodhana, the leader of the Kauravas, as the Arthapati, saying that other people do not comprehend affairs so well as one to whom that title is applicable.¹ 'Arthapati' may be rendered as 'Lord of Wealth' and it is interesting to note that the title 'Vai-hunī', by which kings are referred to in Sinhalese inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, can be interpreted to give the same meaning.² Bhīṣma, explaining why he fought on the side of the Kauravas, though he was not convinced of the justness of their cause, says "Man is a slave of Artha" (Wealth), Artha is not the slave of any one. This is the truth, O great king, I have been bound with Artha by the Kauravas.³ Identical words are put in the mouth of Droṇa as well as of Kṛpā.⁴ Duryodhana, in winning over the people to his side was liberal with *ortha* and *māno*.⁵ In the sacrifice performed by Duryodhana as a prelude to his assumption of the imperial dignity, the central ritual was the ploughing of the sacrificial ground with a golden plough.⁶ The title 'Arthapati' by which Duryodhana

1 *Yathā cārthopatīḥ kṛtyam paśyati no tohetarah*, *Mbh* (N), II 5, 3

2 *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Centenary Volume, p. 159f

3 *Arthasya puruṣo dāso dāsasivartho no bhavya'ci*, *Ētāt sotyaṁ mahārājā baddhormy orthena Kauravash* (*Mbh*, VI, 41, 36)

4 *Mbh*, VI, 41, 51 and VI, 41, 51, 66

5 I, 130, 6

6 *Mbh*, III, 242, 1ff. It is interesting to compare this with the account in the *Mohāvamsa* (Chapter X vv 158ff) and the *Mohābodhi-vamsa* (P. T. S. Edition, p. 134) of Devānāmpiya Tissa, the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, ploughing, with a golden plough, the consecrated boundary of ancient Anurādhapura.

is referred to, is also a name of Kuvera, but the epic, so far as I am aware, nowhere states, or even suggests, that the leader of the Kauravaa was an embodiment of that deity. Duryodhana is represented as the embodiment of Kali, the Spirit of Evil. The opponent of Dharma-rāja cannot, obviously, from the point of view of the epic, be connected with a deity like Kuvera who, in the heroic age, was the peer of Yama. But the probability that a Ceylon king of the fifth century identified himself with Kuvera can be taken as evidence that, in ancient India, rulers who stood for Artha were taken as embodiments of Kuvera, just as those who stood for Dharma were considered to be counterparts of Yama. The Rājadharmā section of the *Sāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Chap 68, vv 46-47) also supports this inference.

The Nandas, who preceded the Mauryas in the sovereignty of Magadha, also appear to have laid emphasis on the Artha aspect of state-craft. The commentary of the *Mahāvamśa* contains an elaborate account of a hoard of gold deposited in the Ganges by the founder of the dynasty¹. This is paralleled by the statement in the later chronicle that Kassapa, having built a palace on the summit of Sigiri rock, made deposits of wealth thereon². The purpose in both cases seems to be the imitation of Kuvera, who is fabled to possess nine inexhaustible hoards (*nidhā*) of wealth. The names of some of the members of the Nanda dynasty are suggestive. One was Dhana-Nanda, another bore the name of one of Kuvera's treasure hoards-Mahāpadma.

Under the rule of the Nandas, the power of Magadha greatly expanded, for it is to avoid a conflict with the forces of the Nandas that the cohorts of Alexander the Macedonian refused to advance beyond the Land of the Five Rivers. It is, therefore, easy to imagine that, in order to build up such a power, the Nandas paid more attention to material than to spiritual affairs, thus incurring the displeasure of Brāhmaṇas as well as the Buddhists, who stood for Dharma. The accounts which represent the Nandas as embodiments of rapacity and greed should therefore be treated with reserve, very much like the caricatures of modern politicians drawn by their opponents. The same applies to the delineation of the character of the Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata* and of Kassapa in the *Cūḷavamśa*. The manifestations of certain politico-religious conceptions have been parodied by those who regarded Dharma as the essential of state-craft to the disadvantage of those who emphasised Artha.

1 *Vaṃsatthappakāraṇī*, P T S Edition, pp 179-180

2 *Cūḷavamśa*, edited by Geiger, Chap 39, v 4

Saṃharitvā dhanāni tattha nidāhitvā sugopitaṃ.

But political theorists gave Artha its due place in the scheme of things, and, in the doctrine of the divinity of the king, Artha had its place by the side of Dharma. The *Rājadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata*, after giving an account of the primeval ruler, raises the pertinent question why the king, who does not excel other men in his physical and mental faculties, is entitled to implicit obedience from them. The question is then answered from the mythological standpoint "And that time, a golden lotus arose from the forehead of Viṣṇu, wherein was born Goddess Śrī, the consort of wise Dharma. Of Śrī, by (union with) Dharma, O Pāṇḍava, was born Artha. Therefore, in Kingship are established Dharma as well as Artha and Śrī." Incidentally, this passage from the *Mahābhārata* explains why the Sinhalese kings in their charters, from the fifteenth century up to the downfall of the monarchy in 1815, affix the syllable *Śrī* as the sign-manual.

These two concepts of Artha and Dharma are in fact the two pillars on which the edifice of the state was raised in ancient India and Ceylon. It is a commonplace in the Sinhalese *Jātaka* to state that the councillors advised the king on affairs of Artha and Dharma.² In modern political parlance, Artha may be translated as 'Welfare'. Everything that pertains to the material welfare of human beings, finance, trade, agriculture, etc. can be included under this head. Under Dharma is included Justice, Law, Religion—in short everything necessary for the spiritual well-being of a community. In a well organised state, the one is as necessary as the other. Injury to the one results injury to the other, too. Sometimes, it is difficult to determine whether a particular matter has to be included in the one or the other. For example, providing for the sick and the comfort of travellers, which Aśoka busied himself with, may come under Dharma as well as Artha.

There would, however, have been occasions on which one of these aspects was comparatively neglected so that men's attention was drawn to its necessity. A ruler who directs his policy towards one of these aspects which had been neglected would naturally receive the support of his subjects. But too much emphasis on one aspect, would make a

1 *Viṣṇor laṭāṭāt kamalaṁ saṁvartam obhavat toḍā, Śrīḥ sambhūtā yaṭo Devī pūtnī Dharmasyo dhūmotoḥ, Śrīyoḥ sakāśād Arthaś ca jāto Dharmena Pāṇḍavo, Atho Dharmas tathau ūrithaḥ Śrīś ca rājye pratīṣṭitā* Mbh XII, 59, vv 132-134

2 For example see *Paṇḍya-ponas-Jātaka*, op cit, p 1569. It is interesting to note that while the Sinhalese version has *arthayen dhammayen anusāsanaṁ karana*, the Pali text contains *dhammānusāsokaṁ*. It becomes apparent from this that while, to the early Buddhists, politics constituted Dharma alone, later Buddhist writers were forced to concede a place to Artha as well.

ruler unpopular. Dharma, however admirable in theory, if exclusively pursued, would result not in benefit to the community as a whole, but to those who claim the monopoly of its interpretation. Artha, if pursued to the exclusion of Dharma, would lead to consequences even more deplorable. After Aśoka had espoused Dharma, it was rarely that a king had the courage to make a stand for Artha. The bad odour which Artha acquired in course of time is symbolised by the iconographical development of Kuvera who, having been quite a presentable deity in the early centuries of the present era, became deformed of body in mediaeval times. It is the tragedy of history that the rulers of the world have rarely succeeded in maintaining an even balance between Artha and Dharma.

(29) NEW READING OF THE INSCRIPTION ON SCULPTURE No J 20
IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

by

K D BAJPAL, M A.,

. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow

The fragmentary sculpture No J 20 exhibited in the Jaina gallery of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, is one of the most important inscribed pieces discovered by Führer while excavating the famous Kāhkalī Tilā of Mathura in the year 1890-91. This fragment is the left-hand portion of the pedestal of a Jaina Tirthankara image. In the centre is the *triratna* symbol surmounted by the Wheel of Law. To its left four female worshippers are shown—three holding garlands and the fourth, a girl, with folded hands. On the right side of the *dharmacakra* is the mutilated figure of a Jaina ascetic. The end of the base is, as usual, occupied by a couchant lion figure.

The pedestal is inscribed in the Brāhmī characters of the Kusāṇa period and consists of three lines. Bühler, Führer and Smith read it as follows —

L 1 सं. ००१ व ४^१ दि २० पत्तयां पूर्वार्ध (पा) कोट्टये गयो वर्द्धराया^२
वासायां ..^३

L 2 को भय (बाय) वपहसिच भरहतो नग्दि^४ [भा] वसस प्रतिम (मां)
निर्वर्तयति.

L 3 साक्यये भाविकये [दिनाये] दान प्रतिमा बोद्धे धूपे देवनिर्मिते जिं

1 Smith reads it as व (*Jaina Stūpa*, p 12, Vol VI)

2 Bühler reads as वर्द्धरायां

3 Bühler reads here [बाय]

4 Bühler reads it as वग्दि [*E. P. Ind* II, p 204, No XX]

5 Smith reads it as व

That is, "in the year 79, the fourth (month of the) rainy season, the twentieth day, on that (date specified as) above, Aya-Vridhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gāṇa (and) in the Vāirā Śākha, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Āvarta (Nandyāvarta) . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinā (Dattā), wife of..... was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods!"

This according to the above reading the image installed was that of Aranātha, the 18th Jaina Tīrthahkara. Führer has translated the relevant portion of the second line as 'the Arhat whose mark is the Nandyāvarta symbol, that is to say, Aranātha, the 18th Tīrthahkara'.

But a close examination of the original shows that the name नन्दिआवर्तस or नन्दिआवर्तस is not correct and it should be मुनिमुवर्तस. My reading of the second line is —

को अथ ब्रह्मरिषि अरहन्तो मुनि मुवर्तस (मुनिमुवर्तस) प्रतिमां निवर्तयति

By accepting this new reading the image installed at the instance of Ārya Vriddhahastin was that of Muni Suvrata or Suviatanātha, the 20th Jaina Tīrthahkara, and not that of Aranātha

The year 79 undoubtedly refers to the Śaka era and the image was accordingly made in the year 157 A. D. when Vāsudeva, the Kusāṇa king was ruling at Mathura

The inscription may have begun with the words- ' सिद्ध महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य ब्राह्मदेवस्य etc, and may have ended with the words प्रियन्तां देवः or सिन्. in the third line, as has been found in similar inscriptions from the Kankālī Tilā

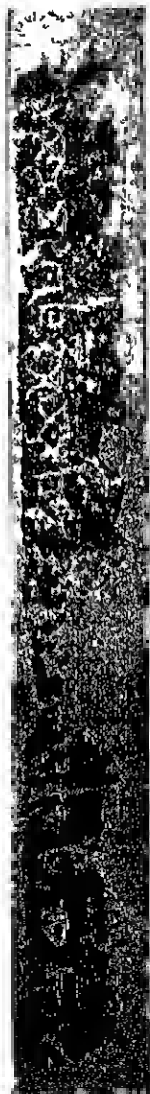
The inscription is significant as it refers to the old Stūpa at Kankālī Tilā, which has been referred to in the Jain literature such as the *Tīrthakalpa* of Jinapabhā Sūri³ and which was regarded in the second cent. A. D. as a Stūpa built not by men but by gods. Vincent Smith has gone so far as to conjecture that "this Stūpa is the oldest known building in India"⁴

1. Bühler *Op cit*

2. See Further Progress Report of the Lucknow Museum, 1891, p. 16.

3. See Bühler, *A legend of the Jama Stūpa at Mathura*

4. Smith, *Op cit*, p. 13



(30) AN INTERESTING TERRACOTTA SEAL
IN THE BIKANER MUSEUM

by

SATYA PRAKASH, M. A.

The seal under review was found at Dhalia near Hanumangadh in Hanumangadh Tehsil of the Bikaner-Unit of Rajasthan. It was in the year 1917 A D that Dr Tessitori, while making an archaeological survey of the Bikaner State area, found in the above village a number of clay pots such as jug, Lotā with spout and one okhali. Along with these pots was also found the above terracotta seal, which is interesting in many respects as we shall presently see.

The clay pots under review reflect in them a level of culture that roughly corresponds to a period from the 2nd Century to the 5th Century A D. The seal also appears to be of the 5th century A D for the inscription found on it, is in Brahmi character of the Gupta period and refers to an important administrative office in it. But before I discuss the significance of this office in the Gupta period, I deal with the particulars of this seal. The seal is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and gives place to a legend which runs as —

श्री समकक्षिक

कुमारामात्यधिकरण

It is difficult to interpret the first portion of the inscription i. e. *Srī Samakṣika*, which apparently appears to be a name but is a peculiar name and may mean a place, where the office of the Kumārāmātya was situated.

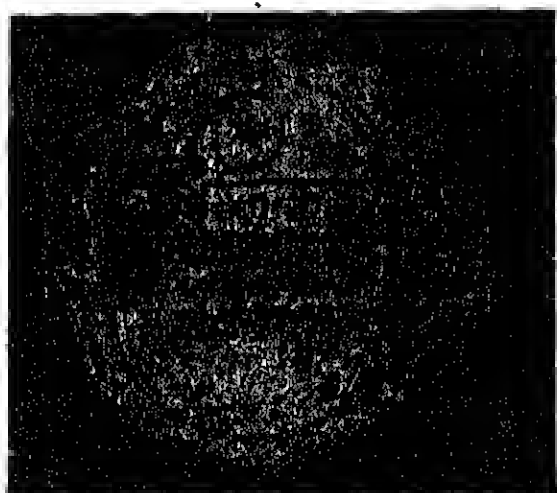
The straight line, dividing the inscription and the wheel-like symbol used on it, appears to be very significant. It appears that this symbol of wheel was the official seal of the period and that is why it was so adopted on terracotta seals also.

The wheel symbol has so far been taken to be a Buddhist Symbol and it was supposed to be connected only with Aśoka, who, being a Buddhist in faith, adopted Hinayāna symbols in art and other objects. The existence of this symbol on terracotta seals like this in the Gupta

period is curious application and presents a problem for scholars to ponder over and give their judgment² on this issue. It may either be taken as a Vaishnavite Symbol and may mean to be the 'chakra' of Lord Vishnu.

A word may be said here about the office referred to in the seal. This office figures so prominently in no other administration than that of the Guptas in both seals and inscriptions of the time. The word Kumārāmātya has been explained in several ways by historians. Some say that it meant a minister attached to the prince of the royal blood, who was appointed either as an heir apparent or a Viceroy. But this interpretation is not acceptable to scholars on the plea that Harisena, foreign Minister of Samudra Gupta and Śikharasvāmin and Prthivi Sena (Minister to Candragupta II and Kumāragupta) were also called Kumārāmātyas and were Ministers serving directly under emperors and not under any Crown prince.

Again, Kumārāmātyas are also referred to as district officer's and sometimes as subordinates to even Mahādandanāyakas, who appear to have been occupying a status higher than that of the Kumārāmātya, for Prthivi Sena Kumārāmātya is referred to the E. I. X (52) as having been promoted to it after some approved service. Dr. Altekar appears to be right in his inference when he says that Kumārāmātya, to a great extent, resembled the modern I. C. S. officers, who, sometimes, work in the district, sometimes in the provincial or the central secretariat and sometimes as a member of the Government itself. Higher posts of Ministers and Generals were also filled in by promotion from their cadre.



GUPTA SEAL

5th Century A D

Legend—श्री समक जिक कुमारामात्याधिकरण

(31) पर्यायवचनविवेकः ।

श्री चारुदेवः शास्त्री

के नाम पर्यायवचनाः । ये पर्यायार्थं भ्रुवन्ति ते पर्यायवचना । पर्यायो नाम परिपाटी क्रमः । इवमुक्तं भवति—ये शब्दा अस्मिन्मुक्ता असहोच्चारिता एकार्थस्य वाचकास्ते पर्यायवचनाः समाधायन्ते । इव चातोर्भावापद्यते य एकार्थका इति कोषेषु पठिता लोके वा तस्यात्वेन परिगृहीतास्ते चेषुसप्तद्वाभ्ये प्रयुक्ताः स्युर्नैकार्थका स्युः । अत्रत्य तत्र विशेषेण केनापि भवितव्यमभिज्ञातेन । अर्थगतार्थो हि शब्दप्रयोगः । अर्थस्य चैकेन समस्ययावितरस्य वैयर्थ्यप्रसङ्ग इति सुव्यवहितं पर्यायवचनानां समप्रयोगः ।

विमूर्त्ता प्रभु पित्राऽश्वोति हयोऽस्योति नयोऽस्योति सतिरति वाज्यसि
गुणासि नृभ्याः असीति काकसन्नेचके (२२ । १३) भ्रूयते । अत्राश्वो नाम अनुष्णा-
ज्वातिविशेष कौरपि नामभित्तोऽभूयते हयादिभिरिति विवरीतारः । यदि चेद्वाश्वेन
समियुक्तानां हयादीनामव्यवसायाधिक्येऽस्तदा नार्थोऽनेनाश्वस्तत्वेन । यदि हयादयोऽभ्यु-
च्यमाना अर्थाभ्युचयाय न प्रकल्पेरस्तदाऽनुक्षिप्तमेतदप्रक्षिप्तमिव स्यात् । न ह्यश्वो
हयवोऽश्ववोऽसीति साद्रेऽमुच्यमानं यच्च स्वदत्ते नाम, न वा वाचसरिथि जौफिकीमनु-
सरति । तेनाश्ववत्तात्पन्नमिति क्रमेण हयादीनां गुणाक्रियाधिक्येऽश्वोऽभिधिरसि ।
यस्तावदश्व आसीदोऽध्वानमसिधाति चिरतरं च प्रमाति न च वृत्तमर्थं वाति स हयो
वाऽस्यो वेत्युच्यते । यद्यपि संगरेषु रयस्य बोडा सज्जरीन् हिमस्ति स उच्यतेऽर्थेति । यः
पुनः क्षैम्येन सपति सगच्छते स सतिरिति व्यपदिश्यते । यद्यपि वीर्यवान् पुष्कलवीर्य-
शक्तिः स वासीति वा हवेति वाभिलक्ष्यते । एवं अवाक्रियमाद्येऽस्मिन् बहुविधं सर्वं सुस्थं
भवति । प्रत्यर्थं शब्दविशेषाभावतामर्थानामभिधानं तावतां प्रयोगो न्याय्य इति
आभ्योक्तद्विधाऽर्थाधिक्ये शब्दाधिक्यं न निरुद्धं भवति ।

इहान्नायवचने हयादीनां यः परस्परमर्थमेव, स गच्छता काकेन तिरोहितोऽ-
भूदिति ते हयादयोऽश्वार्थे निधिशेष प्रयुक्तास्त्वन्तः पर्यायतास्युः । गुणवचनेषु तु बहुव-
चेतत्त्वमिति शक्यं न्यवेण निदर्शयितुम् । वेदे तावद् वाजिहन्तोऽश्वविशेषवत्ताव-
विशेष्य वा प्रयुक्तः—आश्वं न वाजिनम् (श्रु० १।१२।१२), अश्वं न वाजिनम्

(अ० ७७१) इत्यत्र यथा । एवं सतिमात्रवोप्यस्य विशिष्यन्त्यः—अस्य न क्षतिम्
 (अ० ३१२११) इत्यत्र यथा । तथा मनुर्वैद्विषयादीनां मिथो विशेषणविशेष्यभावे-
 न वास्तव्ये प्रायिकं मयोगः । तद्यथा । उर्वी दृषवीम् (अ० ७१२११), यथेयं दृषिवी मही
 वाधार (अ० १०१२०१६), उन्नतिं भूमिं दृषिवीमुत्तमान् (अ० २५२१४) ।
 अप्वरशब्दो लोके यज्ञपर्याय इति परिगृहीतो वेदे यज्ञविशेष्य इत्यते । तद्यथाऽप्वरे
 यं यज्ञमप्वरं विरजतः परिभूरसि (अ० ११११४) । न ध्वरति न हिनस्तीत्यर्थयोगा-
 दप्वरशब्दोऽसिक्तमाह । यस्मात्सर्वोपि यज्ञोऽविशेष्येण यज्ञमानमवति, तमपायात्पाति,
 न हिनस्तीति यावत्, तस्मात्सोऽप्वरोभूत् । स्वेनैव च विशेष्यार्थमप्ययमज्ञपर्यायता
 स्यात् । लोकेपि यैव बहुधा विज्ञेयते । तद्यथा । छान्दोग्ये पर्वतपर्यायः पर्वत
 नामस्वमरादिभिः पठ्यते । अयमपि पुरा पर्वतविशेष्यमिति प्रमुमुने, उत्तुङ्गशिखरं
 वाचयते । तथा चाधिक्यैः अयोगः—छापगारश्च महान्पाः । सानुमन्तरश्च पर्वताः (रा० २।
 ४८।१०) । विहङ्ग इति पक्षिनामसु पठ्यते । अयमपि पुरा विहावता गच्छतीत्यर्थस-
 ताभ्येण पक्षिविशेष्य प्रमुच्यते । तद्यथा । ता विनाय विहङ्गो सौ पक्षी प्रयादितस्तदा
 (रा० ४।१।२२) । अंशुमानिति सूर्यनामसु पठ्यतेऽभिधानकोषेषु । पुरा सूर्यविशे-
 ष्यत्वेनाप्यस्य अयोगो बभूवेति स्पष्टं श्रीरामायणे । तद्यथा । उद्यतोऽशुमतः काशे ख
 प्रमेव विवस्वत (२।३।१५) इति । यात्री चिटपी पक्षाशीति वृक्षनामसु पठ्यन्ते । अमी
 चापि शब्दा वृक्षविशेष्यभावेन प्रचुरं अयोगमवातरन्ति शक्यते निर्देशयितुम् । तथा
 च भारते प्रयोगः—पक्षाशितं शारिकं च तथा विदीपनं पुन । तं दृष्ट्वा क्षीयित वृक्ष
 काश्यपेव महात्मना ॥ (भा० आस्तीक-पर्वणि ४३।१०-११) । गहनमिति वृक्षविशेष्यार्थ-
 मभिधानं धनमात्रमिवात्रैव शङ्कं भवति । उभयथा हि प्रयोगा इत्यन्ते । एवं चात्र
 क्रम प्रतिभाति—आद्यौ केवलं यौगिकारण्यः काष्ठपर्ययेण योगरूपा भवन्ति । तत्र
 विशेष्यसाहचर्यं तद्वैयर्थ्या प्रसिद्धिर्वा निवन्धनं भवति ।

कश्चिदुपमानाभ्यपि केवलानि प्रमुक्तान्मुपमेयै, सहैकार्यतां यान्ति विशेष्याणि
 वा विशेष्यौरेति विपरीतोपि क्रमो लभ्यते । यत्न इति मेघपर्यायेषु पठ्यते । तथा चाम-
 रेण तेषुक्रियन्ते—यत्नसीमुत्तमुदिरजलमुरधूमयोगव इति । मूर्त्तौ धन इति धनशब्दः
 पाथिलीये निपातित । मूर्त्तिरचास्यार्थो निर्दिष्टः । मूर्त्तिर्नाम काठिन्यम् । यदा च धर्म-
 शब्देन धर्मो भ्रम्यते तदा धनं दृष्टीत्यादि भवति । कठिनं संशोभितित्वर्थश्च । यथाधार्मि-
 न्तरं दृष्ट्यादि धनं भवति तदाऽऽत्मनि । तादृशे संश्लेषावयवेऽस्मत्तु जीमूते विवक्षिते
 अजधन इति प्रयोगोभूदिति शक्यमनुमानम् । परचास्तादृचयेण निर्दिष्टं गतेयं धनशब्दः
 केवलोऽत्रपरिहारेणापि तदर्थं प्रवृत्तोऽभिधानम् । इयं चाहुताऽऽदिक्रमेः प्रयोगेण समर्थ्यते
 इति सर्वं निर्विचिकित्सं विवक्ष्य भवति । तथा श्रीरामायणे (२।३।१५) प्रयोगः—
 तमज्जननसंकाशमापतन्तं महाकपिम् । अजं धन इति विग्रहो दृश्यः । धन इत्यस्य
 कठिनसंज्ञा इति आद्यः । अजस्य धनो मूर्त्तिरित्येवमपि शक्यं विग्रहीतुम् । यथानन्द-

घन इति वा सैन्धवघन इति वा । तत्रापि यस्मिन् विशेषणं भवतीति विशेषणमन्ते-
यापि केषां घनशब्दो घनं सान्द्रमन्त्रमाह । तथा वैदानीन्तना एन्धनदीया, कुक्कुम-
केसर इत्येवमाने केसर इत्येव व्यवहरन्ति विशेषणपरिहारण ।

कचिद्विरोधवाची शब्द सामान्यवाचिना सम प्रयुक्तं केवल विशेषणार्थं पर्य-
वस्यति । तद्यथा । कान्तारो हि महारण्यमाह प्रपन्नया धूम्रा । पर धनेन सन्निपुक्तो
दुष्प्रवेश इत्येवार्थमर्थयति । तथा च भागवतो वासुकीके प्रयोगः—'बहुदोष हि कान्तारं'
वनमित्यभिधीयते (रा० १२८५) ।

सामान्यस्य विशिष्टार्थोपसङ्गमोपि दृश्यते । गददिति पञ्चनाम । गच्छमानिति
पक्षिपर्याय । तथा चाभर — गीर्द्धोन्नता गच्छन्तं पितृन्तो नभसगता इति समाना-
र्थकान्तरिपठति । यथिसामान्यवचन एव गच्छन्तश्चब्दः कालपरिवासेन पक्षिविशेषे सुपर्य-
कृष्टिं गतोऽतिशयविवक्षया । अपराधो वास्ये गोशब्देभ्य । पक्षवो गोश्वा इति चात्र
वचनभङ्गवत्सुता भवति । एव छानिप्रयुक्ति तत्र चकार — अयमेको गच्छमान्यो जगिष्ठ
पतताम् इति ।

विपरीतोपि क्रमो लभ्यते—वाहिनी वृत्तना समूहनीकिनीत्याद्यप्य छैन्यविशो-
पस्य नामधेयाभि सन्तोपि विशेषाविच्छाया सेनासामान्यभक्तिवधाना परस्परं
पर्याया भवन्ति ।

एव पर्यायाया विकल्पे दिक्मात्रं प्रदर्शिते तेषां प्रतिनियतविषयतामधिकृत्य
किञ्चिदुच्यते—आह च भाष्यकारः—मिषयविषया शब्दा दृश्यन्ते । तद्यथा । समाने
रक्ते वर्णे गीर्द्धोन्नत इति भवत्यश्वः शोण इति । समाने च काळे वर्णे गीः
कृष्ण इति भवत्यश्वो ह्येव इति । समाने चशुभले वर्णे गी द्रवेत इति भवत्यश्व
कर्म इति । रक्ताश्वः शब्दाः शोणादिभिः समानार्था विविच्यन्ते सूरिभिः । तथा
च—अप्युक्तीवजपास्तथाचक्षाया वर्णे मत्तीभिः । शोणरोदितरक्ताया प्रयोगः परि-
कीर्तितः ॥ इति भागुरिमुदाहरत्यस्य व्याख्याया समानम् । इन्धन त्वेव इन्धमेव
कमिच्छामित्यस्य इन्धवादीर्वा पर्यायवचनतायामपि समिदिपत्तयोस्तु होमीय इन्धन
एव बहुलः प्रयोग इति वाग्योपविदः ।

आभिधानिकैः यदावचनतया संपठिता शब्दा येनाभिप्रायेण तथा पठिता-
स्तमित्यङ्कारमभ्युहन्ति प्राज्ञाः—तमाक्षपत्रतिलकचित्रकाणि विषयकमित्यत्राभरे तमाक्ष-
पत्रादीनां चतुर्णां पर्यायत्वमन्तरेण तमाक्षपत्राकृतिं कर्तव्यां लक्षाटे तमाक्षपत्रम् ।
तिलकाकृतिं तिलकम् । चित्रकं नामावर्णम् । विशानष्टि विशेषकम् । इत्थं तिलकमेव
पठेत् । पर्यायत्व स्वद्वयमिषयवदिति स्वामी स्माह । अन्यत्र च आकारमित्यत्र इति तमि-
त्यस्य व्याख्यायाः स एवाह । इति आकाराणां भावज्ञानमित्यादी गोयलीवर्णव्यायेन

इति चेद्विद्वत् । आकृतिग्रहणमाकारो सुखरागादिरिति कीदृश्यो व्याख्यत् । अथ त्वमनोराशयज्ञापकत्वादस्य मन्वत् इति ।

अयमत्र निष्कर्षः । ये सर्वविधानकोषेषु समानार्थका इति परिपठिताश्चास्ते तावन्मात्रं समानार्थका भवितुमर्हन्ति, भिद्यते हि तेषामर्थः कदापि कल्पयेति । यथेष्टादिर-
गुहादीनां साधुर्न सास्तरं सद्यपि न तथा विसाव्यते न वा वाया प्रविगच्छते, भेदस्था-
तिसौधस्यात्, तथा समानार्थकानामप्यवान्तरो विरोधो भवति, न च लक्ष्यते, सौकर्या-
दिति तद्वत्प्रत्यये प्रकृतो यत्नः । तत्र च न चयमुत्प्रेक्षाप्रसङ्गिना प्रमाणांतरविरपेक्षा
प्रवर्तितुमर्हाम । तथाजातीयका न प्रवृत्तिः प्रज्ञायां प्रीत्ये प्रतीत्ये वा न स्यात् । तेन
सत्कृतं आकृमयमवगाहमवगाह यथाप्रकृतोपयोगि विष्टवचनं पश्यामस्तद्विद्वत् समान-
नामः, यथावसर यथामवधी विमर्शं च निजं प्रवर्तयामः ।

एतत् तद्वत्प्रकृतं सम्यग्भूतिं त्रिषु तद्वृत्तीत्यन्तरे सत्यमृते समानार्थके पठिते ।
अतः वक्षिष्यामि । सत्यं वक्षिष्यामीत्यत्र तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि तु स्पष्टं नानार्थः । तत्र अतः
मथाकाशं यथाकर्तव्यं सुखी सुपरिनिश्चितमर्थम् । सत्यमिति वाक्कायाभ्यां सम्या-
यमानम् । इति आह्वर- भाव्यम् । कीदृतिं अनुच्यः सर्वं सत्यं वक्षिषुम् । सत्यसहिता वै
देवा अनुसर्तहिता मनुष्या इत्येवमेवमप्राप्तये (११६) अतस्तस्यै इत्थं निरूपयान्नाकार
मदृश्याकर- सातसमर्थं तथात्वमुच्यते । वाचिकमर्थं तथात्व सत्यमिति । गीतिवन्मासी
तु यथायं वाचिष्यते । यथाध- दृष्टवाचित्वं सत्यमित्येवं प्रोवाच ।

यथा कीर्तिः समाज्ञा चैवमरेण यथाकीर्तिश्चन्द्रौ पर्यायवचनौ समुपन्यस्यौ ।
साहित्ये तु वाच्येषु समं प्रयुक्तौ दृश्येते इति पर्यायता विद्वन्मते । तथा च जैमिनीयोप-
निषदि प्रयोगः—तस्मात्सत्यमानस्य भूयसी कीर्तिर्भवति भूयो यत्न इति (११११३)
भीरामायणोप्यनेकं सहप्रयोगो विस्तोषयते । तद्यथा । तेनेहास्मात्पुत्रा कीर्तिर्वाशस्ते-
जश्च वर्धते (११११३) । तत्र तिलककारो रामः कीर्तिं शीरोदिता, यथा दानाद्विज्ञा
प्रतिद्विरिति तयोर्विशेषमाह । अन्यत्र च रामायणे न सास्त्रा शक्यते कीर्तिर्न सास्त्रा
शक्यते यथा (१११११६) इत्यत्र परोऽसावेव विधिकृत्ते—कीर्तिर्देवान्तरज्यातिः, यथा-
स्वदेशक्यातिरिति । अत्रैकतरं व्याख्यानं प्रमाणाभूय यथाऽनुमय वेति नाहोमो वक्तुम् ।
मनुसंहितायामप्येवमपि साहचर्येण प्रयुक्तिरुपलभ्यते । तद्यथा । इन्द्रियाणि यथा
स्वर्गमायु कीर्तिं प्रजा पश्यन् (१११४०) इति । तत्र जीवतः कयातिरूपं यथा । मृतस्य
कयातिरूपं कीर्तिमिति कुल्लुकभ्याषयानम् । नेव सर्वत्र घटत इति न वेद्या विदा शराः ।
तथा हि भगवद्गीतासु अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽप्ययमिति पथे जीवत
यथाकीर्तिर्नरणांमरणासु चापि सुदुःसहा भवतीति निगद्यत एव स्पष्टा प्रतिपत्तिः ।
मृतस्य सतः समावितस्य जनस्याकीर्तिर्नरणातिदेकोऽकिञ्चित्कर इति तदुक्तिर-
वर्थिका स्यात्

परिवादापवादौ प्रायेण पर्यायौ परिगृह्येते । तत्रापि 'सहस्रयोग' पर्यायस्वापवादको दृश्यते । तथा च धीरामायणे प्रयोग — परिवादोऽपवादो वा राघवे नोपपद्यते (२।१।२७) तत्र रामटीकाकार एव उपोभेदं निर्मुले — परिवादोऽकार्यकरणमित्तं समूलनपथ । अपवादोऽस्याकल्पितं निर्मूलमप्यथ । गुरीर्यत्र परिवादो निम्ना वार्षि प्रवर्तते इत्यत्र भनौ विद्यमानदोषस्याभिधानं परिवाद इति कुक्कूक । परिवादः सम्भूतदोषानुक्तयनम् । निम्नाऽविद्यमानानां दोषाणामभिधानमिति च सेचातिथिः ।

दीप्तिकान्तिद्युतपोऽद्वयप्रकर्षास्पर्शायाः, वस्तुतस्तु भिन्नायां इत्यत्र शिष्ट-प्रयोगा प्रमाणात् । तथा च भारत आदिपूर्वणि तत्तद्विपत्तापरिच्छेदेन तेषां प्रयोग — दीप्तिकान्तिद्युतिगुणौ सूयैः शुक्लनोपम (१।८।३) इति । अन्यत्र च भीष्मपूर्वणि — उभौ चन्द्रार्कसदृशौ कास्या दीप्या च भारत (१।१०।३०) इति । अन्यत्रापि काश्य-वाटकेषु सूयादीनां दीप्यादिभिरव्यभिचरितं सम्बन्धो विज्ञोपपत्तेः, पद्योगतिवमरच विज्ञायते । तथा च । उच्यते । सर्वैः समग्रस्त्वमिव दीप्यते सप्तसितिरिति विक्रमोर्वशीये । कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावत इति च कुमारे । अत्र तेजस्तात्सम्यमेव विषयनेहे हेतुः । सूयैश्च तेजदधश्चुषपहृस्तीत्यस्य भवति, तदुच्यते दीप्तिरिति । अन्यस्य प्रभा कमनीया भवतीति शास्त्रिभधीयते कान्तिरिति । शुक्लनो नामार्तिवन्माभवति, विरम्य विरम्य च श्वत्सव्येन पुनः पुनः प्रीयित स उच्यते षोडश इति । यथा तारका शोतन्ते यथा धा विद्युद्विशोत इति । तानि । सामान्य किञ्चिदादाय सूयैश्चन्द्रयोः प्रकाशाद् विशेषं किञ्चिदाख्यातु तथा प्रयोगो भारते । नाय नियमं सूयादीनां कर्तृत्वात् सप्तस्त्वन्वे वा दीप्यतिप्रभृतीनां भातृतामेव प्रयोगो भवतीति, आश्वत्थप्रयोगस्य बहुलं दर्शनात् । न तत्र सूयौ भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेसा विद्युदो भाति कुतोऽवमभितिरित्यत्रैकैव भातिना सूयादीनामव्यवर्धनात् ।

कोपक्रोधावभिज्ञार्थाविति प्रायेणानुपेक्षते । तदनुपपन्नम् । क्रुधद्भेदार्थावार्थानां च प्रतिष्ठाप इति सूये भाष्ये नामार्था एते कुपौ खेपां सामान्यम् । न ह्यकुपितं क्रुध्यतीत्युक्तम् । तत्र कोपक्रोधयोर्विशेषमस्तीति साध्यकारः । त च विशेषमित्यमुक्तयति कैवटः — अनु कोपः क्रोध एवेति भेदाभावात्कथं पर्यायपर्यम् । एव तर्हि प्रथमानुक्तार्ता कोपावस्था द्वितीया चोक्तता विहृतवाक्कादव्यापारानुमीयमानाभातिवैतदुक्तमित्य-दीपः । एतच्च 'अतिक्रुद्धेषु तैवपत्य प्रकर्षः क्रोध उच्यते इत्यभिद्युक्तोक्त्या बलवत्समर्थते । क्रोधो विविधश्चित्तेति शान्तिपूर्वणि (२।३।३) वीरकचउभयितिरित्यत्रानुगुणा ।

अमर्षरोषावपि विविधयेते 'अमर्षो विचक्षयैः । भावतीमापये (पृष्ठे २० तमे) अमर्षरोषाविति इत्युक्तिर्यथा । समुपपद्यते । तत्र टीकाङ्गजगद्भर इत्य विशेष निर्वीर्य — अमर्षरोषौ अचमाम्क्रोधी । यद्वा स्मिन्क्रोधवत्तात्कादिककोपौ । यथाहु — क्रोधः कृतावसाधेषु स्थितोऽमर्षस्वमरुते रोषस्वात्कादिकः क्रोधः इति । इव च निरवधं

भाति । चण्डे कष्ट चण्डे सुष्टुष्टो रष्ट. चण्डे चण्ड इति हितोपदेशस्ये पथे वाक्यार्थे विद्युत्प्रमाने रोचस्तात्कालिकः कोपो भवतीति न ह्युक्तमुक्तमुक्तम् ।

मित्र सखा सुहृदिति समानार्थकानि नामानि परिपठति कोषकारः । विशेष-
ज्ञातयश्च विशेष विद्वानन्ति । प्रथते च प्राचासुक्ति—अस्यागसहस्रो बन्धु सदैवानुगत.
सुहृत् । एकस्मिन् भवेन्मित्र समप्रायः सखा मतः ॥ इति । यद्यत्र मित्रजिह्वविषयोक्तं
तत् 'तन्मित्रमापरि सुखे च समक्रिय यद्' इति ह्युक्त्या सखावात्सुहृत्पदम् भवति ।
भास्ते शान्तिपर्वणि (१७११८) असुहृत्सुहृत्वाचि सशत्रुमित्रवाचपीति पठ्यते । तत्र
मित्रसुहृदोर्भेदोपादानमिति व्यक्तम् । तच्च भेदमिदं विदुषोति भावग्रहीणे नीलकण्ठ
सुहृत्पदपुष्पकारमनपेक्षयोपकारकत्वा । मित्रं प्रत्युपकारमपेक्षयोपकारकत्वं । इदमप्राप्तव-
चाच्यं सुहृत्पदसंनियोगेन मित्रशब्द इदमपीभिधायी भवति, सुहृत्पदार्थपरि-
शेषात् । न तु मित्रशब्द सर्वत्र प्रत्युपकारापेक्षयोपकारकं रूढ । यच्च प्राचीनैः
सखिशब्दसुहृदय समप्राय सखा मत इति परिभाषितं तत्कथिदेवावितथम् । बाढ'
शाकुन्तले पठेके मधुकरिकाया परभूतिकां सखीं प्रति 'एकमेव भौ जीवित द्विधा स्थित
शरीरम्' इत्युक्तिस्तस्मात् 'स्य पोषिका भवति । प्रायशरथ सखिशब्द, सहचरमाह
सहाय वा । तथा च कवीनां प्रयोगः—धनेशराणां वनितासखामां इति कुमारे
(११०), सखिचसख इति रघौ (१८७) । मरुत्सखाममिति च । समान क्वासीति
सखेति व्युत्पत्तेयं 'बोद्धव्यो शीखादि समान भवति तयोरेव सखिमाह इत्यभ्युपगमाच्च
समाभावस्थितिका समावबन्धनसिद्धिकारण परस्परं सखायो भवन्ति । अथ चाद्यौ'
भारत आदिपर्वणि त्रयोहरेरुक्ता द्रुपदोक्त्या साधीय समर्थते । एष हि
सौज्यादीन्—वासश्रोत्रिभ. ओभिरह्य भारधी रथिन' सखा । नाराजा पार्थिवस्यापि
सखिपूर्वं किमिच्छत (११६ । १५) इति ।

गर्वोभिमानोदकारो मानविषयसमुक्तिरिति पर्यायवचनाः । तत्र गर्व-
मधिकृत्य पूर्वोक्तार्थवाक्यमुदाहरति सत्यतन्त्र—गर्वो नाम कुलैरवर्णकपविधावसादिभिः ।
इष्टार्थविषयप्राप्तेर्जायते नीचगोचरः ॥ इति । भारते शान्तिपर्वणि (३१११४)
जोषात्क्रान्तमवाधाय क्षोभमोही च मानवा । मानद्वर्पावहकारमद्वकारात्तत् क्रियाः ॥
इति स्मर्यते । तथा मानद्वर्पावहकाराणां पृथक् निवेद्योर्भेदस्य प्रकटनं इत्यभिप्रेक्ष्यम् ।
तस्यैव भेदमिदं सुज्ञापयति नीलकण्ठः—मान आत्मनि पूज्यतावृद्धिः । कर्प
कञ्जक शङ्खत्वम् । अहंकार परेषां सुहृदीकरणमिति । यश्चात्र मानशब्दार्थं दत्तः स
व्युत्पत्तिरभ्य इति प्रमाणात्तरनापेक्षते । अभिमानोपि विशिष्टः स एव । कर्पशब्दोऽपि
यथातथ व्याख्यातः । कर्पयोः कर्पकोऽनङ्ग इति कामनामानि । कामाविष्टो हि ह्य-
त्युच्यते सखी भवतीति सार्वकौमिकम् ।

तज्जलं मर्त्तनं च समानाभिधेये इति भूना व्यवह्रियेते । तथा च भाषुपाठः—

तर्जं मर्त्यं भर्त्सनं इति । अत्रापि विशेषः करिष्यत्समस्ति । श्री रामायणेऽनयो सद्व्ययोगश्चे' । तथया । तर्जापयति मां नित्यं मर्त्यापयति चासकृत् (६।३९।३) इति । तत्रैव विधिकृते सिद्धककार — अथाधिकी भीषिका तर्जनम् । आधिकी तु सा भर्त्सनमिति । इयं च ह्ययङ्गमम् । तथा हि अयं भर्त्सन इति पठ्यते न तु अयं तर्जन इति । आगन्तुस्यसर्पस्य भिद्यास्य वाचा भीषयते इवा न तु कायव्यापारेण । प्रदेष्टिनी नामाङ्गुलिस्तर्जनीति सङ्गान्तरेणोच्यते न तु मर्त्सनीति भीषिकायां धात्व्यवहाराभावात् । अत एवाभरः शब्दं विस्रम ५ पपाठ—भर्त्सनं त्वपकारगीरिति ।

केयूरमङ्गदं मुख्ये हृत्समरे यथावदवधनतया पठिते । यद् रामायणे भारते ज्ञानयो सद्व्ययोगदशनाङ्गते समानार्थके इति ज्ञयमभ्यवसातुम् । रामायणे तावत्—अङ्गुलीनि च चित्राणि केयूराणि शुभानि चेति इत्यते । तत्राङ्गदं धातुमूलार्थं भूषणम् । केयूरं सद्व्ययोगस्थितिं सिद्धककार । भारत उद्योगवर्धयि चाप्येनयोर्भेदेनोपादानं विद्वीक्यते । तथया । अङ्गदै' पारिहायैश्च केयूरैश्च विमूषिताम् (१६२।१६) इति ।

विज पः परिदेवनमिति परस्वरोश्च समानार्थकं इयं कोषेषु । अत्रापि विशेषः करिष्यदस्ति स वङ्गस्य । परिदेवनमिति औदादिकाद् द्विषं परिकृज्ज्ज इति धातो-
व्युत्पद्यते कृज्ज्जं रोज्ज्जं चास्वार्था । कृज्ज्जि रोषितीत्यनर्थान्तरम् । अङ्गावप्रातिस्तोम्ने (८।१।१६) इति सूत्रे 'अङ्गकृज्ज्जं वृषज्ज्जं, इदानीं ह्रास्वसि अस्मेति प्रभुदादश्चे तदर्थोच्यते । विलाप इति तु ज्ञयं व्यङ्गाया आचीत्यस्मात्तेनैतयोर्भेदः स्फुटः । तथा चैतयो वृथगर्थतया रामायणे प्रयोगः—विलापितपरिदेवनाकुलं व्यसनगतं तद भ्रुस्तुदुःखितम् (१।६३।७) तत्र विलापितं रामगुणकैकेयीकुगु'षप्रतिपादकं वाक्यम् । परिदेवनं रोदनमिति रामकृता विवृतिः ।

पिशुनसूचकौ समार्थकौ प्रतिपद्येते । तथा च धातुपाठः कृच वैशुन्य इति । भृगु-
प्रोक्ताया मनुसंहितायां तु भिलार्थकतया प्रयुक्तौ । पिशुन' वीति नासिक्त्वं सूचकः पूति
व्यग्रताम् (११।२०) इति । तत्र पिशुनो विद्यमानोपाभिधाधी । सूचकोविद्यमानोपा-
भिधायक इति सुषुक्तो विशेषमाधिकरीतिः ।

सिकतायर्करावालुकानां प्रायेण न्यतिकीर्यन्ते प्रयोगाः । अस्तीह सामान्य
भेदश्च । भारते शान्तिपर्वणि भूमिपायासिकतायर्करावालुकाभस्मशायिन इति
प्रयोगो ज्ञप्यते । तत्र सिकताः सूचनपायापसकः । शर्करा कर्करसहिता मृत् ।
वालुका खूपलमिश्राः सिकता एवेति भारतमावप्रदीपे नीलकण्ठः ।

मुष्प्रीति' प्रमयो हर्ष इति हर्षनामस्वमरः । मुष्प्रीतोद्योस्तु प्रत्ययो भिद्यते न
प्रकृतिः । तेनानवकाशोऽर्थभेदः । प्रमोक्षमोद्योश्चाप्युपसर्गो नित्यते केवलं न प्रकृतिर्न

वा प्रत्यय' । तस्मात्तद्विषयव्यवहारीत्युच्यते न । इदानीं विचार्यते प्रीतिरूपं प्रमोदना परस्परं को विशेष इति । इदं तावदभ्युपेयं प्रीतिर्नाम सा साम्यस्वरूप इति । अस्ति खलु मोद-
हर्षयोर्मेव इति श्री रामायणे 'न चाहृष्यन् चामोदन् वयिजो न प्रसारयन्' (२।४८।४)
इत्यत्र स्पष्टम् । तत्र हर्षं शारीरो मुखविकासविरूप । मोदं आभ्युपेयं हर्षं हृत्स्वैव
विधिवन्ति रामायणतिलके राम । परं नायं विवेक साधुर्भवतीति मतीम । चरके
विमानस्थानेऽनुमानकोपात्तभावान्प्रकृत्याह—तत्र क्रोधमभिप्रीतो ह्येव, शोकं वै-वेन, हर्ष-
सामोदेन, प्रीतिं तोषेण । विद्यात् । चामोदो गीतवादित्राद्युत्सवकरणम् । गोपी
मुखनयनप्रसादादि, तेन प्रीतिरुपमात्रम् । हर्षस्तु प्रीतिविशेषो मनश्चक्रेकरक
इति चक्षुष्यादिभ्यां चट्टे । इयमेव च साध्वी व्याख्या । मूलं चामोदेन किञ्चन हर्षमनु-
मिसीतेत्युक्ते । यदि नाम हर्षं रामस्याभिमतं शारीरो मुखविकासविरूप
स्वाप्तासाधनुमेव स्वात् । प्रत्ययमुपलब्धेः । चामोदे चास्त हं चिह्नस्वमपि नोप-
पत्तिमत्स्यात् । तेन चामोदो हर्षलोकरिति साहचर्यं भवति ।

हेमचन्द्रो हिरण्यरूपं पर्वत इति स्वीकारं तथा चामरः—हिरण्यं हेम हाटक-
मिति । चरके विमानस्थाने तु भेदेनैतयोर्व्याख्यानम् । तत्र साह्यदामशीपहिरण्यहेम-
रूपतादि समासोक्त्या पठितम् । व्याख्यातं च चक्रेण हिरण्यमशब्देनापठितं हेम गुह्यते,
हेमशब्देन च पठितमिति । तथा सत्यस्यमरे प्रयोगसाङ्गिक्यं दृश्यते यथाह—हेमकल्पे
कृताकृते इति । मध्ये वृत्ताशुरोभादेव प्रायुक्तं कोषकारः ।

कुम्भचट्योरपि न प्रायेण सूत्रहो विशेषः । अस्ति च स इति स चिदर्थविधानम् ।
चरके सूत्रस्थाने इदानीं तावत्प्रकारात् विधिवानपि समासेनोपदेश्यमान इत्युपक्रम
तांस्तानर्थान्परिगणयन्कुम्भचटौ साहचर्येण पठति । तत्राह टीकाकाररचकपाणि —
कुम्भो वहावयवोऽप्यमुसो घट इति ।

अनर्थक्यपापं कपोरपि समाजगर्भकानिमित्तयोर्विशेषं सुविधं स्वयन्ताम् । चरके
विमानस्थाने वाक्यपदीयान्परिगणयति ग्रन्थकारः । तत्रानर्थक्यमपार्थक्यं चेति दोषद्वय-
मपि कीर्तयति । स्वयमेव च व्याख्याति । तद्व्या । अनर्थक्यं नाम पदवचनसंहरभासमात्रमेव
स्वात् । पदवचनसंहरभासो गुह्यते । अपार्थक्यं नाम पदार्थवचन परस्परं चाप्युपमानार्थकम् ।
यथा चक्रमक्रमशब्दप्रतिपादक इति ।

इह चाकृतकद भविष्यति विदुषां प्रतिधैर्यं पोरण्यर्थमेव समस्तीति । भारते शांति-
वर्षेण चरके च तयोर्मेव नोपादानं दृश्यते । भारते तावत्—तेजो धैर्यं चमा ग्रीवमनुशास-
नमिति' । परीक्षेण च गुण्यान्निधमिति (८।१२१) स्मर्यते । तत्र धैर्यं महत्त्वात्म्यमापदि
विज्ञापनवसाद् । अतिधैर्यसाधर्म्यमिति विशेषमुल्लेखयति नीलकण्ठः । साध्विद
विवेचनमिति भाति । अरिस्तु अतिमत्तः कर्म धैर्यं भवति । अतिस्तु अतिविशेषः । तेन

धृति धैर्यबोर्जन्यजनकमाद्य सूपपन्नो भवति । धृति कारणं धैर्यं कार्यमिति । इदं चान्मयं शान्तिपूर्वकं (१६२।१६) धृतिर्नाम सुखे दुःखे चया नाप्नोति विक्रियामिति वचनेन भूय पोषमेति । चरके विमानध्यानेऽनुमेयाधाननुक्रामम्माह—धैर्यमविषादेन, धृतिमज्जीकयेन विद्यादिति । तत्र धैर्यं विषयपि मनसोऽवैभ्यमिति चक्रपाणि । अत्र धैर्यं नाम विषादप्रतिरोधी गुणः, धृतिश्च व्यापकप्रतियोगिनीति विशेषो विवक्षितो भाति ।

दूरी तु कन्दूरो वा स्त्रीत्यमरोऽपठेत् । अत्राप्यर्थविशेषोऽस्ति रामायणे संभियोगेन प्रयोगवर्जनात् । तद्यथा । विचरन्ति वनाम्ये तु तानि वृषदसि राघव । सरित्प्रश्रवणप्रस्थान् दूरीकन्दूरनिर्भरान् ॥ इति । तत्र दूरी पाषाणनिर्भेदः । कन्दूरा गिरियुहेति विशेष-मुत्पश्यति तिलककारः । इमं च विशेषं कवयो नाद्रियन्त इत्यन्यदेतत् । तथा च वैराग्य-शक्तके भट्टहरिः कन्दूरवचनं दूरीकन्दू प्रयुङ्क्ते—एका नारी सुन्दरी वा दूरी वेति ।

अश्रुवाष्पयोरपि पर्याययोरपि सुस्थितौ विशेषः । कण्ठे स्तम्भितवाष्पवृष्टिकलुष इत्यत्र शाकृस्तब्धेऽश्रुय पूर्वावस्था वाप्यमिति राघवभङ्गः । नैवमुत्प्रेक्षासाम्प्रतः । रामायणेऽश्रुवाष्पयोः सहप्रयोगोपकारभावात् । तद्यथा । अश्रूणि मुमुषु सर्वे वाष्पेण पिहितानना इति (२।४८।३) अन्यत्रापि रामायणे (२।६।१२) वाष्पकृतः कण्ठरोधो-ज्जरीरितः । तद्यथा । वाष्पे पिहितकण्ठश्च प्रेष्य राम यथास्मिन्निति । तेनाश्रुप्रवाहो-श्रुपातो वा भवति न जातु वाष्पप्रवाहो वाष्पपातो वेति । मेघदूते (१।१२) तु स्नेह-व्यक्तिरिचरविरहार्थं मुञ्चतो वाष्पमुष्णमिति वाष्पाश्रुणोरभेदेन प्रयोगरिचनयः ।

विषयरी समानार्थो प्रतिपत्नी । तथा चानरः—यैवस्तु वरस विषमिति पठति । शरगरक्षयोस्तु न विशेषं कश्चिदस्ति यथामरयानकवत् । अन्यत्र विज्ञमेवात् । इदं तु विस्तृतं विषयपर्योः सोस्त्युत नेति । अस्तीति श्रूमः । तयोः साहचर्येण प्रयोगवर्जनात् । चरके सूत्रस्थाने तस्यायुर्वेदस्याङ्गावष्टौ । तद्यथा कायचिकित्सा शास्त्रानर्थं राक्षसापहृत्कं विषगारवैरोधिक्प्रशमनं भूयविद्या कौमारभृत्यक रसायनाणि बाष्पीकरणम् इति । तत्र गारः काकान्तरप्रकोपि विषम् इति चक्रपाणिर्ध्यायते । तत्रैव चान्मयं कठराभगरादिता इति पाठं विदूषवाचः स एव गारः कृत्रिमं विषमित्याह ।

तृयोपासङ्गतूपीरनिषङ्गा इषुधिर्द्वयोरित्यसरे पर्यायवचनाः । भवते त्वेषा भेदे-नोपादानम् । तथा बोधोद्यमार्थे (१२५।१६) सातुर्गताः सतूपीराः सवक्ष्या सतोमरा सोपासङ्गाः सयाज्ञीकाः सनिषङ्गाः सहृदयः । इति पाठः । तत्र नीलकण्ठ एव भेदमभ्युहति—तूपीरो रथवाहो वायकोशः । सहानिषङ्ग इति वाच्यः । उपासङ्गा ह्यवग-जाह्यास्तृयाः । निषङ्गाः पत्तिवाह्यः स एवेति ।

पुमानाक्रीड उद्यानमिथ्याक्रीडोद्याने समानार्थकं अभ्युपेक्षेते । एते अपि विधिष्येते । सहप्रयोगदर्शनात् । तथा च रामायणे पाठ — देवाक्रीडशताकीर्णा देवो-
द्य(वधुता नदीम् (२।१०।१२) इति । तत्र देवानामाक्रीडैः क्रीडापर्वैरिति तिलकम् ।

अटवधरयथ विपिनं काननं गहनं वनमिति वननामस्वसरः । एषां गहनमिति दुःप्रवेशाद्यभिधाय दुःप्रवेशं वनमभिधातुं प्राकृतमिति सत्यवचनं यभूवेत्यवस्तात् दर्शितम् । इतरं वा मध्यदूरविप्रकुर्वारपार्यवम् । सहप्रयोगो हि दृश्यते । तथा च श्रीरामायणे प्रयोगः—दुःप्रतीकमरययेस्मिन् किं तात धनमागत इति (२।१०।१२) । तन्नाशय गन्धर्वभोग्यम् । धनमास्त्रादियुतं मनुष्यभोग्यमिति तिलककारो रामः । अन्व-
त्रापि रामायणे—शोभयिष्यति काकुत्स्थमटवदो रम्यकानना (२।१८।१०) इत्यद्वी-
काननयोः सह प्रयोगः । तत्र रम्यकाननारवाक्यवृत्तत्वा इत्येवमर्थोपपत्तिरिति रामः ।

वल्ली तु मलतिर्जलेरयमर्थास्तरमिति कोषकृतः । पर वल्लीजतयोः सहप्रयोग-
दर्शनात् येषां वाच्यमिति गम्यते । तथा च भारते भीष्मपर्वणि प्रयोगः—दृष्टगुणमलता-
वृक्षश्च (७।१७) इति तत्र सता वृक्षाणां वृक्षा गुणव्यादयः । वृक्षयोः भूमिप्रसारावर्चमात्रस्थायिन्य
इति विशेषमभिधेयमिति नीलकण्ठः । वल्लीवीर्यशोभु व्यङ्ग्यतरो मेघः । एतयोरेपि
रामायणे (१।७८।०१) सहप्रयोगः । तत्र च । न चात्र वृक्षा नीलवदो न वल्लीवदो नापि
वीर्यव इति । तत्र वल्लीवदो वृक्षाणां भिता । वीर्यवो भूमाधारा इति तिलके रामः ।

सीचयमिश्रितौ एषां धवचनमिति प्रतीतौ । तावपि मिश्रायकाविति शक्यं
प्रतिपद्युम् । तथा हि भारते भीष्मपर्वणि भेदेनैतयोः पादानाम्—साधकेन सुपीतेन
सीचयेन मिश्रितेन च (२।१४।८) इति । तत्र सीचयेन सूक्ष्मधारेण, मिश्रितेन
साधोः कर्तृभिरेति नीलकण्ठः ।

रथपतिः कारुभेदेऽपीत्यमो मूल एव रथपतिः कारुविशेष इत्युक्तम् । विवृतं च
स्वामिना कारुविशेषो मुखपतयेति । तेन रथपतिर्ब्रह्मकिमात्रं न भवति । तथा च
श्रीरामायणे 'कर्मान्तिका' रथपतयं पुरुषा यन्त्रकोविदाः । तथा वर्धकययैवेति
भेदेनोपादानं विशेषमिममुपस्थापयति । रथपतयो रथाधिकतारः प्रधानवर्धकयः,
वर्धक्यस्तथाय इति च तत्र तिलकम् ।

स्वामिनाया शास्त्ररीत्यमर व्याचष्टाथ स्वामी 'इन्द्रजातं तु कुसुतिः कुहकं
कुहिका चेति' कोषान्तरमुदाहरति पर्यायान्तरसमुच्चिचीधया । माषाकारस्तु प्रातिहारिक
इत्यत्र च मूले प्रातिहारिक ऐन्द्रकाजिक इत्याह । भिन्नान्ते च माषादयो मिथ इति च
विचक्षणम् । तत्रैषां वाक्ये भेदेनोपादानमेव प्रमाद्यम् । तथा च भारते उद्योगपर्वणि
प्रयोगः—न माषा ह्रीन्द्रजातं वा कुहिका वापि भीषयेति (१६।०।११७) । तन्नाशु-
न-

निम्नश्रीकाकारो मायाऽनुतर्द्धासी कापि विद्या विश्वक्याद्विदर्शनकया । इज्जानं
मन्त्रावधादिभिरचकुरादिप्रतिबन्धेनाभ्यधा प्रतिमानम् । कुहिका इत्यन्नायवेनाभ्यधा
व्यंनमिति अन्धेन मायावीनामभ्यो-न्य भेद प्रतीयति ।

न्यासनिष्ठेपयो को विशेष इत्यपि जिज्ञासास्पदम् । वास्तवात्मनीये कामसूत्रे
न्यासनिष्ठेपयोर्वाक्ये स्पष्टप्रयोग एवार्थविशेषे सादृशम् । तथा च तत्र पाठ — प्रसूते च
परिचये तस्या इत्ये न्यास निष्ठे च निवृत्त्यादिति । न्यासाः स्थाप्यादिचरकाजग्राह्याः ।
निष्ठेपोऽप्यकाजग्राह्य इति च तत्र जगद्भरणीकाकार ।

सगोत्रवान्धवजातिष्वन्धुस्त्वन्धवता समा इत्यमर एवा समानार्थत्वमाप्तिवृत्ते ।
तत्र नहि सर्वे बन्धव सगोत्रा भवन्ति । सप्तमे पुंके सपिबद्धतायिनितृती सगोत्रता
भवतीति । बन्धुवान्धवयोस्तु नार्थमेव करिष्यत्, रूपमेव एव केवलम् । स्वार्षिकप्रत्यय-
कृतम् । सम्बन्धिवान्धवोपि बन्धुपयोः भवतीति वशानुप्राति जनः । भिन्नान्धे च ज्ञाति-
सम्बन्धिवान्धवा इत्यत्र मनुबहिता प्रमाणम् । एव हि तत्र स्मर्यते—वाल्हृदासुरै-
र्वैद्यज्ञातिसम्बन्धिवान्धवैः (४१७६) । तत्र ज्ञातयः पितृपत्न्याः । सम्बन्धिनो आमातृ-
र्यावकावप्य । बान्धवा मातृपत्न्या इति कुल्लुक । भारतेपि शान्तिपर्वणि (११८।१०)
ये च सम्बन्धिवान्धवा इति सम्बन्धिवान्धवयोर्मैदेन ग्रहः ।

इदमिह विद्युरयमान स्वदिश्यते विमर्शकैश्च पूगधेयिजाताना परस्पर कि-
मन्तरमिति । पूगाभ्योऽप्राप्तयो पूर्वादिभिः सूत्रे नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकाम-
प्रधाना संज्ञाः पूगा इति काशिका । वात्सकनोरस्मिन् (१।१।१६) इति सूत्रे च
नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उल्लेखनीयिदाः सङ्घा ज्ञाता इति सैन । श्रेण्याद्या
कृतादिभिः (२।१।६६) इति सूत्रे भाष्यप्रसीधे एकद्विचतुष्टयपदयामयोन जीविनां सङ्घः
श्रेणिरिति कैयट । एतदेव काशः शिखरी संहृदैस्त्रैर्द्वयोः श्रेणि सजातिभिरित्यमर
नचममनुशब्धे । रात्र्याङ्गाणि प्रकृतयः पौराण्या श्रेण्य इत्यत्र चामर एकमुक्त्वा, सजातीय-
समूहः श्रेणिरिति स्वामिकृतप्रवृत्तयः ।

प्रायश्चित्तकृतपरिष्वङ्गाद्येकादी' प्रतिपद्येते । तद्व्यवहृतिप्रकर्षात् स्व-
त्यन्ताभेदादिति श्रीरामायणे सप्तमे गावमालिङ्ग्य (१।१०।१७६) इति वचनं प्रमाणम् ।
अन्धे बाहुभ्या कृतस्यावेष्टनस्याकिङ्कनमिति नाम । वदसोपपीडनस्य च परिष्वङ्ग
इति । परिश्रम सप्तमेऽप्यनुबन्धितेऽपि परिष्वङ्गे सप्त ।

इदमिह विचार्यतेऽनन्तमोजनभक्त्यादाविति समानार्थादि भवन्त्याहोस्वि-
कानार्थानीति । तत्राज्ञानमोजने अभिप्राये इत्यनुपपन्नम् । अश्वमेधहरणसामान्यं च ज्ञत् ।
यज्ञाभ्यवहार्यं विशिष्य नोच्यते तन्नारवतिः प्रवृत्त्यते सुविद्या । यथाऽऽशित' कृताहार-

स्मृत इत्युच्यते । यथा वारनीतपिबता वर्तत इत्यत्र । भुक्ता माह्वता इत्यत्र च । मन्थ-
खावने तु सरविशदस्यार्थस्याभ्य बहुरथे वर्तते । खाद भक्षण इति साधुरर्थनिर्देशः ।
तथा च नीतिकारकवचनम्—न यरेणाहुते भव्य भवाग्रं खादितुमिच्छतीति । समुच्चये
सामान्यवचनस्येति सूत्रे (२।४।२) ओदनं भुङ्क्वन्, सहून् पिब, धानां खादित्वेवावम-
भ्यवहतीति काशिकीशाहरयोपि भुजिखाद्योपपत्तिक प्रयोगः । अन्यत्रापि पाणि-
नीयादिकैः संस्कृत मन्त्राः (४।२।११), हित मन्त्रः (४।४।६४) इत्यत्र च भाग्नैः संस्कृता
आह्ना मूपा, मूपमन्त्रा इति मन्त्रा इत्यापूपिक इत्याह्वर्योरपि यत्र दन्तप्रकार-
पूर्वकं भिराण्य तत्र भक्षणव्यवहार इति विद्यन्ते । परं भक्षणमन्त्रापरतिदिश्यते इति
वाक्यवेचनम् । भोग्यं भक्षण (७।१।१३) इति पाणिनीये शासन इह भक्षणमन्त्रवहार्थमात्र-
मिति काशिका । अन्मन्त्रो वाहुमन्त्र इति भाष्यप्रयोगेपि भक्षणविरम्यवहतिना
समानार्थः । खादित्वस्तु नाशने सामान्ये कश्चिद्विद्यते, शब्दस्वाम्यादिति विद्वया
विभावयन्तु । अतएव सगच्छते चरके सूत्रस्थाने (२८।३) अक्षितपीतलीलाखादित्
प्रभवाश्चास्मिन्धारीरे व्याधयो भवन्तीत्यक्षितकारितयोः पृथक्निर्देशः ।

प्रकृतं निश्चयं भाष्यकारकृतेन पर्यायार्थप्रविष्टेन पर्यवसायवामः । आश
सायां भूतवक्षेति सूत्रे (१।१।१३९) भाष्य आशसासभावमनोरथिषोपादिष्टाभ्यवस्था न
प्रकल्पेतेति दोषमुक्त्याह सगच्छाम्भाष्यकारः—न वा संभावनावयवत्वादाशसायाः । संभाव-
नावयवारिमकाऽऽशसा । आशसा नाम प्रधारितोऽर्थोऽभिनीतश्चानभिनीतश्च । संभावनं नाम
प्रधारितोऽर्थोऽभिनीत एवेति । अत्र कैयटः—आशसासभावमनोरथिषोपादिष्टाभ्यवस्था
इवं मेदाभावावधिक्येय इत्यर्थः । आशसाऽनागतवस्तुवाञ्छा । संभावनमपि भाषितस्तूपेक्षया-
मिति भावः । न चेति । अवयववच्छेदः पुरमभाववाची । संभावनात्पुमगेवाशसेत्यर्थः ।
प्रधारितोर्थ इति । इदं मे भूयादिति मनसा विषयीकृतोर्थः । अभिनीत इति ।
कारणयोग्यतावशात्कृप्यप्राप्तिरित्यर्थः । ततोऽन्योऽनभिनीत इति । अन्ये एवमधारित
इति पठन्ति । अनिर्धारितोऽवश्यं भाषितयाऽविरचित इत्यर्थः । संभावनं चास्तीतिविशु-
प्रत्ययोपनिपाते भवितव्यमनेवार्थेनेति ह्यामनित्यमनोभेद इति ।

इति शब्दः ।

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

Western connotation of the words denoting emptiness stress is laid on the absence of something, the absolute nothingness, in other words, while stress is laid on a bleak negativism, in the Eastern, particularly, the Indian connotation stress is laid on the existence of something, on something positive, the absence of something being more or less accidental. Thus, in Western languages we say "with empty hands", the most important aspect being the emptiness of the hands, but the two Indian terms corresponding to "empty hand" lay the stress on the presence of the hands. That there is nothing in them is just bad luck. These two terms are *rikāpāni*—and *rikṭahasta*—The one is found, for example, in Mbh VII 147, 43 *rikāpāni na pāsyeta rājānāḥ brāhmaṇaḥ śrīyaḥ* "One should not come before a king, a Brahmin, or a woman with empty hands", the other one in Kathāsaritsāgara LXXX 25 *vyanto rikṭahastāḥ kṛṇ pāsyāmo devatām it* "How should we come before the deity with empty hand". The exact translation of *rikāpāni* and *rikṭahasta* is "One whose hands are left over", *rikṭa* being the past participle¹ passive² of the root *ric* "to leave".

The same idea is found in the adjective *rēku*, belonging to the same root *ric*¹ and only found in the Vedic language. It is used RV IV 5, 12 and X 108, 7 in the formula *rēku padāḥ* denoting the place where one does not find the goods one expects to find. Again stress is laid on the presence of something, be it only the place. To what an extent the positive meaning is connected with the root *ric* may be seen from its derivatives. I mention only *aireka*—"too much", *rēkna*—"riches" this meaning having developed from the basic meaning of "what is left over to one's children", *rēknavat*—"rich", *surēkna*—"having nice riches, very rich", and *rikthā*—"heritage".

There can be no doubt that the stress of the positive aspect has its root in the (unconscious) fear of all that is empty, negative, and makes man feel utterly lonely and forlorn. This fear prompts man not only to avoid words arousing this fear—as every student of practical psychology knows the word is only too often the thing itself—but also to act in such a way as not to be assailed by this lurking fear. Both these factors, i.e., taboo of word and action, is found in a passage of the Atharvaveda which has not been understood properly up to now. AV XIX 8, 4 runs as follows:

anukavāṇi parivavāṇi parivāḍāṇi parikṣavāṇi
sāvavāni rikṭakumbhāṇi āvāṇi saviṭaḥ sava

Whitney's translation² is "Detraction, evil gossip, reproach, sneezing about (?)—them, O Savitar, drive 'sava' away from me empty-handed?, with all."

As regards the term *rikṭakumbhāṇi* Whitney observes as follows "rikṭakumbha he (i.e. the commentator) simply glosses with *cūnyā-kalāpa*, adding no further explanation, the Pet Lexx conjecture "perhaps idle talk (lit. empty-pottedness), the translation implies their going away with empty vessels—that is carrying off no result or advantage."

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cunio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

nirartha—“useless”

nirarthaka—“useless, in vain”, e.g. MBh V 34, 21

The second group comprises all those words formed by passive participles circumscribing the idea of emptiness and those adjectives which are either used for “empty” or correspond more or less to the Western connotation of “emptiness”

(a) *rikta*—“left over”, which has already been discussed

rahitā—and *vrāhitā*—“concealed”, “left”

varjita—“shunned”

hīna—“having disappeared” (cp. *anahīna* “without food”)

(b) *alpa*—“little”

manda—“slow” (*mandobuddhi* “of slow understanding”, “empty headed”)

talina—“thin, little”

phalga—“insignificant, little”

śūnya—“void”

tuccha—“empty”

tucchya—“empty”, only found in the Vedic language

From this list, which is mainly derived from B D Mulgaokar's English-Sanskrit Dictionary, it is obvious that with the apparent exception of the two or three last mentioned words all other words more or less circumscribe the concept of “emptiness”. Where a negation has been used the basic positive expression is self-evident. In the other words the positive connotation is also preponderant.

The problem before us is now to find out the intrinsic meaning and the specific use of those words which are not circumscribing the idea of emptiness. When I said that words denoting ominous things are avoided and, since emptiness is something ominous, any mentioning of ominous things is done by circumscribing them, then the use of the words *tuccha*—and *tucchya*—belonging to the Indo-European root **teus* “to make empty”,⁶ is an obvious contradiction. However, it has to be borne in mind that at all periods there have been people who did not care for using otherwise tabooed words, and it has also to be taken into account the frequency of the use of tabooed words as well as their context.

According to Baethlingk's Dictionary the words *tuccha-* and *tucchyā-* are used very little. This means that the use of these words was actually taboo.

The Vedic form *tucchyā-* is found only in two passages. The one is the creation hymn RV X 129, 3. H. Grassmann⁷ as well as Baethlingk-Roth consider it to be a noun and translate it by "empty space". K. Geldner⁸ considers it to be an adjective and connects it with *salila*, translating the passage by "to the dead ocean (im toten Gewoge)". Whatever the correct translation may be, the use of the word *tucchyā-* does not elucidate our problem here.

The second passage is RV V 42, 10. This passage is of greater importance. Here it has been said that he who blames the Maruts should have "empty wishes" (*tucchyān kāmān karate*). It is almost like a curse and in such strongly emotionally toned utterances even tabooed words may be used without any restriction. Everything which is amiss may come to a man who commits such a heinous crime as insulting the gods.

If we turn to the Pali Canon and its language it becomes quite obvious that the taboo played an important role in the use of the word *tuccha* *tuccha-* and its derivative *tucchaka-* is never used alone⁹ but always in connection with a non-tabooed word. Only a few passages showing the use of *tuccha-* in connection with other non-tabooed words may be quoted. DN I 55 (= MN I 515) *tesaṃ tucchāṃ musā vūḷhaṃ, ye hecā atthavādāni vadanāti* "they indulge in empty untruthful talk who speak of existence", DN III 34 *evamvādān kha mañi Bhaggava evaṃ aḷḷhāyuh eke Samana Brāhmaṇa asatā tucchā musā abhūtena abbhācikkhaṇāti* "O Bhaggava, I who am speaking and preaching in this way, am reviled by some Samanas and Brahmanas in an untruthful, empty wrong, and false way", Sn 883.

yathā āhu saccāni tathāyaṃ ti eke,

tathā āhu aññe tucchāṃ musā ti

"What some declare to be the truth and the suchness, others called it empty and false." In these instances *tuccha-* is connected with the non-tabooed word *musā*. In the following examples *tuccha-* is used in connection with *ritto* = skt *riś'a*, which is a substitute for the tabooed word as we have seen above. MN I 107 (almost the same as Vin I 157, II 216) *ye passatī paṇiyaghaṭaṃ vā paṇibhogaṇiyaghaṭaṃ vā vācaghaṭaṃ vā rittaṃ tucchāṃ so upaṭṭhāpeti* "he who sees the drinking bowl or the food bowl or the chamber pot empty and without (the necessary water) shall take care of (having these things in proper order)". MN I 233 *evam eva kha tvam Aggivessana mayā sahasamuh vūḷha samanuyūṇṇiyamāno samanugahāyamāna samanubhāsiyamāno ritto tuccho aparaddho* "O Aggivessana, thus, when I asked you about

your own thesis, when I wanted to know your opinion, and when I wanted to know the points you find fault with, you proved to be empty, void, and in the wrong" MN I 414 *passasi no ivohi Rōhulo imam udakkhāhānāṇaṃ rittam tucchon ti evaṇi rittam tucchon kho Rōhulo tesam sōmaññonāṇaṃ yesam na'tiṭṭhi sampajāṇamusāvāde lojjō* "Do you see this empty water pitcher, o Rābula? Just as empty and hollow is the Samanaship of those who are not ashamed when they consciously tell lies"

Examples for *tucchoko*—are DN I 240 (almost the same as MN II 201) *tesam idam tevijjānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ dhāṇīyaṃ kassokam yeva sompojjaṭṭi, nōmokaṃ (yeva sompojjaṭṭi, rittakaṃ yeva samapajjoti, tucchokaṃ yeva sompajjoti* "The talking of the Brahmins knowing the three Vedas proves to be ridiculous, to be mere words, to be empty, to be hollow" MN I 329 *nā h'eva te rittakam eva ohosi tucchokam eva ohosi* it will not turn out empty, hollow for you"

In these last examples *tuccha*(*ka*—) is not so closely connected with the non-taboo word as it was in the other examples mentioned so far. This looser connection is found in emotively-toned statements. In this way, under the influence of a strong emotion or an affect the speaker will use the tabooed word but will avoid or minimize the effect of having mentioned the tabooed word by immediately afterwards using a non-tabooed word. Instances for emotively-toned utterances may be found in the *Milindapañhā*, p 5 *tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na'tiṭṭhi koṇi samano vōyo mayā saddhim sollapitum sakkoti haṃhhaṃ poṭṭivinetu ti* "Alas, India is empty, alas, this India is only chaff, there is not a single Samana who might converse with me and dispel my doubts", p 10 *tucchō vata bho me vedō, palāpō vata bho me vedō, asārō nissārō ti* "Alas, empty are these Vedas, alas, chaff are these Vedas, essenceless, worthless are they", and p 13 *tuccho vata me upajjhāyo, bālo vata me upajjhāyo* "Alas, empty is my teacher, alas, a fool is my teacher"

Another way to use the tabooed word without incurring the risk of being affected by the evil consequences of having used the tabooed word has been pointed out by G. Bonfante.¹⁰ Though his other theories are not acceptable, his explanation in this connection is correct. He says "le deuxième consiste à composer le mot taboué avec un autre (adjectif ou substantif), le nouveau mot, bien qu'il contienne en soi l'ancien mot taboué, n'est point tabou" (the other alternative is to combine the tabooed word with another word (adjective or substantive), although this new word contains the old tabooed word, it is not at all taboo)

A few examples from the Pāli may illustrate Bonfante's observation. Jāt I 209 *so tucchahattho va agomāsi* "he came with empty hands", Jāt VI 365 *tucchopāṇiṃ hatthi aṭṭhayaṭṭvā bhūmyam hatvā* "having placed the empty bowl not on the hand, but on the ground"

From this rule it becomes clear why the word *tucchakumbh*—could be used. In the composition *tuccha*—was no longer taboo. However, *tuccha*—always implied taboo ideas and thus it is replaced by non-taboo words as, for instance, in Jāt V 46 *rutahattho viya aññhāsi* "he stood there like with empty hands."

To what extent the idea of avoiding ominous things was vivid may be gathered from Niddesa I 481 on Sn 963. Here the word *rutāsana*—"empty seat" is explained by "opportunity to sit down without seeing unpleasant sights."

From the above it will have become obvious that *tuccha*—denotes emptiness in the sense of defectiveness (see the passages from the Milindapañha). Thus it implies evaluation. Evaluation is always emotionally toned. And since in emotionally toned things there is always the danger lurking that the emotion may develop into an affect and since affectivity is a grave danger for the human mind such words as are connected with emotions and likely to rouse an affect are taboo. This explains the rare use of *tuccha*—

The most commonly used word for "empty" is *jūnyā*—, and it may be asked what is the reason that this word can be used without any restrictions, in other words, why is this word and its derivatives not taboo?

In the Vedic language *jūnyā*—is not found. There we find only the noun *jūna*—, belonging to the same IE root. The word *jūna*—is found six times¹¹ in the Rgveda, and every time it is constructed with the prohibitive particle *mā*. This proves again that the idea of emptiness was something ominous and fearful. However, contrary to *tuccha*—the meaning of *jūna*—is spatial emptiness, loneliness in immense wideness. This meaning is obvious from RV VII 1, 11 "If only we would not sit there devoid of heroes, devoid of sons", and also RV VIII 45, 36 "If only I were not without a friend or a son."¹²

The noun *jūna*—is derived from the IE root **heu*—to which there is also a passive participle *jūnā*—. The difference in accent is due to the rule that abstract nouns have the accent on the root syllable, while adjectives and agentive nouns have the accent on the formative element.¹³

According to Walde-Pokorny¹⁴ the meaning of **heu*—is "to swell, swelling, curvature" (schwellen, Schwellung, Wölbung), but also 'cavity, hollow' (Hohlung, hohl), the common denominator being "curvature toward the within and toward the without" (Wölbung nach aussen oder innen). He further says that *jūna*—"awollen, flabby" (geschwollen, aufgedunsen) and that also the concept of "hollow"

(hohl) = "empty" (leer) may be connected with it. From here then we would have the noun *śūna*—"emptiness" and the adjective *śūnyā*—"empty". It must, however, be noted that the connotation of "hollow" is absolutely hypothetical. None of the Indian words, derived from the root **heu*—have the meaning of "hollow"¹⁵. Hence the explanation of the unrestricted use of *śūnya*—must be sought elsewhere.

As I have already pointed out, *śūnyā*—has a spatial connotation. Thus we read in Śat Br II 3, 12, 9 and Taitt Br II 1, 2, 12 about "the empty place, not lived in by men" (*śūnyā āvasatha*). As in the case with *réku padāni* "the empty place, worthless because one does not find the goods one expected to find" there is no evaluation whatever in the phrase *śūnya āvasatha*. The meaning of spatial unlimitedness, derived from the original meaning of "increase (toward infinity)", makes *śūnya*—a constant attribute to *ākāśa*—"ether", and its synonyms as for instance *kha*—. The *ākāśa* is not a nihil but unlimited plenitude. While thus *śūnya*—is used in connection with the idea of spatial unlimitedness, it is also used in the sense of mental unlimitedness. Again the difference between the Indian and Western viewpoint has to be noted here. While the Westerner tends to identify the whole of the nature of things with a determinate kind of things and hence regards everything that does not comply with the determinateness postulated by him as a nihil, the Indian mind regards the indeterminateness of a thing as a limitation of the otherwise unlimited nature of things. Thus for him passing into the unlimitedness has a higher value than the clinging to a particularly determinate kind of reality idea. While to have a blank mind has some depreciatory connotation for a Westerner, a blank or empty mind, that is, a mind not preoccupied with something or other, has no such connotations for an Indian. It is therefore impossible to give a "literal" translation of the following passages, without violating or distorting the meaning MBh II 14, 44 *purāṇ śūnyena manasā prayayaṇ bharaṭarājabha* and MBh XIII 53, 4 *atha śūnyena manasā pravṛtṣya svagrhaṇ nṛpaḥ*. The meaning is that none of them was preoccupied.

It is this idea of plenitude, of unlimitedness and boundlessness that has found its climax in the Mādhyamaka Philosophy with its concept of *śūnyatā*—, of which it has been said

*aparapratyayaṇ śūnataḥ prapañcasya aprapañcitataḥ
nirvikalpaṇ anānārttham etaḥ tativasāya lakṣaṇataḥ*

"Not dependent on others, peaceful (or, tranquil), inaccessible to the concepts of discursive reasoning, without thought-constructions, without contradictory notions, that is the definition of reality"¹⁶

The same positive outlook we find in Indian mathematics. "Zero" as not "nothingness", it is the undefinable and infinite Bhāskara

states in his Bijaganita that "This fraction the denominator of which is zero is called endless mass. In this endless mass where zero is the denominator there is no change, however much one may add or detract, just as little as there is any change at the time of the creation or dissolution of the world in the endless and changeless, however many beings (may be created or dissolved)"—*ayam ananto rūṣiḥ khaḥara ity ucyote, asmin vikārah khaḥore na rōṣāv opī praviṣṭeṣu opī niḥṣṭeṣu bhoḥṣu opī syāl layaṣṭiḥāle 'nante' cyute bhūtagaṇeṣu yadvat!*

Since the intrinsic meaning of *jūnya*—is the undefinable, that which transcends all the concepts of ordinary consciousness, or that which is not determined or limited by conceptual constructions and hence only figuratively "emptiness", its use was not taboo because of its inherent positive character.

In course of time, however, the different shades of meaning of *tuccho* and *jūnya*—have not been observed and the one word may be used for the other. A striking example is found in Visuddhimagga, p 494 *khaṁ-soddo pana tucche, tucchāṇi hi ākāsaṇi khaṇ ti vuṇṇatī* "The noun *kha*—means "emptiness", "emptiness" is another term for *ākāśa* or *kha*"

In conclusion I want to point out the fact that, as is well known, the word *jūnya*—in the mathematical meaning of "zero" has found its way into the European languages by way of the Arabic translations. *jūnya*—"zero" is translated by *ṣifr* "to be empty". This means that the Arabs made a literal translation, but did not convey the psychological and philosophical background from which *jūnya*—also got the meaning "zero".

NOTES

1 See Walde Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II 396 sq sub **leigu*

2 Atharva-Veda-Samhita (=Harvard Oriental Series, volume VIII), p 910 See also the notes on this Manti in Bloomfield's Concordance, and M. Lindénau's remarks in the introduction to the second edition of Roth-Whitney's Atharva-Veda, p xvii, last line

3 As adjective *apromāṇa*—might be best translated by "not having the proper measure" In Pali, *appamāṇa* has the meaning of "endless" but also of "insignificant" In this case the negation *a*—has a double function, the one is the function of negation, the other the function of intensifying The same functions of negation and intensifying are still found in the German language See Friedrich Kainz, *Psychologie der Sprache*, I 256

4 Not given by Mulgaokar

5 *Alpa* and *tolmo* are not found in Mulgaokar's dictionary, these words, however are given as synonyms of *tuchha*—by the Pet Lexx

6 Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I 714

7 H. Grassmann, *Woerterbuch zum Rigveda*, sub verbo

8 Karl Geldner, *Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda*, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liedes 10,129, p, 20

9 Puggalapaññatti, pp 45 and 46 *tucchā*—also is not used alone but mentioned in contrast to *pūra* "full"

10 Etudes sur le tabou dans les langues indo europeennes (Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à Charles Bally. Genève 1939, pp 195-207), p 197

11 RV I 105, 3, X 37, 6 in the loc *sāne* with the root *bhū*, III 33, 13 in the acc *sūnam* with the root *ar* VII 1, 11 in the loc with root *nīsad* II 27, 17, VIII 45, 36 in the acc with the root *ā vid*

12 The same idea is found in RV II 2/, 17 For the feeling of loneliness and fear see also Brh Up I 4, 1 sq

13 Thus, for instance, *dāna* "gift" and *dāna* "he who gives", *vāra* "what is chosen" and *vāra* "he who chooses" A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indoeuropéennes*, 10th edition 1937, p. 140 H. Guenther, Gabe und Geber (=Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Sprach-forschung, 1950), pp 225-244

14 Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I 365

15 All words derived from this root denote increase, growth *śunā* "growth, increase, fortune", *śāvas-* "power, strength", *śura-* "strong, heroic", *śūśīvi-* "beautifully growing", *śiśu-* "child", *śāvā-* "cub"

16 Mūlamādhyanakakārika XVIII 9 See also p 351 of Louis de la Vallée Poussin's edition, where we read *tasmāc chanyatawa sarvaprāpancaṇvṛtilakṣaṇatvān nirvāṇam ity ucyate* "Therefore the śūnyatā is called Nirvāṇa because its characteristic is the fading away of all concepts belonging to the realm of discursive reasoning"

17 Ed Calcutta 1917, pp 17 sq The connection between *ākāśa*, *śha* and zero has not been properly understood by A K Coomaraswamy, *Kha* and other Words denoting 'Zero' in Connection with the Metaphysics of Space (=Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London), volume VII 1933-35, pp 489-97), p 493 "so the Self 'awakens this rational (cosmos) from that space', Maitri Up IV 17, in other words *ex nihilo fit*" The problem of the creation out of nothing is a late Christian speculation not earlier than the sixteenth century "Space" and "śūnyatā" in Indian connotation have never been nothingness but always plenitude

18 Passages in which *śiro*, *śīr* denote "to be empty" are found as early as the sixth century, the meaning of "zero" however, is not found earlier than the ninth century See A Fischer, Zu "Berichtigung einer Etymologie K Vollers" II (=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft, LVII 783-793), p 791 In the German Language "Ziffer" is the generic term for numeral, it does not mean "zero" alone See also Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Woerterbuch der europaeischen (germanischen, romanischen and slavischen) Woerter orientalischen Ursprungs, Heidelberg, 1927, p 150, No 1894

(33) हिन्दी में संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास

(लेखक—डॉ० सरयूप्रसाद अग्रवाल, एम० ए० पी-एच० डी०)

लेखवरर, राजनऊ विश्वविद्यालय)

भाषा की व्याकरणिक धाराएँ समय-समय पर विभिन्न रूपों में विकसित होती रहती हैं। इन्हीं के द्वारा भाषा के सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म भाव व्यक्त किये जाते हैं। पुरानी धाराएँ विस्तृत हो जाती हैं और नवीन धाराएँ उनकी रचना-पूर्ति करती रहती हैं। यह सब भाषा में भावों के सूक्ष्म स्पीकरण के लिए होता है। प्राचीन भाषा भाषाओं में क्रिया-पद के रूप प्रायः समान मिलते हैं। प्रत्येक क्रियापद का प्रयोग मुख्य क्रिया के रूप में होता था। सहायक क्रियाओं का विकास उन भाषाओं में नहीं हुआ था। संस्कृत भाषा में क्रियाओं के प्रयोग का असंयुक्त रूप ही प्रचलित है। कर्तृ के भी प्रयोग किए जाते हैं परन्तु वे या तो मुख्य क्रिया के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं या उससे पृथक् अपना अस्तित्व रखते हैं। ऐसे प्रयोग अवश्य मिलते हैं जब कि कोई कर्तृ किसी मुख्य क्रिया के पूर्व प्रयुक्त हुआ है परन्तु वह केवल निकटस्थ (juxtaposition) रूप में। उनसे कोई संयुक्त क्रिया के अर्थ का बोध नहीं होता। कुछ विद्वानों ने पास पास रखे हुए कर्तृ और मुख्य क्रिया के इस रूप को संयुक्त क्रिया का उदाहरण मान कर यह पिट्ट किया है कि संस्कृत में भी संयुक्त क्रिया का प्रयोग किया जाता है। उदाहरणतः वालका पठन्तः गच्छन्ति। परन्तु 'पठन्तः' शब्द बहुवचन का रूप है और वह अपना विशेष अर्थ रखता है। अपने अर्थ को न तो इसने मुख्य क्रिया के अर्थ में धिक्कृत कर दिया है और न मुख्य क्रिया का अर्थ इस शब्द रूप में निहित है। दोनों रूप अपने-अपने अर्थ को पृथक्-पृथक् ग्रहण किए हुए हैं। वे अपने सामान्य अर्थ को छोड़ते नहीं। उक्त वाक्य से एक अर्थ हिन्दी में 'वाक्य गण पढ़ते हुए जाते हैं' होगा, कि 'वाक्य पढ़ते जाते हैं'। इन दोनों में अन्तर है। 'पढ़ते जाते हैं' संयुक्त क्रिया में 'पढ़ने' के अर्थ की प्रभावना है। शेष रूप इसी अर्थ में निरन्तरता (continuity) के भाव को व्यक्त करता है। 'पढ़ते हुए जाते हैं' से 'पढ़ना' क्रिया और 'जाना' क्रिया के अलग-अलग अर्थों का बोध होता है। इसी लिए संस्कृत में संयुक्त क्रियाओं का अभाव ही कहा जाना चाहिए। पाणि और प्राकृत भाषाओं में भी ऐसे उदाहरण मिलते हैं परन्तु वे निकटस्थ (juxtaposition) क्रियारूप के ही उदाहरण हैं। पाणि के उदाहरण—मातेत्या पशित्वा आदन्तो, आतेत्या अदासि, यतित्वा गत, गतेत्या भवत्सुत्रा गत्यः पूर्वकात्मिक क्रिया के उदाहरण; मुञ्चतो अद्भुसि, परितेवमानो—विधोषि, निक्षितो विधोषि, शत्रु के

उदाहरण, गद्देवा कलन्तो निसीदि, क्त्वा, शत दोनों के एक साथ प्रयोग ऐसे ही उदाहरण हैं। ये संयुक्त क्रियाओं के रूप नहीं हैं। इसी प्रकार प्राकृत में गदुअ समन्वेदि (शौरसेनी) कदुअ वियणा, आगन्तु मणह (जैन महाराष्ट्री) निगन्तूय यणों (जैन महाराष्ट्री) ठविता पर्यामि (जैन महाराष्ट्री) आदि क्त्वा प्रत्यय और कृष्णभाष्ये विहरह (अर्थ मा०) पठि जागरथमाथे विहरह (जैनमहा०) शत प्रत्यय के साथ मुख्य क्रियाओं के प्रयोग निकटस्थ (juxtaposition) क्रियाओं के उदाहरण हैं, संयुक्त क्रियाओं के नहीं। अतएव संस्कृत, पालि, प्राकृत भाषाओं की स्थिति तक संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास नहीं हुआ था। अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में अवश्य संयुक्त क्रिया के रूपों के कुछ प्रयोग मिलते हैं। परन्तु अपभ्रंश में भी क्रिया के निकटस्थ रूपों के ही अधिकांश प्रयोग हुए हैं। उदाहरणतः दिवसा फुटि सवति करि, गपवव भजिउ सति, क्त्वा प्रत्यय, धुविक प्जस्त भमाप्ति, अम्भाजगा तु गरहि रवन्तव माह भी यह के उदाहरण संस्कृत प्राकृत की अपेक्षा ही हैं। कुछ ही उदाहरण संयुक्त क्रिया के रूप में मिलते हैं। संयुक्त क्रिया के विकास में आस्तिक, आधिक आदि साधारणों का भी प्रभाव पड़ा है।

०० अतएव संयुक्त क्रिया के रूप मुख्य क्रिया धातु के साथ किसी सहायकी प्रधान सहायक क्रिया धातु का सम्मिश्रित रूप कहा जा सकता है परन्तु मुख्य क्रिया के अर्थ में सहायकी क्रिया अपने अर्थ का बोध कर देती है। संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा एक ही प्रधान क्रिया का अर्थ ग्रहण किया जाता है। उदाहरण—‘बढ़ पड़ता जाता है’ और ‘बढ़ पड़ता हुआ जाता है’ में अन्तर है। ‘पड़ता हुआ जाता है’, संयुक्त क्रिया का रूप नहीं होगा, इसमें ‘जाता है’ संयुक्त क्रिया अवश्य है। वह ‘काम करके गया’ और वह ‘काम कर गया’ में अन्तर है। ‘करके गया’ संयुक्त क्रिया का रूप नहीं है। इसमें ‘करने’ और ‘जाने’ दोनों के अर्थ भ्रष्ट-भ्रष्ट प्रकट हैं। ‘कर गया’ से ‘जाने’ का भाव व्यक्त नहीं होता वरन् कार्य-समाप्ति अथवा पूर्णता के भाव का बोध होता है। संयुक्त क्रिया में सहायक क्रिया अथवा सहायकी क्रिया अपने अर्थ को बोध देती है। परन्तु सहायक और सहायकी क्रियाओं द्वारा क्रिया के काल का बोध होता है। जैसा कि ऊपर निर्वक्षित किया जा चुका है कि आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के रूप में अर्थ का विकास अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में निजगता है। इन अपभ्रंश भाषाओं के आधार पर आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं का विकास हुआ। आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं के प्राचीन रूपों में पुरानी हिन्दी, पुरानी राजस्थानी आदि हैं। इसीलिए अपभ्रंश का प्रभाव इनमें व्यापक दिखाई पड़ता है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के सभी रूपों का सम्बन्ध अपभ्रंश भाषाओं से जोड़ा जा सकता सम्भव है इस सम्बन्ध में निश्चित रूप से कुछ भी नहीं कहा जा सकता। क्योंकि अपभ्रंश भाषा की सम्पूर्ण सामग्री आज भी अज्ञाप्य है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के कुछ उदाहरण अपभ्रंश भाषा से अवश्य संबन्धित किए जा सकते हैं।

उदाहरणः—अस्मिन्, काल्, कश्चि कश्चि कश्चि कश्चि देति। पृष्ठ ६८ स्वयम्भू रामायण।

केवि णियम विमास हो कधि देवि । पृष्ठ १०८ । जो त परिहरण सककह । स्वयम्
कुटकर । सुण्ण पक्ख मिडि खेहु रे पास । पृष्ठ ११८ लुईया । कुड खेहु रे जाणी ।
पृष्ठ ११८ घामपा । उठे (ऊध) गेल पाणी । ११८ घामपा । चम्बु न विक्खणा सक्क
जसा सल्ल वमणि । ११८ हेमचम्प ।

(२) उदाहरण—सम्ब सहेम्बु होइ, वदुदुर रङ्गेविलगा, स्वयम् रामायण
पृष्ठ १८ आ० का० धारा । लग्गु रङ्ग अव्वर तहि मरोवरि ।

(३) उदाहरण—अम्बुहु विलवलि, पृष्ठ २१८ अम्बुहुहमान । रात्रि विक्ख
आम्बु विलवलि, जोहइ तनु भरणी । पृ० ३१५ विद्याधर ।

(४) कइया न जाई । पृष्ठ १४४ गुहरीया । अललल लललल जाई, पृष्ठ
२३८ मास्तिपा अण्णव्व आवव जिअ, आम्बु भरण न जाइ ।

उपयुक्त उदाहरणों में सहायक अथवा सहकारी क्रियाओं के साथ क्रमशः पूर्व-
काशिक क्रिया के धातु कर्णों, क्रियार्थक संज्ञा, वर्तमानकाशिक और भूतकाशिक कृद्वों
के प्रयोग से सयुक्त क्रियाओं का विकास हुआ है । आधुनिक भाषा भाषाओं में भी
सयुक्त क्रियाओं का विकास इन्हीं कर्णों के आधार पर पाया जाता है । हिन्दी के कुछ
प्राचीन कवियों चम्ब, विद्यापति, कबीर, नरहरि आदि की रचनाओं में सयुक्त क्रियाओं
के प्रयोग दृष्टश्य हैं । चम्बवरदाई के छप्पीराजरातो की भाषा विशुद्ध मामाधिक तो
नहीं कही गई है, फिर भी उसमें प्राचीन राजस्थानी भाषा का रूप तो प्रयुक्त हुआ
ही है । सयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग विविध भाषाओं को प्रकट करने के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए हैं ।
उदाहरण—सब चलन देहु हुआह लगन । पृष्ठ ११ । लै खल्यो धूपति रिखी सुगय ।
पृष्ठ ४० । परे रहत रिनखेन करि । पृष्ठ ४१ । जीति खल्यो प्रीयरान रेन । पृष्ठ ४१ ।
थकि रहे सूर कौतिलि गेगन । ४३ । बरबीर पखी मारग्य घर जोह कही लगगत मुखयो
। २१ । खलि गयो नक्रमन क्रम न चलें । २१ । गिहिन ते भरदा लिखी खाइतौ
न पावी । २१ । खरी म्मगरे इस जह जाराद री । १८ । रोख मोरे ग अधिरान । पृ०
१० । पदमावती हरि कीय जाय आदि । ऊपर के उदाहरणों में क्रियार्थक संज्ञा, पूर्व-
काशिक तथा कृद्व कर्णों के साथ सहायक या सहकारी क्रियाओं के प्रयोग हुए हैं ।
इससे स्पष्ट है कि उक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग प्रारम्भिक अवस्था से हैं ।

विद्यापति की भाषा में भी सयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग इसी रूप में हुए हैं ।
उदाहरण—बेरे बेरि खोल पठाव । पृष्ठ १ । सैसब मौवन हुहु मिलि गेल । १ । मयुक
सातल उकुस्स न पावे । १७१ काबु कपल गमने । १७१ बेधि बारल उडि जायत अकासे
। ३२ । गुण गुन देहज आनि । ३३ । अलटि दे खूठ उलट परलखी । ३५ । नि कदि

कि सुनि किहु सुभिय न पारि । ६० । अत सब आवर गेल सरसाइ । ६० । सपनहु
हनि पुन पुन कए लए छठए तोर नाब । ८० । सुनु सुनु एसनि नचन बिसेस । ६१ ।
करे लगल सविजास । १०२ । नजर किनाइ पहु देखीन्ह लगाय । १०९ । आपल
चाहिय सुमुनि तोरा । ११७ ।

कबीर की भाषा कोई एक निरिक्त भाषा नहीं कही जा सकती । फिर भी उसकी
हिन्दीभिन्न भाषा के प्राचीन रूप में, अवधी, ब्रज, भोजपुरी और पञ्जाबी का प्रभाव
स्पष्ट रूप में मिलता है । उनके इस स्वरूप में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग भी मिलते हैं ।
उदाहरण—दूखे थे परि ऊबरे, गुन की लहरि कमकि, मेरा देखा जरजर। सब उत्तरि
पर्व करकि । १ । कबीर कहता जात है सुगता है सब कोइ । ४ । हरि सुभिरण हाथ
धरा, बैगे सोहु बुझाइ । ७ । जो कुछ या सोइ भया, अब कहु कथा न बाइ । १३ ।
वेसण लागे कारा । २० । सब लागि डोले साधि । ३३ । गोविन्द भिजे न कल बुझै
रही बुझाइ बुझाइ । ३४ । पूछ न पकै मेर की उत्तरया चाहि पार । ३५ । सार
मेरा सुखया स्तार देई लगाइ, लागत श्री में मिल गया पदया कजेने जेक । ५३ ।
कबीर ऐसे है रझो रझो राख तवि वास । ६२ । ऐसा कोक न भिजे अपना घर देइ
जराइ । ६६ । सोख पराये देखि कर अस्या हंसत हंसत । ८२ ।

ब्रजभाषा में भी संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग हुए हैं । यहाँ पर सरदास की भाषा
के कुछ उदाहरण उद्धृत किए जा रहे हैं । इसी तरह भाषा गये कबो रही ठगि
तिहि ठम । तबहि गयो लै । १ । बात कहु कहत न आवै । रहे नयन जल झाय,
फिर पूँछति है ताते । १० । नाक बहुरि मिल्यो है चाहत । २१ । कभि जन कहत
कहत थक आय । ३३ । हाँसी होन लग्यो या मन में । ५८ । अब हम किजि पठयन
चाहति हैं । ७२ । कहि न सकत वह बात । ८३ । ऊधो कहत कहि न जाय । ९१ ।
मेरो मन कियो कूर यूर जाहु जाहु ऊबो । १३८ ।

कबीरजी हिन्दी में जो संयुक्त क्रियाओं के उदाहरण नित्य प्रति देखते-सुनते
हैं । अतः यहाँ पर उनके उदाहरण खींचने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं समझी गई ।

उपयुक्त उदाहरणों से हिन्दी में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग का आवश्यक परिचय
मिल जाता है । संयुक्त क्रिया की रूप-रचना में सहायक अवयव सहायरी क्रिया के साथ
क्रियात्मक सहा, वर्तमानकालिक या भूतकालिक कृत पूर्वकालिक कृत तथा सहा या
विशेष्य आदि के प्रयोग हुए हैं । कुछ उदाहरण पुनरुक्त क्रियाओं के भी हैं । परन्तु
सहा या विशेष्य के योग से कभी हुई सभी सामबोधक संयुक्त क्रियाओं या पुनरुक्त
संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा वास्तविक रूप में संयुक्त क्रिया का अर्थ बोध नहीं होता । भारतीय
तथा पश्चात्य व्याकरणों ने इनका उल्लेख संयुक्त क्रिया के अन्तर्गत किया है । साम-

बोधक संयुक्त क्रिया के कुछ उदाहरणों करि सङ्ग्रह भवना हुआ जो भारिभा, कैलि-
करण्त में इसको अगीकार करता है, मैं उसका पीछा करता हूँ आदि में सहायक या
सहकारी क्रियाओं के साथ सहा या विशेषण के प्रयोग पूरक के रूप में ही है। हों
यदि पूर्ववर्ती रूप किसी क्रिया से बना हुआ सहा या विशेषण का रूप हो तो वह
संयुक्त क्रिया का उदाहरण कहा जा सकता है। उदा० दिखाई देता है। पुनरुक्त संयुक्त
क्रियाओं के रूपों में वे सब कुछ खा पी गय, वह उसे समझता बुझता रहा, क्या पूछ-
ताछ रहे हो आदि सहायक क्रिया के साथ दो वर्तमानकालिक कृत्व या दो पूर्व-
कालिक कृत्व के रूपों के प्रयोग मिलते हैं। इसमें या तो दो समान रूपों की पुनरुक्ति
होती है या पहले रूप के समान ही दूसरे कोई मिलते जुलते रूप प्रयुक्त मिलते हैं
इसे द्वित्व का रूप कहा जा सकता है। द्वित्व में दूसरा शब्द याव. मूलरूप में निरर्थक
होता है। उपर्युक्त उदाहरणों में 'पूछ-ताछ' में 'ताछ' शब्द ऐसा ही है। चूँकि संयुक्त
क्रिया के इस पुनरुक्ति या द्वित्व रूपों से एक ही अर्थ का बोध होता है। उदा० समझता-
बुझता, पूछ-ताछ, खा-पी शब्द ऐसे ही हैं। क्रिया का दूसरा शब्द अपने अर्थ को
पहले में छोप भी कर देता है इसलिये ये संयुक्त क्रिया के उदाहरण हो सकते हैं। परन्तु
क्रिया के पुनरुक्त रूप जैसे प्राकृत में 'अयेदु अयेदु मुनेषध, मुनेषध, याम्भ्री, यट्टोभि'
आदि तथा हिन्दी में 'कुमिनि हरन होत है जागहु जागहु। अवधी। सुन सुन हे
सखी बचन विशेष। मैथिली। जाहु जाहु ऊभो। अज। रही बुझाह बुझाह। कबीर।
आदि संयुक्त क्रिया के उदाहरण नहीं हैं। क्योंकि इनमें दोनों रूप एक ही प्रकार की
क्रियाओं के हैं। जब कि संयुक्त क्रिया में नाम रूप सहा या विशेषण का होना चाहिये।
परन्तु उक्त उदाहरणों में परवर्ती शब्द अपना अर्थ बनाये रहते हैं जब कि उसका अर्थ
पूर्ववर्ती रूप में धिक्कीन हो जाना चाहिये।

संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा जैसा पहले कहा गया है कि भावों को स्पष्ट अभिव्यक्ति
सम्भव होती है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा विशेष विशेष भावों का प्रकाशन भी होता है।
इस भाव-प्रकाशन का व्याकरणिक दृष्टि से काफी महत्त्व है। उदाहरण 'दाहुर रहुमि
खगिग, 'खगिग हय अथय तहिं नदीवरि', सह जहरि जगात कुयवो। अद। जगे कगारै
हस नर जार ररी। अद। तव खगरी जोखैं साथि। कबीर। हाँसी होन लगि या अज
में। सूर। आदि संयुक्त क्रियाओं में 'लगाना' शब्द के योग से आरम्भबोधक भाव की
अभिव्यक्ति होती है जो त परिहरेण सज्जह चंदुन दिक्खण सज्जह जा सा ससिषधनि,
किछु बुझिरे न पारी, मधुक मातध उदप न पारे। मैथिली। कहि न सकत वह बात।
अज। आदि संयुक्त क्रियाओं में 'सकना' या 'पारना' शब्द के योग से शक्तिबोधक भाव
का परिचय मिलता है। 'सम्भ सहेवडँ होइ' मुझेकरना पड़ता है। आदि में क्रियायक
सहा के साथ होना या पड़ना कंधों के योग से विद्यता या पराधीनता के भाव का
बोध होता है। इसी प्रकार कहव न जाई, अद कहु खिदया न लाइ। कबीर। जों

कचहूँ खादि न जाइ, बात कछु कहत न आवै, ऊचो कहत कही नहि जाय आदि में 'जाना' या 'आना' शब्दों के योग से भी असमर्थता का भाव प्रकट होता है। अचछु बिलवति। शोधिन्व मिले न मल गुनै रही बुझाइ नुमाइ। कबीर। रहे नयन जलछाय। ब्रज। आदि में 'रहना' शब्द के योग से संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा निरक्षरताबोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। तब चलन वेहु हुआइ लगन। चर। तुम गुन देख आनि। मैथिली। जाता है सो जान दे। कबीर। आदि में देना शब्द के योग से अनुमतिबोधक भाव का परिचय मिलता है। गिझिति ने अपहरा सियौ चाहती न पाबी। चर। पूछ जो पकड़े भेद की उत्तरा चाहै पार। कबीर। बारक बहुरि मिल्यो है चाहत, भव हम दिख पठवन चाहति हैं। ब्रज। आदि में 'बाहना' शब्द के योग संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा हृष्टा-बोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के उदाहरण—वह उठ बैठा, वह मार बैठा, खड़ी घोड़ी। अप बठइ तोर तान। मैथिली। आदि उदाहरण तारकात्मिक भाव का बोध कराते हैं। कुछ संयुक्त क्रियाएँ उदाहरण—वह जा चुका, वह लिख चुका आदि में 'चुकना' के प्रयोग से समाप्तिबोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। इस प्रकार संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास हिन्दी भाषा की एक महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता है।

(34) THE STORY OF DEVADATTA IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA

by

SRI SUKUMAR SEN, CALCUTTA

The grammarians everywhere and always have the tendency of using particular names in the examples illustrating the grammatical aphorisms and statements. The author of *Mahābhāṣya* was apparently enamoured of the name Devadatta. The examples and illustrative matter collected and rearranged, present, not only an outline of a story with Devadatta as the hero, but, what is much more important, a picture of the contemporary life and society in Eastern India, with Pāṭaliputra as the capital city, in the closing century of the pre-Christian era. Such an attempt has been made here.

The original and the translation have been given in parallel columns.

[Introduces the hero as a boy]

Sraughno Devadattah	Devadatta's family had come from Sraughna
Gārgyo Devadattah	He belongs to the clan of Garga.
Devadatto Dattah Devadattakah Devakah Dattakah Dattah,	Devadatta, Devaka, Dattaka and Datta [—he is variously called]
Devadatta-sabdo Devadīṇṇasabdām nivartayati	Devadatta, the correct form of the name, cancels the popular form Devadīṇṇa ¹
Anāhaṭo nadati Devadattah	Devadatta raises a cry though no one has thrashed him
Abluprāyo Devadattasya modakeṣu bhōjane	In eating Devadatta has a preference for the ball cakes of sweetened parched rice ² .

1 Deodīn in modern Behar

2 Bengali 'moā'

[The hero at school]

Padyate vidyā Devadattena	Devadatta is receiving education
Yo'dhīyāna āste sa Devadattaḥ	[The boy] who is engaged in study is Devadatta
Devadatta-Yajñadattāv-ādhyāv-abhirūpau darśanīyau pakṣa-vantau Devadattastu svādhyāyena viśiṣṭaḥ	Devadatta and Yajñadatta are good looking presentable, and well-born. But Devadatta is the better of the two in the recital of the Vedas

[The hero as a young farmer]

Nadyaotam Devadattasya kṣetram	Devadatta's farmland stretches up to the river
Devadattēna pāṇuṁ kṛtām ³	It was bought by Devadatta by his own hand
Devadattasya dhānyam ¹ vyatīlunanti	They are mutually reaping Devadatta's paddy crop
Lūyate kedārah avāyam eveti yatrāsau Devadatto dātrahastāḥ samantato viparīpatan dīś'yate	The waterlogged field appears to have been automatically reaped as Devadatta with a sickle in hand, is seen moving simultaneously in different parts
Svādumkāraṁ yavāgūṁ bhukte Devadattaḥ	Devadatta is eating barley gruel with gusto
Kārayati kaṭam Devadattaḥ	Devadatta is having a mat made for him
Uchrayati kaṭam Devadattaḥ ²	Devadatta is weaving an upright screen of straw
Prakṛtaḥ kaṭam Devadattena	Devadatta has finished well the screen of straw

3 Cf. data canena kṣetra brahmapasa Vārāṇasiputrasa Aśvibhūtiśa [haṁhe kṣṇita mulena kāṣapana-satehi catuḥ] [Nasik Cove Inscription of Nahapāna].

[The hero indisposed]

Na Devadattam pratibhāti kiñcit Bubhukṣitam na pratibhāti kiñcit,	Nothing appeals to Devadatta Nothing really appears good to a hungry fellow
Dadhitrapusam pratyakṣo jvarah	A dish of sour curd and cucumber in an immediate cause of fever
Evaṃ hi kaścit kañcit prechati kimavastho Devadattasya vyā- dhir iti Aparā āha apakṣiyata iti Aparā āha athita iti	Thus one man asked' another How goes Devadatta's malady? Another said It is going drawn Another said It is the same
Bhakṣayati piṇḍim Devadattah.	Devadatta takes pills (or lump of food or date)

[Devadatta's Married Life]

Darśantyām manyate Devadatto Yajñadattāṃ....	Devadatta regards Yajñadattā as a handsome girl,
Upāsleṣi Kanyā Devadattena.	The girl (i.e. bride) was embraced by Devadatta,
Pitāmahaśyotsaṅge dāraḥ kaścin kiñcit prechati kasyāyam iti Sa āha Devadattasya ...	Q some one asked about an infant boy sitting on the lap of the grandfather Whose is this boy? He replied Devadatta's (son).

[An Outsider's Admiration for Pāṭaliputra where
Devadatta lived].

Pāṭaliputrasya vyakhyānti Sukau- śalā.. Idṛśā aśya prākāraḥ iti	Sukauśalā is loud in her praise for Pāṭaliputra Such are its the city walls,
Anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputram.	Pāṭaliputra is sprawled along the Sone.
Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prāsādāḥ, Pāṭali- putrakāḥ prākāraḥ....	The palaces of Pāṭaliputra and — the ramparts of Pāṭaliputra!
Sāṃkṣāyakebhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatareḥ....	The citizens of Pāṭaliputra are better looking than those of Sāṃkṣāya

[*Invitation from country is sent for the honoured Brahmins
of the City*]

Kaścān ūkto grāme bhikṣām cara Devadattam cānayeṭi	Some one was asked in the village Beg alms and bring Devadatta
Abrāhmaṇo'yam yas tiṣṭhan mū trayati Abrāhmaṇo'yam yo gacchan bhakṣayati Gauram śucyācaram piṅgalam kapila- keśam dīpṣvādhyavasyat brāhmaṇo' yam iti Tatah paścād upalabhyate nāyam brāhmaṇo 'brāhmaṇo' yam iti	A non-Brahman is one who uri- nates standing A non-Brah- man is who eats walking When one sees a person fair complexioned, or brown- skinned, good mannered, tawny- haired, one considers him as a Brahman Then it is deter- mined that he is not a Brāhmaṇ but a non-Brahman

[*Devadatta is specially invited*]

Devadattam me bhavān upadīśat- viti	Do please describe Devadatta to me
Sa ihasthah Pāṭaliputīastham Devadattam uddīśati Ahgadi Kuṇḍalī kīrtī vyūdhorasko vṛttabāhur lohitaśśas tuṅganāśo vicitrābharapa idrśo Devadatta iti	He, a resident here, describes Devadatta living in Pāṭali- putra Wearing armlets, ear- rings and a diadem, broad chested, round-armed, red-eyed, sharpnosed, fine-dressed—such a one is Devadatta
Prāsado Devadattasya syāt ..	Devadatta certainly has a palace for his home
Devadattasya gāvo'śvā hiraṇyaṃ ca ādhyo vaidhaveyaḥ	Devadatta possesses cattle, horses and gold, he is rich, the son of a widow
Āmantrayasvamanṭr.	Do invite him here

[*Devadatta meets the messenger*]

Devadatto' haṃ bhoh	Hello, I am Devadatta
Ayuṣmān edhi Devadatta bhoh Devadatta bhoh Devadatta kusalasya Āgaccha Devadatta grāmam odanaṃ bhokṣyase	Be long-lived, O Devadatta [Hello Devadatta Devadatta, how do you do Come, Devadatta, to the village and you shall eat a rice dinner

Grāmāntaram gamisyāmi panthā- I shall have to go to an outside
nam me bhavān upadiśatu village, would you kindly
direct me the way

Sa tasmā ācāś'e Anusminn ava- He told him At such a place a
kāśe hasladakṣiṇo grahitavyo turn to the right is to be taken
'musminn avakāśe hastavāma and at such a place a turn to
iti left

Upadiś o me panthāh The route is pointed out to me

[A wayside observation]

Odanam bhojako vrajati Here goes a fellow to a dinner of
rice

[At the house of the host]

Putreṇa sahāgato Devadattaḥ.. Here comes Devadatta with his
son

Kuto bhavān Where do you come from?

Pāṭaliputrāt From Pāṭaliputra

Āścaryam idaṃ vṛttam odanasya Strange it is that the cooking of
ca nāma pāko brāhmaṇāṇāṃ the dinner is no sooner finished
ca prādurbhāva iti than the Brahmins make their
appearance

Rddheṣu bhuñjāṇesu daridrā āsate The poor wait when the rich dines,
Brāhmaṇeṣu taratsū vṛṣalā (just as) the lowly wait when
āsate Brahmins cross the ferry

[In the dining hall].

Dadhi brahmanebhyo diyatām Serve curd to Brahmins and whey
takram Kauṇḍīnyāyeṭi Vyañ- to Kauṇḍīnya The side dishes
janāni punar naṭabhāryāvad however (to be served as free-
bhavanti ly) as the wife of a dancer

Tiṣṭhatu dadhy aśāna tvarṣ śākena. Let curd wait, do take a helping
of vegetables

Alavanah āpaḥ, Alavaṇam śākam The soup is not salted The vege-
table dish too is not salted (to
taste)

Śālīn bhuhkte mudgaṣṭh	He is eating rice with lentil (broth)
Bhuhkte Devadattah,	Devadatta is eating
Apītaṃ kṣīraṃ Devadattena	Devadatta has not sipped cream
Māṃsaudaniko 'tīthih	A guest should be served with meat and rice
Abhoksyata bhavān māmsena yadi māmsamīpam āsisyste	You could have satisfied yourself with meat had you only had taken your seat by me
Abhijānāsi Devadatta yat Kāśmī- resu yatsyāmah Yat tatrāu- danāni bhoksyāmahe	Do you recollect Devadatta the tunic when we had lived in Kashmir and the rice dishes we had partaken there?
Abhijānāsi Devadatta Kāśmīrān agacchāma tatra saktūn apibā- ma	Do you remember Devadatta that we had been to Kashmir and had drunk gruel of parched grain there?

[The guests chatting]

Vīśalarūpo'yam apyayaṃ palāṇḍu- nā surāṃ pibet.	That fellow there looks like a wicked one Probably he drinks wine with onion
Corarūpo'yam apyayaṃ akṣor añjanaṃ haret	That man there looks like a thief He can steal the collyrium point from one's eyes
Dasyurūpo'yam apyayaṃ dbāvato lohitaṃ pibet	Yonder man has the look of a robber It is likely that he can drink the blood of a fleeing victim.
Dāsāpuruṣānūkaṃ yasya grhe śūdrā na vidyeraṇ sa somaṃ pibet..	He only may drink Soma if for ten generations in the family there had never been a Śūdra (servant)
Ā Pāṭaliputrasm vṛṣṭo devaḥ	There has been good rains as far as Pāṭaliputra

[Some one tells the story of Indra and the Old Maid]

Vṛddha kumārindrenoktā varam
vṛṇīṣveti Sā varam avṛṇita
putrā me bahukṣīraghṛtam
odaṇam kāmasyapāṇiyām bhuñ-
jīraṇm iti Na ca tāvad asyāḥ
patir bhavati kutaḥ putraḥ kuto
gāvaḥ kuto dhānyam Tatrā-
nayaikena vākyena patiḥ putrā
gāvo dhānyam iti sarvam
samgṛhītam bhavati

Indra asked the Old Maid Beg
a boon She begged May my
son eat rice served with plenty
of ghee and cream on a brass
platter She had not even a
husband, so how could there be
sons, cattle and paddy for her
By this single request a hus-
band, sons, cattle and paddy all
are secured

[The guests are given the dinner's fee in cash and kind]

Devadattāya gaur dīyatām Yajña
dattāya Viṣṇumitrāya

A cow may be given to Devadatta
as well as to Yajñadatta and
Viṣṇumitra

[On the way back]

Darśayati rūpatarkam kārṣāpanam,
Paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpa-
nam

A man is showing his coin to the
coin expert The latter ex-
amined the coin (whether
genuine or dud)

[Devadatta holds a social dinner party]

Devadatto bhavantam āmantrayate

Devadatta invites your honours

Kim Devadattah karoti

What is Devadatta doing

Pacatiḥ

He is cooking

Devadattasya samāśam śarāvāḥ
odenena ca Yajñadattah prati-
vidhātte

Yajñadatta arranges Devadatta's
social dinner by feeding rice
as well as by earthen bowl
hampeis (to be taken home¹)

Āhara Devadatta śālin Yajñadatta
enān bhoksyate

Bring, Devadatta, more rice
Yajñadatta shall eat them

1 In Bengal it is called 'chāḍā'

[*Devadatta is killed The culprit is caught*]

Na hi Devadattasya hantari hate	Indeed if the killer of Devadatta
Devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhā-	is put to death Devadatta
vati	would not appear again

[*At Devadatta's demise Yajñadatta lost heart*]

Devadatta-Yajñadattābhyām idam	This job was to have been done by
karma kartavyam Devadattā-	Devadatta and Yajñadatta
pāye Yajñadatto'pi na karoti	But on Devadatta's death
	Yajñadatta would not do it

XI—DRAVIDIAN SECTION

(35) SOME JAINA CONTRIBUTIONS TO TAMIL LITERATURE

by

PROF. V R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

University of Madras

Apart from the doubtful and conflicting tradition that Candragupta Maurya and Bhadrabāhu came to the Kannada country in South India, there is no reliable historical evidence to support the theory as we have shown elsewhere (MAURYAN POLITY). The age of the Sangam is roughly settled to be from the 5th century B C to the 5th century A D. In this we cannot speak definitely of a Jaina settlement in the Tamil country, though it may be accepted that there were a few Jaina, practically wandering monks, whose teachings might have appealed to some. But the establishment of the institution of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha in 470 A D marks a definite landmark in the history of Jainism in South India. Patriotic motives were perhaps the reason that influenced some Jain enthusiasts in the Tamil country to attribute the authorship of the *Tirukkural* and the *Ṣilappadhikāram* and even the celebrated work on grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam*, to the Jains. But for reasons which we cannot repeat in this article we are afraid that the arguments put forward in favour of the theory of the Jain authorship of these three works in Tamil are too fragile and slender that we cannot agree to them.

But when we come to the time of the works called *Padmenkulaṅkahū* or the eighteen minor diadectics we can speak with some definiteness about the authors of these eighteen minor works. Even here the question is not above dispute but still, a certain amount of acceptance from scholars may be counted. Of these eighteen, one or two seem to be by Jain authors. In this series again the *Kural* figures. There are also *Nāḷadiyar* and *Paṭamōḷi*. Every work of the series is separated by a long distance of centuries, for instance, the *Kural* is a first century or second century B C composition, and *Nāḷadiyar* is a work of the eighth century A D written under the auspices of

Muttaraśar who ruled in the Chola country. Though *Nāladīyar* from the nature of its composition and its contents seems to be based upon works in Sanskrit and would apply to every religion as common, still there is a theory that the work was by some Jain monks. A tradition says that Vajranandi who was a Jain established the Jain Sangha at about 470 A. D. and *Nāladīyar* was its first production. Be it noted the work is not by one author but by various authors some of whom were Jains. If we put this construction *Nāladīyar* may be one of the Jain contributions and to make it appeal to the Tamil public the authors have contrived the ethical teachings to be based upon the well-known *Kura!*

Another work that can be attributed to the Jains in general is *Paḷamaḷi*. *Paḷamaḷi* literally means old words. It is a book of proverbs containing wisdom and truth and consists of 400 *venhas*. It is supposed to have been written by a Jain king, Munrururai Ariyanar who was also a poet.

But we are on firm field when we come to works like *Jīvakaśiṣṭam*, which is grouped under the five Mahākāvya. The composition has been accepted as a Tamil literary monument. Even Kamban is said to have praised the beauty and literary diction of this famous Kāvya. In this the author sketches the life of Jīvaka of the Purāṇas. The story of Jīvaka is not a new thing. It is found mentioned in the Mahāpurāṇa among others, and the Mahāpurāṇa was composed by Jinasena who was the spiritual adviser of Amoghavarsa of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty. Therefore the Mahāpurāṇa must belong to the eighth century A. D. and the Tamil classic *Jīvakaśiṣṭam* must certainly be later. The work itself is divided into 30 chapters or *śāmbakam*. The author is one Tiruttakkadeva and mentions the career of the hero from his birth down to his nirvāṇa.

Among the minor kāvyas there is what is known as Yaśodhara Kāvya. Though we cannot know anything about the author, still it has been accepted that he was an ascetic of the Jain sect. About the date of this composition we can get a clue from the story itself. The author must have been later than Madhvācārya who advocated *piṣṭa paśu* in the place of a live animal for a yāga. The Yaśodhara Kāvya seems to reject even this substitute. Incidentally it refers to some of the Jain precepts and all we could say about this is that it is a literary work, sometime after the reformation effected by Madhvācārya.

There is another work called *Cūdāmaṇi* again by a Jain poet, named Tolamoliṭṭavar. He is profusely quoted by Amṛtasāgara the author of *Yōḥparuṅgala kāvikaḥ*. The one beauty of the *Cūdāmaṇi* is that it maintains the poetic excellence of the *Cinṭāmaṇi*. The story deals with one Tivittan, a Puranic figure considered by the Jains as one of the nine Vāsudevas. We need not go into the details of the

story, but it may be pointed out that there are some details about Jina dikṣita

Another work as this category is *Nīlakeśi* evidently by a Jaina philosopher. From what appears *Nīlakeśi* refuted the Buddhist work *Kuṇḍalakeśi*, unfortunately lost to us. The story contained therein is more imaginary and was intended to demonstrate the feebleness of the opponent like the Buddhists and the powerfulness of his own religion, Jainism. The fundamental principles of the Jaina religion and philosophy are narrated throughout this book, elevating the doctrine of *ahimsā* and vindicating the reality of the soul against materialism.

There is another work called *Peruṅgodaḥ* in Tamil perhaps after the *Bṛhatkoṭhāgamaśālo*. The author is said to be one Konguvel evidently a prince of Kongudesa. It relates to the life of Prince Udayana whose story is well known to the students of the Purāṇa. A good portion of this story relates to Vāsavadattā, Udayana's queen of whom the great dramatist, Bhāsa has written a *nāṭaka*, entitled *Svapnavasodattā*. The author is said to be a Jain by persuasion, and some of the Jain teachings appear in the course of this long poem. Between this epic and the *Jivakacintāmaṇi*, there are many resemblances which may be noted with profit by students of Tamil literature.

Another important classic of the Tamils is *Merumandiram*. One Vāmana Muni is said to be the author of this work. We have heard of one Vāmanamuni already as the commentator of the *Nīlakeśi*. If both are the same then Vāmanamuni must have flourished in the 14th century during the time of Bukkarāya. The story itself centres round Meru and Mandira, evidently a Purāṇic story. This Purāṇic tale is also found mentioned in the Mahāpurāṇa as having taken place during the time of Vimalatīrthāṅkara. The story is framed in such a way that Jaina philosophical doctrine could be expounded with ease. The story ends with the two princes Meru and Mandira worshipping the Tīrthāṅkara and attending his dharmopadeśa. They attained finally godhood by performing yoga.

Another great work of the Jains in the Tamil land can be said to be the *Śrīpurāṇa*. The *Śrīpurāṇa* is written in Maṇḍavāla style, Tamil and Sanskrit being combined. One of the most popular works among the Tamil Jains is the *Śrīpurāṇa* and it is considered to be a sacred work being based upon Jināsena's Mahāpurāṇa. The authorship of this work is not known. The peculiarity of this work is that it deals with the history of the 63 sacred persons including the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras, the 12 cakravartins known to Jain literature, 9 Vāsudevas of Jain tradition, 9 Baladevas of Jain faith and 9 Prativāsudevas. The interesting thing here is Jarāśanda of Magadha is looked upon as one of the Prativāsudevas while Śrī Kṛṣṇa is one of the nine Vāsudevas.

and his brother Balarāma a Baladeva. The book is looked upon with veneration by all Jains in Tamil India.

In addition to their contribution to Tamil literature the Jains have also contributed to prosody and grammar by writing *Yōpporungala Kārikā* written by one Amṛtasāgara, perhaps a contemporary of Guṇasāgara who has written a commentary upon this work. Amṛtasāgara is also celebrated as the author of the extent *Yōpporungala-vṛtti Neminīthom* is a grammatical work in Tamil by one Guṇavīrapandita. The introductory verses to this work indicate that there was a Jaina temple at Mylapore which was destroyed by the raging waves. In this connection we have also to mention the noteworthy book *Nonnūl* which is again a work on Tamil grammar. The author of this work was apparently a Jain. The book is being used as an authoritative work on grammar. One of the commentators of this work is said to be Mylanātha and his commentary has been made available to the public by the late Dr V. Swaminātha Iyer. Unlike the *Tolkāppiyam* this work deals with only two sections *Eluttu* and *Soi*.

After the settlement of the Jains in the Tamil country and their conversion of a number of people to their fold, they took to Tamil language and literature as a hobby and finally became great Tamil Pandits making their influence felt in every branch of Tamil literature. They were not content with grammar and prosody alone. Even in the field of Tamil lexicography they had left their deep impress in Tamil literature, the three *Nighantus* or lexicons are named *Divākaram*, *Pungalandam* and *Cūḍāmon*. Some Tamil scholars are of opinion that the authors of the three works were Jains by faith. In the *Cūḍāmon*, *Nighaṇṭu* reference is made to Guṇabhadra-cārya, a disciple of Jinaseoācārya by its author. There is also a reference to two other *Nighaṇṭus* evidently the *Divākaram* and *Pungalandam*. In that case it is probable that the three Tamil *Nighantus* are the works of people whose religion was Jainism.

It is also claimed that the Jains were anxious to show themselves proficient in astrology and astronomy also. The *Jinendramālo* is considered to be one of the works on astrology and it is often quoted by Tamil astrologers especially in *Āroddam*.

Thus we have made a rapid survey of the real contribution made to Tamil literature by the Jains in the course of a thousand years which followed the foundation of the Jaina Saṅgha at Madura. It is true that after the foundation of this Saṅgha and the propaganda carried on not only by the Jains but also the Buddhists provoked the wrath of the reformers of Hindu Dharma which resulted in a number of Nāyanmars and Ālvars decrying these two as heterodox sects and elevating both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism as the established religion of the land. This propaganda by members of the orthodox faith lasted for

more than 500 years in which period with the support given by Śrī Śaṅkara who hailed from a village in Kaladi in Malabar, the Tamil people were able to convert even princes from their ways of thinking and persecute the heterodox people wherever they were found. Notwithstanding the persecution which was carried on in a large scale the Jainas were able to hold their heads and became identified with the Tamil people in their outlook on men and matters. Hence they were tolerated and their settlements were not much disturbed. By taking more and more to literary pursuits they won the love and esteem of their fellow men in the Tamil land and made a permanent name for themselves.

(36) THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF CILAPPATIKĀRAM

by

M. A. DURĀI RANGASWAMY, M.A., M.O.L.

University of Madras

Cilappatikāram is the earliest of the epics in the Tamil Language now available for study. It ushers in a New Era in the poetic life of the Tamilians. This epic of "the (New Order of the) Anklet" is unique in many respects and a deeper study of this valuable work is bound therefore to yield a rich harvest of the poetic enjoyment in those eternal values which the poet holds forth there with all his religious fervour, as full of philosophical significance.

The story of the epic is indeed a very simple one. The actual historical facts forming the back bone of this story can be easily picked up. A happily married couple Kōvalan and Kāṇṇakī, an interlude of a dancing girl Mātavi, the resulting poverty of Kōvalan, his trek to distant Madura with Kāṇṇakī to build up a trade and a home, his execution on a false charge of theft, the death of the Pāṇḍya King and Queen and the Great Fire of Madura, the last three events so happening in succession close upon the execution of Kōvalan that the superstitious people began to connect them as miracles of chastity. The people in those days of credulity and blind faith must have woven a pattern of divinity with the warp and weft of those miracles, and story must have, within a few days, spread all through the Tamil Land with all the incidental exaggerations and embellishments unhampered by any modern spirit of scepticism. Our poet, a contemporary of these events as he himself narrates in this epic itself, takes up the story and gives it a poetic form and shape full of philosophical significance for him.

The Patikam or the introduction enumerates the principles or canons which form as it were the motive force of this epic that the great always worship the chaste women, that the Dharma or the Principle of Righteousness is verily the Death unto those Kings straying away from the Rule of law, and that the omnipotent Fate forces us to reap its consequences¹. Here is the Religion or cult of Pattini or the Woman of Chastity to purify our domestic and social life or Imam or Kāṇam. Here is the philosophy of Justice to purify our Political life or Artha or Porul. Here is also the metaphysics of Fate to shape our

Spiritual life or Dharma or Aram These events are woven together as a beautiful pattern though one may take out mentally at the different strands for study

The statement about Fate is rather too crude to do justice to the poetic treatment of the plot of this epic But this epic is by the way, unique in being dramatic as well But if every event is explained completely and successfully by the principle of Fate, where is the place for human or spiritual principle, the development of drama, the interplay of personalities, the conflicts and resolutions of life? If one understands Fate in this crude sense there can be no drama This principle will lay the axe at the very root of the poetic creation

But fate does set the stage wherein play the human actors The action is there, subject to all the restrictions and limitations of that stage The environment is there for us all, our limitations also are there, as a twist, a bend, or a tendency, we are predisposed to act in a particular way But man is no slave to these—that is his eternal glory He tries to reshape them and the wonder is that he sometimes succeeds If Kappaki, the heroine is the inevitable product of blind fate, what is there divine about her? Any other woman in her place would have suffered and died in one way or other But it is the glory of Kappaki that she gives a spiritual form and shape to her suffering and transforms or sublimates it into a Tapas or Spiritual tonic or inner purification The evils are there to be destroyed in her world Her domestic life is no more personal to her Seen from the universal point of view it is the life of her society Her solution therefore becomes the moral regeneration of society—or social revolution which burns away all the evil in that society as symbolised by the Great Fire of Madura Herein lies the dynamism of her Chastity

Fate has set the stage for her in the form of a particular kind of society which is cut in twain—the chaste women and the prostitutes not by profession but by the mere fact of their birth The emphasis on mere sensual pleasure in both the spheres at home divorcing it from art and other sublimations of passion and at the brothel degrading the arts themselves by their compulsory association with obscene prostitution—that is in short the root cause of the social cancer

! A patron and lover of art like Kovalan can get that artistic enjoyment, in private, only in a prostitute's parlour But it is both for his fortune and misfortune that his dancing girl is only a prostitute by birth, she is in herself an embodiment of chastity a flagrant negation of the then prevalent social theory of divorce between chastity and art. It is this which makes the complication of the story beyond denouement or resolution In a moment of jealousy the inevitable concomitant of passion raising up its monstrous head up above his unconscious mind the

hero suspects her²—and suspicion is another bedfellow of passion. This creates the occasion for the atory to unite him with his wedded love.

The sudden change in the behaviour of Kovalan has shaken Mātavi's character to its very foundations. She is baptized anew in the fire of suffering and this transports her to the highest ethical perfection. Her second letter³ to him is full of the highest ethical flavour. But Kovalan does not realise fully the significance of this revelation of this new Mātavi. That broken heart of his will have to collapse between his all absorbing love for Kāṇakī and his all absorbing love for Mātavi. He cannot escape this lifelong torture of the inner conflict except in his death. His death thus becomes the inner necessity of the poetic art and justice of the plot. The tragedy is all the more poignant revealing to us the climax of the social cancer.

The great Pāṇḍya ruler famous for his Justice⁴ himself catches this infection. In a moment of intoxication because of the heat and confusion of passion, the king spurts out that the thief should be executed and the anklet brought to him⁵. Innocent blood is shed⁶ and the king has to raise up once again his fallen sceptre with his very life⁷—as the port puts it through the mouth of Cenkuttuvan. The society, rotten to the core and fatally infecting even the righteous king, has to be burnt and a new society founded out of the youths, the virtuous, the seers, the chaste women and the innocent of the old society⁸. In the working out of this political and social revolution, chastity is deified⁹—thus all the three principles form an organic whole in this epic.

Fate is here raised to a higher pitch of social elegy and assumes tragic proportions. It does not face us at every turn as minor injuries. Here it is something so great that it demands a social revolution. A universal significance is thereby given to it. This incarnation of Fate in society is absolutely human in that it is the ever growing result of the actions of generations of men. The very social regeneration brought about by Kāṇakī, emphasises the affirmative aspect which is the source of our feeling of reconciliation. The necessity which we have so far seen in the plot is yet of one substance with the actors.

2. Cilap 7 52

3. Ibid. 13 87-92

Ibid 15 3

Ibid. 16 131-154

Ibid. 16-214

Ibid 25: 98 99

Ibid. 21 53-57

Ibid 25 114

Kovalan is through and through emotional in spite of his erudition in many languages, his artistic training and his higher ideals and self sacrifice¹⁰. He is a man of emotion not a man of calculated action. Even acts supreme examples of sacrifice, love and culture—are emotional rather than otherwise. Here we have in him the unbalanced personality tilted too much to the side of emotion and his sufferings flow from this imbalance, his poverty,¹¹ or rather the one sided development of his personality, his very forgetting Kannaki and his meeting with the goldsmith¹² instead of with a merchant of his caste as originally proposed by himself.

Kannaki on the other hand is an active personality with no emotional outbursts. She calculates like a lady of the merchant class not for making money but for showing consideration to all¹³. She is almost expressionless¹⁴ she speaks in monosyllables and forced smiles¹⁵. Her cold exterior is her fault. Here is also an imbalance of personality where everything is tilted to the side of action and calculation, nothing being found on the side of blind emotion. She is an embodiment of love and sympathy. She does not die to escape this imbalance. She is cured of this imbalance by the force of events which bring out an emotional outburst in her. She is thus made whole and perfect.

Mātavi, till Kovalan deserts her has not known what suffering is, it has been all smooth sailing, playing on the surface water of the sea of life. Suddenly she stands on the quicksand of life. She realises her position, instead of being swallowed up she swims on to the sturdy rock of ethical perfection. An iota of the ethical seriousness which she shows later on¹⁶ would have saved her and Kovalan, if it had become visible in the first part of her life.

The Pāṇḍya king is really a great soul but it has also not reached its equilibrium. His is a ruffled surface of the sea with the ebb and flow of conflicting emotions. Perhaps his very experience of royalty has given him the shaking that his personality is still oscillating up and down without settling down to rest. He has not reached the inner peace.

10 Ibid 15: 21-94

11 Ibid. 9-7

12 Ibid. 16 108

13 Ibid 16 71-83

14. Ibid 9 72-73

15 Ibid. 16: 78-80.

16. Ibid. 13 87-92

spite of his honest attempts his good intentions do not hold the upper hand except at the time of his death¹⁷, but that is no success

The Cera king Cenkuttuvan is a great person of actions. Whereas Kannaki was an introvert, he is an extrovert. He would have died a fighting cock but for the timely inspiration of Matalan who reveals to him a new way of life of peace and contentment¹⁸

Matalan and our poet Ilanko are the only people who have achieved the equanimity of temperament, serene peace and harmony of all conflicts, the one through his objective journey through life and the other through the subjective experience of poetry. It is the absence of this harmony but a conflict of overwhelming imbalance that had led to all the catastrophe

The political revolution after that conflict of two minds—Kannaki and Pāndya is based on the principle of equality or the intrinsic worth of human being as such. The whole edifice of the state crumbles down when it sets at naught the life of a human being however humble it may be. For establishing this principle therefore the poet must bring into conflict not a seer or a sage but a stranger and foreigner, poor and helpless. This therefore necessitates that the hero of the story standing as against the ruler, should be a common man.

The epic is unique among the epic of the world in being the story of no king or seer. The kingdoms may be many but humanity is one. The Tamil country enjoys a fundamental unity of culture, language and civilisation within its limits, a unity of the common man within the trinity of the crowned kings. Kannaki and Kovalan are born in the Cola Capital, they move to the Pāṇḍya capital and they are deified in the Cera capital. Thus in spite of the political divisions there is a continuity in the life of the common folk. The life of any Tamil king would not have given room for revealing this fundamental unity of the Tamil land and universality of justice. This is another reason for our poet choosing the hero and heroine from among the common folk.

There is a third reason as well. This epic is the dedication of the chaste woman, of chastity pure and simple without the extraneous glamour of Royal birth or fabulous wealth or miraculous spirituality. Even the rich Kannaki has to be brought to the verge of poverty in a distant foreign land absolutely helpless for that, she has to lose her lord—her only prop reaching the very depths of despondency. It is by the very artistic necessity of the scheme of things as conceived by the poet in this view that the epic of the common man took a shape and form even in that age of monarchy.

17 Ibid 13 87-92

18 Ibid 28 110-234

The deification of Kāṇṇakī is not a one day miracle but the gradual unfolding of her character from an ordinary simple care free girlhood to perfection through the ordeal of suffering and conflicts. The blow of separation and neglect by her lover falls suddenly and unexpectedly after a continuous period of the happiest wedded life. She keeps up, of course, with great difficulty a show of contentedness. This attitude of withdrawing into herself has developed a sturdy independence of standing on her own legs. Tamilian conception, which Valluvar has given expression to, of chastity which believes¹⁹ in its intrinsic strength refusing to bow down before gods for any help guides our Kāṇṇakī all through the dark days of solitude and suffering.

Such a great endurance of suffering as this without any murmur and such a great consideration for others as to screen her own sufferings successfully from their view lest their mental peace should be disturbed—this is according to Valluvar the very quintessence of Tapas or Sacrifice.

The ascetic Jain nun observing our heroine day in and day out all through the journey to Madura²⁰ with her miraculous powers and with her ever watchful fault finding eyes²¹ at the end of her continuous vigil, exclaims to the shepherdess to whose loving care she entrusts Kāṇṇakī, that Kāṇṇakī is the only god the nun has seen and that no other god she has seen²². Here is as it were, the prophecy of deification to come. There stands the goddess in the making.

When Kovalan and Kāṇṇakī pass through a desert haunt of hunters who celebrate the annual festival of their Mother Goddess, one of them, inspired by the Goddess in her trance praises Kāṇṇakī as the idol of Tamil land and the unique gem divine of this mundane world²³. That is how Kāṇṇakī who has reached a certain level of perfection appears to the eyes of ethical sages and inspired seers.

Valluvar delineates three stages of moral development, the stage of revenge (Orukkam nerī)²⁴, the stage of forbearance (Porukkum oerī)²⁵ and the higher stage of forgetting (Marakkum nerī)²⁶. Kāṇṇakī

19. Kural 55

20. Cālap 10.64-101

21. Ibid 60.219-235

22. Ibid 15.153-154

23. Ibid. 12.46-50

24. Kural 314,

25. Ibid 151,

26. Ibid 152

even at the starting point is beyond the stage of vengeance. She has not any harsh word for Kovalan or Mātavi.

When Kovalan lies exalted, Kāṇṇaki undergoes a revolution within herself²⁷. Her speech is a volcanic eruption. She rushes like a tigress to the citadel of the victorious Pāṇḍya and denounces him in his very presence by contrasting his rule with the righteous rule of the Cola king²⁸. The successful vindication and the death of the Pāṇḍya do not cool her righteous indignation. She pounces as it were on Madura the cursed city²⁹. All this is but nature red in tooth and nail.

This exemplifies the stage of vengeance which instead of preceding the stage of forbearance, succeeds it in this epic. But it is a passing phase.

Even here in the path of retribution, there is the underlying spirit of reformation. The fire of Madura is symbolic of the passing away of the old order of corruption and passion. Kāṇṇaki hurls away one of her mammalian glands and lo! the city is on fire³⁰. That gland, the symbol of the highest and purest love, the selfless and all sacrificing love of the mother-degrades in a society obsessed with animal passion into the voluptuous swell exciting the violent passion of the obscene man. A glorious transformation has to be effected. This erstwhile degraded symbol of obscenity, now burns away the evils and restores morality to its life by its intrinsic implication of motherhood and womanhood. What is burnt is evil. Why cry over it? In this glamour of the all consuming flame one forgets the saviour. Those who have a chance of redemption have to be saved and are saved³¹. The saviour is our Kāṇṇaki.

The volcano cools down. But she leaves exhausted and broken hearted. If she had not collapsed, it is because she had heard the inner voice speaking to her as the very voice of Kovalan of his promised meeting of her in the near future³².

The mountaineers see her standing under a tree³³. To them she is the very form of divinity chastened and mellowed, therefore dear and near to their heart³⁴.

27 Cilap. 18.30-53

28 Ibid. 20.50-62

29 Ibid. 21.31-37

30 Ibid. 21.45-57,

31 Ibid. 21.53-55

32 Ibid. 23.184-200.

33 Ibid. 25.57

34. Ibid. 25.58-60

The Cera king Cenkuttuvan who has raised a temple for this Pattini or the chaste, sees a vision³⁵ Kannaki appears in her divine form in that vision and she sings, 'I have become the guest of the king of Heavens The Pāṇḍya king is faultless, he is my father³⁶.' Her mortal enemy the Pāṇḍya is thus welcomed as her own father that is the love, the very acme of divinity

The deification of Pattini is the deification of women and has therefore an eternal value. The cult of Pattini or the chaste is the religion of Cilappatikaram. It is not the ordinary passive chastity as that revealed by the Queen of Pāṇḍya, dropping down dead at the sight of her lord giving up his ghost³⁷. It is the dynamic chastity of Kannaki (as is expressed by the Queen of the Cera) for whom the Cera Queen demands a temple to be raised³⁸. It is the dynamism, vindicating the innocence of her lord, revolutionising the society, burning away in the fire of chastity the dress of prostitution and seduction emphasising the necessity for the chastity of man and finally sublimating the lower passion into pure and heavenly gold of virtue and divinity-it is this dynamism that has appealed to the Cera Queen. This is the New Order of the anklet

The religion of the poet is not a mere scientific adoration of nature as some suggest from a reading of the opening lines, it is something deeper. Some hail him as a Saivite. His brother the Cera king is a Saivite and the poet describes Siva as the Great, unborn as any faithful Saivite could have described³⁹. When the father of Kannaki, the father of Kovalan, Mātavi and Maimekalai renounce their worldly life and take to Holy Orders, it looks as though the poet is holding here the scales even. It looks as though for want of a holy order in the Saivite Religion that the poet had made them embrace other religions⁴⁰. Anyhow this shows only the poet's large heartedness

There is some agreement among scholars that the poet is a Jain. Kovalan and Kannaki are described by the poet as Śrāvakas⁴¹. The deification of Kannaki is in keeping with the deification of every soul on its march to perfection without the necessity for a creator. But this argument loses its force when one realises that the Pattini Cult is

35 Ibid 29 8

36 Ibid 29 9

37 Ibid 20 78-81

38 Ibid, 25 110-114

39 Ibid, 26 54-58

40 Ibid 27 90-108

41 Ibid 16 18

welcomed by all creeds. The introduction of the character of Kāvuntī, the Jain nun, is considered by some to have been made with the set purpose of preaching Jain principles. But a thorough study of the epic will reveal that the poet is in search of an electron microscope for observing carefully all the acts, even the insignificant acts, of Kāṇṇaki and the Jain men come in handy for this purpose. But Kāṇṇaki comes out in glorious colours having gone through the ordeals of the Jain nun. Unless understood in this light the enumeration the details of the Jain code of conduct of the Poet's intention, for in no other place the poet has attempted any caricature of any religion.

That is not to argue that the poet is not a Jain. Perhaps he is! But the poet is blessed like Valluvar with the universal consciousness, refusing to be labelled. He is beyond any parochialism even in the sphere of religion. His reference to Śiva makes one believe that he is a Saivite or Saivites, indeed he has identified himself with Saivism to that great extent. Every poet identifies himself with the character he delineates. He is the villain one moment, the hero the next, and the heroine the third, emanating from the very fibre of his soul and poetry. But very rarely does a poet rise to that level of universal consciousness to identify himself with the religion and religious experiences of all the characters. Our poet is an exception. He describes the dance of the hunters and praises their Mother Goddess⁴². Every syllable of this description and prayer song reveals his inspiring knowledge of their mind and love. No other devotee of the Mother Goddess could have composed a more sincere and poetic prayer as he. In the same way the poet becomes the devotee of Viṣṇu⁴³, Muruga⁴⁴ and so on. Our poet is a great mystic, engaging all these varied experiences as a harmonious unity without any jarring note or external conflict because of his universal consciousness beyond the mine and the thine of parochialism. This is in keeping with his ethical mysticism harmonising all dualities in his monistic vision of poetry.

42. Ibid 12 12-44, 54-74

43. Ibid 17 full, 11 35-51

44. Ibid, 24 full

(37) THE ĀPASTAMBA DHARMA SŪTRA AND THE 'DHARMA'
PORTION OF TIRU-KURAL

by

SRI A S NATARAJA AYYAR, ALLAHABAD

The Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra is one of the most ancient of Dharma Śāstra works in Sanskrit. The Tiru-Kural of Tiru-Valluvar is the first systematic exposition of the 4 ends of life—Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa in the Tamil language and is the earliest which has come to us and it remains as the best exposition of the subject in the Tamil language and holds a unique place in the honour and estimation of later generations up to date including kings, poets, scholars and politicians of the Tamil land. The object of this paper is to set forth a few items of comparison between the one and the other.

The date of Āpastamba may be fixed as the 5th century B C. Mayne's Hindu Law (10th Edition 1938-revised by Srinivasa Ayyangar 11th Edition 1950-revised by Chandrasekhara Ayyar) summarises the views of scholars as hereunder —

"Āpastamba like Baudhāyana belonged to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and was also probably a native of the *Andhra* country. He refers to Śvetaketu who appears as a Vedic teacher even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogya upanishad as an Āvara (आवर) or a man of recent times. Dr Bühler, Dr Jolly and M. M. Kane assign the date of the composition of the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra to the fourth or fifth century B C. Prof Hopkins and Dr Keith suggest the second century B C as the more probable date. Dr Jayaswal agrees with Dr Jolly and assigns the work to the 5th century B C."

Dr Bühler in his introduction to the translation of Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtra states (page XLIII) — "On linguistic grounds it seems to me Āpastamba cannot be placed later than the 3rd century B C and if his statement regarding Śvetaketu is taken into account the lower limit for the composition of his Sūtras must be pushed back by 150-200 years."

"The Kural of Tiruvalluvar" says Grierson in his Introductory [concluding] volume of the Linguistic Survey of India "which teaches the Śākhya [Dharma Śāstra and Vedānta] Philosophy in 1330 poetic aphorisms is universally considered as one of its brightest gems. Regarding the date of the Kural it is stated that "the cumulative weight of

evidence is in favour of the last date *viz* 1st or 2nd century B C" (Studies in Tamil Literature and History by V R R Dikshitar 1930, University of Madras p 133)

"It is generally accepted as belonging to a period anterior to the 2nd century A D. Some scholars place it in the 1st century B C" (Kural selections Books I and II with English translation by C Rajagopalachariar—Rochhouse and Sons—Madras 1950)

Much light on the relative posteriority of Āpastamba is thrown by T P Palaniappa Pillai in his article on Tiru Valluvar (Vol X 1950) of the Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute Tirupati pp 19-30 at p 27

"The ancient Sanskrit Literature shows that Kāñci (Conjeevaram) was a great seat of Sanskrit learning in the Dravīḍadeśa in the early centuries of the Christian era. A clan of Āndhra Bhṛtyas of the north came to Tamil Tondaimandalam, settled as conquerors, held power at Kāñci and grew in importance as the Pallava Tondayar Kings for many centuries. These copper plates show that the Kings of this line establishing a powerful state of Kāñci introduced the Aryan lines of administration modelled on the Kauṭilyan Artha Śāstra, performed Vedic sacrifices, spread Aryan ideas and pushed on agriculture in this part of the country. Born and bred up in the Tamil land, blossomed and brightened ripe in Tamil culture, nurtured also in the rich Sanskrit culture of Artha Śāstra, Ānvikṣiki Vārtā Sāmkhya and Dharma, he (Tiru Valluvar) had endeavoured to radiate his vast knowledge of the ancient lore and of the world and wrote his unsurpassed work—the immortal Kural for the betterment of his Tamil land."

Thus it may be taken as established that the great Kural had before it the Sanskrit works on Dharmas Śāstra and Artha Śāstra for models. This is accepted by Parimelazhagar, the most erudite commentator on Tiru Valluvar who in many portions of his commentary has indicated how the ideas of the Sanskrit works agree with the conclusions of Tiru Valluvar evidently forming the basis for Tiru Valluvar. If Parimelazhagar's view could be adopted then the author of the Kural must have been familiar with Sanskrit Literature and especially the Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra Literature. "If this position can be accepted it is reasonable to assume that Tiru Valluvar follows mainly in his Arattuppal—(Portion on Dharma) the most popular Dharma Śāstra of Manu, in his Portutpal—(Portion on Wealth) the well-known Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya and in his Kamattuppal (Portion on Pleasure) the Kāma Śāstra of Vātsyāyana. To these may be added portions of the Rāmāyana and the Mahā Bhārata and other allied literature" (Page 133 of V R R Dikshitar's Studies in Tamil Literature and History 1930 University of Madras—Chapter on Tiru Kural pp 125-176)

Among modern scholars there is practical unanimity about the indebtedness of the Kural to the Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras and Artha Śāstras

Prof Krishnaswamy Ayyangar States in his "Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions of South India" (1931 University of Madras Sir William Meyer Lecture 1929-30 Lecture 2 Kural Polity)

"Apart from this question purely of diction the parallelisms in subject matter are so many and so frequent that it would be taking too much upon ourselves to assert that in the subject matter the work is quite independent of Sanskrit. We have no right to assume that a commentator is a fraud who reads his ideas into the Sūtras composed centuries before his time. These remarks are offered here as is often asserted that Parimelazhgar's profound learning in Sanskrit is what is responsible for the affiliation of the ideas of the Kural to Sanskrit works. Ignorance of Sanskrit and the necessarily imperfect exposition of the Kural are not certain features of higher authority. It is knowledge of what Sanskrit has to say and a comparison of the two in the contents that really would lead to anything and take justifiable inference rather than the ignorance that would shut its eyes to all possible sources of light from elsewhere. [For the opposite view see "Studies in Tiru Kural" by R P Setu Pillai with a foreword by K Subramania Pillai 1923]

Though the parallelisms have been admitted still they have not been exhaustively worked out. V R R Dikshitar in his essay "Studies on Tamil Literature" notes a few. The first systematic exposition of the comparison is by Dr P S Subrahmanya Sastry, Head of the department of Sanskrit, Annamalai University in his commentary on the Kural (Arattuppal-Balar Urai). The parallelisms of the Dharma portion as the most important portion of the work have now been the subject of a special work entitled "108 verses of Kural" (72 verses relate to Dharma, 34 to Artha and 2 to Karma) published with a Srimukham from H H Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of the Kāñcer Kāma Kōṭi Peetham (B G Paul & Co, Madras 1950)

Now a few points of comparison between Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras and the Tiru Kural Dharma portion are set down below

I Among the Dharma Śāstra writers, Āpastamba is the foremost who lays special emphasis on "The agreement of those who know the Law as the authority (for the duties)" "धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणम् (I 1 1 2) as the only source of Dharma besides the Vedas as the ultimate source of Dharma. The next Sūtra states वेदाश्च and Bühler translates it, "(and the authority for the latter) are the Vedas alone"

That this is Āpastamba's considered conclusion is clear from other portions of his work. In I 7 20 7 he states य तु भार्या क्रियमाणा प्रशसन्ति स धर्मः, यत् पश्यन्ते सो धर्मः = But that is virtue the practice of which wise men of the three twice born castes praise, what they blame is sin.

The definition of these Āryss or the qualities adorning the Aryan have been explicitly set forth in two places in the middle and end of the work in the same language—I 7 20 8 and 9 II 11 29 13 and 14

कृच्छ्रा धर्मसमाप्तिं समाप्नातेन । दण्डकर्मणा तु समाप्यते । अत्र कृष्यान् सर्वजनपदेषु एकान्तसमाहितम् भार्यायाम् वृत्तम् सत्यविनीतानाम् वृत्तानाम् आत्म-
वृत्तानाम् अखोलुषानाम् अदामिकानाम् वृत्तम् सारथ्यम् भजेत् । एवम् वनौ लोकौ अभिजयति

13 It is difficult to learn the sacred law from the letter of the Vedas only, but by following the indications it is easily accomplished

14 The indication for those doubtful cases are. He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct of what is unanimously recognised in all countries by men of three twice born castes who have been properly obedient to their teachers who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice nor hypocrites. Acting thus he will gain both worlds

The reason for confining Dharma to this source is very piquantly put I 7 20 6 न धर्माधर्मी चरत आशाम् इति । न देवमन्त्रवा न पितरः इत्याचक्षते अथ धर्मः अथम् अथर्म् इति ।

For virtue and sin (Dharma and Adharma) do not go about saying Here we are. Nor do Gods Gandharvas or Manes say to men "This is virtue. This is sin."

Following Āpastamba we should hold that Tiru Valluvar has in Chapter 3 dealt with on the greatness of ascetics as the ascetic alone is a धर्माज्ञः (Araveran verse 10) and as his word (collectively or individually) is the source of Dharma. [We may omit the 1st 2 Chapters on God and Rain as introductory]

In mentioning this source as the only source of Dharma it was unnecessary to mention the more remote source of Dharma viz the Vedas. This treatment by Tiru Valluvar is not accidental but deliberate following Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra's cardinal doctrine of the single source of Dharma in the customs of great men. Control of senses is dealt with in verses 4, 5 and 7. Their qualities are described as the hill ascendant on which they sit (verse 9). The mercy to all creation is noted in verse 10 and their general greatness in verse 6.

II The definition of antapar in the last verse of Chapter 3 as —
 "The Brahmins are the people who know Dharma as they show the quality of mercy kindness to all creatures"

This is an exact replica of Āpastambas 1 8 23 Sūtras 1 and 2

आत्मन् परयन् सर्वभूतानि न मुद्येत् चिन्तयन् कश्चि । आत्मानं चैव सर्वत्र यः
 परयेत् स वै ब्रह्मा नाकण्डे विराजति ।

Here ब्रह्मा means a Brāhmana translated as 'antapar' in Tamil. The Sūtras are translated by Bühler as —

"That Brāhmana who is wise and recognises all creatures to be Ātman, who pondering thereon does not become bewildered and who recognises Ātman in every created being shines forsooth [surely] in heaven "

III In the same Chapter 3 treating of the greatness of ascetics we have a verse which refers to the very men being endowed with qualities and they are stated as sitting on the hill of qualities. This has evidently reference to 1 8 23 6 of Āpastamba where the qualities of the Brāhmanas referred to in the 1st Sūtra (1 8 23 1) are described

"Freedom from anger, from exaltation from grumbling, from covetousness, from perplexity, from hypocrisy and hurtfulness, truthfulness, moderation in eating, silencing slander, freedom from envy, selfdenying liberality, avoiding to accept gifts, uprightness, affability, extinction of the passions, subjection of the senses, peace with all created beings, concentration of the mind (on the contemplation of Ātman), regulation of one's conduct according to that of the Āryas, peacefulness and contentedness,—these good qualities have been settled by the agreement of the wise for all the four orders, he who according to the precepts of the sacred law practices these enters the Universal Soul "

अक्रोशोऽहर्षोऽक्रोभोऽमोहोऽदमोऽद्वीह' सत्यवचनम् अमत्याह अवैशुनम् अनसूया
 संविभागस्वभावः आर्जवम्, मार्जवम्, शमः क्षमाः सर्वभूतैः अविरोधः योगः आर्यमातृसंस्थ
 बुद्धिः इति सर्वाश्रमाणां समवपदाणि तानि अनुतिष्ठन् विधिना सार्वगामी भवति ।

This large list of qualities of Āpastamba is condensed in one clause as 'sitting on the (throne of the) hill of qualities v 9 of Chapter 3. 'He who stands ascendant on the hill of qualities' by Tiru Valluvar

IV Again Āpastamba's division of the four Āśramas practically into two lends adequate basis for Tiru Valluvar's division of Dharma into the Gṛhastha Dharma and the ascetic Dharma (lit Dharma which consists of giving up everything)

Āpastamba's treatment is seen from II 9 21 Sūtras 1 to 4
 1 There are 4 orders, the householdership, the studentship, the order of ascetics and the order of hermits in the woods 2 If he lives in all these four according to the rules of the law without allowing himself to be disturbed by anything he obtains salvation 3 The duty to live in the teacher's house after the initiation is common to all of them 4 Not to abandon sacred learning is a duty common to all Hence leaving out the introductory or common Āśrama of the Brahmacārin the other three are to be divided into two—the Gṛhastha—one who *lives* in the world and on the other hand the ascetic and hermit—those who *leave* the world These are the two great divisions of mankind which have claimed man's admiration allegiance and worship from the dawn of humanity in all ages The history of the world could be written in a compendious form as the action and interaction of these two forces on men This is exactly the problem in the age of Āpastamba and he sets out the same elaborately in 2 sections II 9 23 Sūtras 7 to 11 and II 9 24 Sūtras 1 to 15 These two sections are very important as setting both the basis of the claims of the respective contending parties To summarise, the Sanyāsi claimed the support of the texts of the Veda and the power to pronounce benediction (सकृत्पवित्रिः) [inflicting *ṣṛṣṭ* is included] The basis of the one is invisible and the basis of the second is visible by its effects being demonstrated and made known to the world The Gṛhastha also had the Vedic texts to support and appeals to the view that the good done by the sons (*eg* in the shape of *śraṇ* intended for the father's benefit and Śrāddhas after his death) lead them to the places in heaven He appeals to the son looking alike Finally Āpastamba concludes by giving his judgment in the last portion "still there is no reason to place one order before the other II 9 24 च न्न सकृदेष्टव्यम् चाश्रमायास्तु । On account of the passages of the revealed texts and on account of the visible results—these are the two bases of arguments of each of the two side तस्मात् श्रुतिः, मन्त्रश्चकृत्वात्

The same judgment would be that of Tiruvalluvar also as he praises both types of Dharma—the Gṛhastha and the Ascetic in the same exhortatory words Compare (1) the verses in Chapter 5, the Householder, especially verse 6 "If the Gṛhastha does perform the Dharma of his station what is there for him to gain by going to the other station of life (the life of the ascetic and hermit) verse 7 The Gṛhastha who acts up to the rules of his order is the best of those who try to ascend up to the feet of the Lord; *eg*, get Mokṣa V 10 He who lives up according to the rules prescribed for the Gṛhastha will be placed among the gods in heaven and (a) the verses relating to the ascetic verse 348 They are the ascetics who have renounced all Others are confused

and are caught in the meshes (of Samsāra)-263 Surely the Grhastha forgot तपस् in order to be helpful to those who renounce [The reference to आपानुमद् in verse 264 and the लक्ष्मसिद्धि in verse 265 shows that Tiruvalluvar remembered Āpastamba's case as of the ascetic as put forth by him] and verse 266 Those who perform Tapas are those who perform the Dharma Others are those who are fond of the results of the sense products and are caught in its meshes

This treatment of the two types प्रवृत्ति and निवृत्ति is peculiar to Āpastamba and the next great work which treats it likewise is the Bhagavad Gītā Śaṅkara is his introduction to the Gītā Bhāṣya divides the Āshikas—those endowed with Daiva Prakṛti into 2 classes the प्रवृत्त and निवृत्त and instances Manu and others as belonging to the one and ascetics like Sanaka and others as belonging to the other type Śaṅkara with his fondness for the Ascetic would place the Grhastha as the Āśrama leading to the culmination of life in the ascetic as that Āśrama in which the ज्ञाननिष्ठ stands supreme without being disturbed or lost

Some critics (The ultra pro-Tamils) find Tiruvalluvar's treatment of Illaram and Turavanam as something peculiar to Tamil genius In fact it is only the 4 Āśramas dividing themselves into camps the Grhastha and the renouncer (the Ascetic and the hermit) with the Brahmacharya Āśrama as the foundation for all Hence Tiruvalluvar treats of Education in the general section on Wealth omitting the special and peculiar features of a Brahmachārī

V There is verse 63 in Chapter 7 which has remained an enigma for commentators —

They (fathers) say that their sons are their wealth, while the wealth of the sons is obtained by their own acts

This verse is in short the quintessence of the entire Khanda II 9 24, Sūtras 9 to 14

Āpastamba here considers a great question raised on the greatness or importance of the son to the father The sons look like the father and there are Śruti statements that the father is born as the sons The sons perform Śrāddha and give Dāna on behalf of the father and the father is benefitted Therefore the sons are the wealth of the fathers

But now the conundrum what about the evil acts of the son? Just as the sons are liable to raise the father by their (son's) deeds are the

sons similarly capable of lowering the father by their evildeeds. Hence comes the rule. The son's evil acts cannot affect the father just as the leaves of the tree when dead do not affect the tree. Again we are reminded that the Seven Rishis stand firm in heaven and could not be affected by their sons' acts. Hence the carefully given judgment is — The son's good acts do good to their parents and the sons are the wealth of their parents. But the sons in a similar way do not get their lives' deserts by the acts of the fathers but should stand on their own acts good and bad. This conclusion is set forth by Tiruvalluvar in the second portion of the verse quoted above. Otherwise it would appear to be an irrelevant insertion of an idea, but reading Āpastamba we can appreciate the force of the remark and the relevancy of the idea.

VI The most conclusive proof of borrowing is found in the Chapter on Honouring a guest—Chapter 6 of the Tirukural. It should be stated here that of the Dharma Sūtra and Dharmasāstra writers Āpastamba is most profuse in his treatment of honour due to a guest. Āpastamba has for more than 2 long Khandas devoted to this II 3 6 3 to II 4 9 4. Āpastamba has a detailed comparison as to how the honour due to a guest is a sacrifice. Giving food in the morning noon and evening are the 3 Savanas. The hosts' rising after the guest's rising is the udavasantiya Isi. The address to the guest is the Dakṣiṇā. Following the steps of the guest is the steps of Vispu. When he returned after accompanying the guest it amounts to Avabhṛta. The fire in the stomach of the guest is the Āhavaṇīya, the fire in the house is Gārhapatya, and the fire at which food for the guest is cooked is Dakṣhiṇāgni.

Not content with this Āpastamba describes the degrees of kindness shown to a guest. Food mixed with milk produces the reward of Agniṣṭoma, food mixed with clarified butter procures the reward of Ukthya, food mixed with honey the reward of an Atirātra, food accompanied by meat the reward of a Dvādaśa, [and generally water, off spring and long life]. It is this detailed two fold comparison of honouring a guest to a Vedic sacrifice which should have impressed Tiruvalluvar and not the mere mention of अतिथिसत्कार as one of the 5 sacrifices due by a householder. It is this two fold comparison which is summarised in verses 87 and 88 and in the same order also.

We cannot compare what kind of sacrifice it is. The fruits of the sacrifice are dependant upon the degree of honour shown to the guest.

The ordinary comparison with a sacrifice is used in the next verse 88, verse 8 of Chapter 9 —

"Those who do not undertake the sacrifice of Honouring the guest would repent—Alas we have amassed wealth with difficulty and all to no purpose"

Thus I have shown how Tiruvalluvar has followed Āpastamba in the main fundamentals of his treatise on Dharma. This essay would enable us to conclude that the civilisation of the two portions of India the north and the south, the Sanskrit and the Tamil language areas is identically the same and upon this rocky foundation a glorious future awaiting us will be built"

सोमं तद् सद्

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

7 There are obscene figures on the walls of the Jagannātha Temple as also of other temples of Orissa. They are extremely erotic and have nothing in common with the pictures of the Rāsa—dance or the stealing of the milk maids 'clothing' of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. They are embodiments of erotic realism.

The Yogini Tantra notes certain relaxations of the social and moral code in Orissa. It has been said that in Odia, in the land of Puruṣottama, no impurity attaches to accepting cooked rice from any body. The Brahmins are not to be separately treated in the matter of touching or not touching. No fault attaches to free sexual intercourse or free drink (amongst all orders of men and woman). Marriage of brothers in the reverse order obtains: a younger brother can marry prior to an elder one. Lastly lying with women and union with them is not counted an offence.

8 The following legend about the origin of Jagannātha is recorded in the *Utkala Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāna*:

"In the earliest stage of its existence, Puri was a forest having the Blue Hill (Nīlācala) in the centre, with an all-hestowing Kalpadruma (tree) on its brow, the sacred fountain of Rohini to the west, and on its side an inimitable image of Nīlamādhava. The existence of the image of Nīlamādhava, was reported to Rājā Indradyumna, a prince of the solar dynasty, who reigned in Avanti in Malaya. He sent out Brahmins in different directions in search for the deity, all returned except Vidyapati who had gone to the east. He travelled for three months before he reached the country of Śaharas, an aboriginal tribe. There he dwelt in the house of a Śahara named Viśvāvasu (sec. 17). The Fowler used to go to jungles every day to offer flowers and fruits in secret. One day being moved by the prayers of his daughter he took the Brahmin with his eyes blind-folded, so that he might behold the Lord only at the holy place and that he would not know the way thither. The Brahmin secretly took a bag of mustard seed, dropped it on the way till he reached the shrine. There he beheld Lord Nīlamādhava in the form of a blue stone image at the foot of the all-hestowing Kalpadruma. The Brahmin saw a crow falling there from the tree and going to heaven. He also tried to climb the tree and fall there to achieve the eternal bliss, but a voice from heaven cried—"Hold Brahmin, first carry to thy king the good news that thou hast found the Lord of the World". The Fowler returned with flowers and fruits collected and spread them out before the image, but alas! the god would not come according to his wont to partake of the offering. Only a voice was heard saying—"Oh my faithful servant, I am worried of the jungle flowers and fruits and crave for *cooked rice* and sweets. No longer thou shalt see me in the form of thy blue god. Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannātha, the Lord of the World". The Brahmin was kept captive for a long time, but at last moved by the tears of his daughter, the Śahara allowed him to depart. The Brahmin returned to tell the King his discovery. The king rejoiced

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cunio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

From these aetiological myths it may be gathered that a certain local god was formerly worshipped in a blue-stone by the Śabarās and that later it was replaced by another made up of three pieces of shapeless woods

11 In older times Orissa consisted of three geographical parts (1) Udra, Andra or Odra (2) Kalinga, (3) Utkala. It was first inhabited by the Śabarās, then the Dravidians and lastly by the Aryans. The names of the different parts have all been traced to Dravidian sources: *oddish* = cultivator (Telugu) *okkoigar-cultivator* (Canarese) *kalinga, kalmji*—cultivator (Mahtab *History of Orissa*, p. 1). It would thus appear from the place names that when Orissa comes into the light of history with a name, it was already within Dravidian sphere of cultural influence and was known as a land of cultivators. The god of the floating wood on the sea-shore might be an imported one coming along with the Dravidian colonisers. In a land which derives its name from cultivation, the chief god of worship is likely to have been connected with vegetation.

12 The Śabarās are mentioned in the *aryā-stava Harivaṃśa* II 3) as worshippers of the mountain goddess Durgā (*Śābarar borbarāṃscova Pūṇḍarīca supūjātā*). A festival called *Śabarotsava*, connected with the worship of the goddess is also mentioned (sec. 23).

The original tradition of the Śabarās seems to be retained in the latterday installation of goddess Vimalā (a manifestation of Durgā) within the temple precincts. "According to the *Tāntika*, Vimalā and not Jagannātha is the presiding deity of Śrīkṣetra. Pandit Vinayaka Miśra thinks that the existing forms of Jagannātha worship is dominated by Tantrikism. On the eight day of the bright half of Āśvina, a goat is sacrificed before the goddess Vimalā (Mahtab—pp. 167-168).

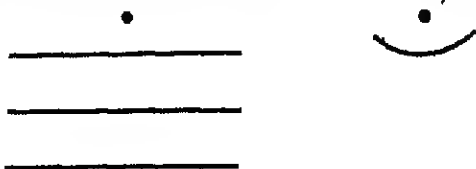
13 Lord Jagannātha, however, receives offerings of cooked rice. In the aetiological land quoted above (sec. 8) he is represented as calling for cooked rice and sweets. The offering of boiled rice is a notable feature of Dravidian worship. The system (of worship, of the village gods of South India) as a whole is redolent of the soil and evidently belongs to a pastoral and agricultural community (Whitehead *The village Gods of South India* 1921 pp. 99, 142). Jagannātha is worshipped in a triple form. The three images have given rise to all kinds of speculations. The Vaiṣṇavites claim them as representations of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā, the Buddhists, as those of the *Tri-ratna*, and the Śaivites as those of the trident (*tri-śūla*).

14 Let us examine the Vaiṣṇavite claim as it is the popularly accepted one. The *Utkala Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is devoted to the glorification of Jagannātha. Viṣṇu was formerly worshipped in a quadruple form of the Vyūhas. So the *Utkala Khanda* finds it hard to reconcile the triple form with any known manifestation of Viṣṇu and

adds that it is a four-fold manifestation with the discus *sudarśana*, representing the fourth form (*śodṛūpanitū turyakom*) and lying hidden the pillar representing his body (*Utkalo* 19/14 18)

15 The story of the triple form of Viṣṇu with Subhadrā as the third seems to be unwarranted by any Pauranic tradition and it seems to be agraft upon some originally different legend of origin of Lord Jagannātha. It does not appear that Subhadrā has anywhere been deified. In the *Harivaṃśa* the goddess Ekānamśā who was born as Nanda's daughter and was a substitute for Kṛṣṇa on Devakī's lap has been referred to as Balarāma's sister (II 3/10). She was brought up in the family of the Vṛṣṇas as a child and was worshipped by all the Yādavas as the protectress of Kṛṣṇa's life. On one occasion when Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma returned in triumph after having killed a demon, they found her in their father's house. Mādhava embraced her with his right hand and Balarāma smelt her on the head and embraced her with his left hand. The women folk saw the sister of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa standing in between them (*H V* II 101/13—18). This seems to be the only notice of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma standing in a family group with a sister. But this sister was Ekānamśā, a manifestation of Durgā and not Subhadrā. In the Vaiṣṇavite version of the story Ekānamśā has been replaced by Subhadrā and thus all traces of association with any form of Sakism have been wiped out.

16 One early Orissa poet Saraladāsa in the *Ṣoṇa-Poṇa* of his *Mohābhārata* says that king Indradyumna on opening the door found that there were three images of Viṣṇu without hands and feet. They were shining with the halo of the great Buddha. There were no nose no ears and no eyes. There were no fingers and no toes. The great Buddha had appeared in the form of three lines (*Mahatāb* p. 168). "Among the village gods of South India there is one called Gangammā the water-goddess who is sometimes called Mahālakṣmī and sometimes Chamalammā (Kālī). She is worshipped publicly by a whole village and also in the courtyards of private houses. In the latter case, people clean the wall of the houses outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with *kunkuma* (a red paste of turmeric and lime) with a dot above and below and a semi-circle on the right hand side with a dot in the middle, thus —



The symbol on the right represents the sun and the moon and that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats and fowls (Whitehead pp 67—68)

17 The three lines represent the original god whoever he might have been. The symbols of the sun and the moon on the right hand side furnish a clue to the meaning of the lines. The dots above and below the lines symbolise the sun and the lines themselves on the left hand side symbolise the moon. The sectarian Śaiva monks in the form of three lines owe their origin to the moon, the moon-god having been merged in Śiva (Somanātha). Lord Jagannātha in original three lines seems thus to have been the moon-god.

The figure of Gangammā in lines and dots is a picture of the combined worship of the sun and the moon. "The Binjhas of Chota Nagpur worship Nind Bonga as the moon in conjunction with Sing-Bonga or the sun, and in many other cases, the worship of both the luminaries is common (E R E V p 3)

The sun and the moon are also separately worshipped in Southern India. The sun god is called Bisal-Mariamā. Her shrines are never covered with a roof and one of the symbols representing the deity is a brass pot full of water with a small mirror leaning against it called *Kunna-kannadi* : a eye-mirror (Whitehead pp, 29, 39). The cult of the moon-god is also common. The Kharias offer to him a black cock under the name Jyolo Dubo, the Binjhas worship him as Nind-Bonga, the Mundas as Chand Omal. The Munda legend tells how on one occasion the moon deceived the sun, her husband and in his anger he cut her in two, afterwards he repented of his wrath and allowed her to shine forth in full beauty amidst her daughters, the stars (E R E II p 484). The most curious form is the Chauk Chand rite in Bihar. On that day the people fast and employ a Brahmin to worship the moon with an offering of flowers and sweet meats. It is believed that if any one looks upon the moon that day, calamity will befall him. Should any one be unlucky enough to do this, he can repel the dangerous influences by getting himself abused by other people, abuse like mock-fight being regarded as a means of protection against demons. He therefore in order to excite their abuse flings stones on the roofs of his neighbour's house (E R E, V p 3)

As in many other places the moon is regarded as the deity who presides over crops, heals wounds and cures diseases especially those of the eyes. It is a favourite object of worship with women (E R E, II p 484). "The worship of the moon is definitely mentioned in the early Sangam works and there was a special shrine dedicated to the moon in each of the capitals of the Tamil land and relic of the old cult is the seeling of the moon on the third day after the new-moon day supposed to bring health and wealth (R. Dikshitar *Origin and spread of the Tamil*

1947 47 to 48) Professor Nila Kanta Sastri, of the Madras University writes to the author in a private communication that there is in ancient Tamil a literary convention in the type of love poem known as *Kovar*. The idea is this: when a *sakhi* of the heroine wants to find out if the heroine has had carnal connection with her lover one way of finding it out is to ask the heroine to worship the rising moon. If she had known the lover physically she would decline to worship the moon but feel thoroughly confused, because to worship the moon in such a case would be disloyalty to her lover, her prospective husband. If she had no such contact with the lover she would readily join her family in worshipping the moon. The whole theme presupposes the currency of the worship of the moon. It is difficult to say when this literary convention actually came into vogue. It may not be much earlier than the 4th or 5th century A. D.

Barth has the following note: "The *Śankaravijaya* (Chapter XLIV) and the Mussalman writers speak of a sect of moon-worshippers (*Religions of India* p. 253 f. n.)

The term *Viśvāvasu* as the name of the Śabara Fowler who used to worship the blue stone in concealment (sec. 8) is derived from the Vedic Soma-myth. *Viśvāvasu*, "possessing all goods" often accompanies the word *Gandharva*. In one hymn it is used alone to designate *Gandharva* and in the later *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmanas* and the post-Vedic literature, it frequently occurs as the name of an individual *Gandharva*. Soma is said to have dwelt among the *Gandharvas* or to have been stolen by the *Gandharva Viśvāvasu*. In a later text, Soma is besought to elude the *Gandharva Viśvāvasu* in the form of an eagle. (Macdonell *Vedic mythology*, pp. 136-137)

About the triple form of the lunar divinity and its association with trees and plants, the following folk-myths prevalent amongst diverse races may be considered:

18. "It is a wide-spread feature of lunar deities that like the Moirai they are three fold or triune. In the language of many uncultured peoples the waxing, the full and the waning moon are denoted by three quite different names. In New Britain the moon consists of three persons, the full moon, called the white woman, or the old woman, and her two sons the waxing and the waning moon. In New Zealand it is related that when some women visited the abode of the moon they found it inhabited by three grey-headed spirits who sat by a fire in which burned three logs. Among the Bataks of Sumatra, the moon consists of three persons, the Lords of the moon. Among the natives of Northern Ashanti it is well known that the satellite is inhabited by three beings similar to men in appearance but provided with enormous ears which completely cover their faces. One of these is white and the other two black. They existed before man was created.

In ancient India the phases of the moon were likewise regarded as separate persons. Among the ancient Babylonians the three phases of the moon bore three names—the sickle, the tiara, and the kidney and were identified with three different gods. Similarly among the Nordic races of Europe the moon was a three-fold deity—Mani, the full moon, Nyl, the new moon and Nithi, the waning moon. The peasants of Southern France perceive three persons in the moon.

In Germany the moon hare has three legs. In India the chariot of the moon has three wheels. In China the moon is inhabited by a three-legged bird (*Moths* s II pp 603 605)

In the Vedic mythology a three wheeled car belonged only to the *Asvins*. But in the Pauranic myths it has been transferred to the moon-god. But in the Vedas, Soma is represented as being closely associated with certain aggregates of three. It is recognised in the *R V* as having three admixtures (*tryātir*). It is also described as being pressed three times in the day. Soma is also called *trisadastha*, "having three abodes." Those three abodes may designate the three tubs used at the Soma sacrifice of later ritual. There is also mention of three lakes of Soma which Indra drinks. The epithet *triprsthā*, "three backed" is peculiar to Soma. It probably refers to the three admixtures (Macdonell V M 106-7)

The three phases of the moon conceived as separate persons in the Purāṇas are (1) Anumatī (2) Rākā, and (3) Kūhū. Anumatī is the 15th day of moon's age on which it rises one digit less than full when the gods or manes receive oblations with favour. It is personified as a goddess. Rākā is the goddess presiding over the actual day of full moon, Anumatī being supposed to preside over the previous day. Kūhū is the first day of the first quarter on which the moon rises invisibly (Monier-williams *SKT Dictionary*). There is another goddess Sinvālī presiding over fecundity and easy birth in the *R̥gveda*. In the *A V* she is the wife of Viṣṇu. In later Vedic texts she is the presiding deity of the first day of the new moon as Rākā of the full moon (*Ibid*). Kūhū does not occur in the *R V* and her place is taken by Guṇḍī (*O S T V* p 346)

19 So intimately is the moon associated with the growth of vegetation that it is often completely identified with a sacred plant or tree as with the Soma plant in India or the maize plant in America. In the myths of the Iroquois before the moon existed in her present form, the upper world was lighted by a luminous tree the functions of which were taken over by the moon when she descended to light the earth. The Caribs and the Arawaks who regard the moon as the supreme being picture the world as having arisen from a gigantic tree whose leaves and twigs gave rise to all other plants and to all creatures. Such a tree of life resembles the world-tree of Nordic mythology which is usually known as the tree Yggdrasil. It is also known as the tree of Mimir, who appears to have been a Nordic Moon-god

In South America, the sacred Paschemba palm is regarded as having fallen from the moon and is considered to be identical with it. The natives of the Sunda islands say that their sacred tree had existed before the gods existed. In the Admiralty Islands the Coco-nut palm is identified with the moon. In New Britain the full moon is said to have come out of a sugar cane. Among the Bombala of West Africa the moon-god is worshipped in the form of a tree. The form under which the Great Arabian moon goddess AL-UZZA was worshipped at Mecca was that of a tree. All Semitic moon divinities were similarly associated with trees and sacred bushes. On some Babylonian cylinder the identification is represented in a very realistic manner, the moon-god with the crescent on his head constitutes the trunk of a tree and leafy boughs and branches are seen growing from every part of his person. In Crete and Archaic Greece lunar deities were similarly represented as trees (*Mothers* II pp 629-631).

20 "The goddess Europa was worshipped at Gortyna in Crete during the Hellenic period as a sacred tree. In Polynesia the tree of life was a local bread fruit tree which became a god or a goddess. Out of this magic bread-fruit tree, as legend says, a great goddess was made. A Japanese legend relates that a hero named Manko once saw a beautiful woman sitting on a tree trunk that floated on the sea. Manko had the tree taken into his boat and found that the woman was hidden inside the trunk, (*Mackenzie Myth of China and Japan* pp 134, 135, 152).

In the R̥gveda, both Soma and large trees receive the epithet *Vanospati*, "lord of the wood". Soma is so called because he is said to have generated all plants. Large trees are a few times addressed as deities along with waters and mountains. In the later Samhitās, the sphere of Apsarases extend to the earth and in particular to trees. They are spoken of as inhabiting banyans (*nyagrodha*) and sacred fig-trees (*asvattha*) in which their cymbals and lutes resound (*Macdonell-Vedic Mythology* pp 112, 134, 154).

"A moon girl came into being in Japan, she was discovered by a wood cutter. One day when collecting bamboo he found inside a cane a little baby whose body shone as does a gem in darkness. He took her home to his wife and she grew to be a very beautiful girl. She was called Moon-Ray and after living for a time on the earth returned to the moon. She had maintained her youthful appearance by drinking from a small vessel she possessed, the fluid of immortality (*Ibid* p 150).

21. The cutting up of a log of wood and fashioning it into a goddess is a common practice in South India. When an epidemic of Cholera breaks out, a goddess called Maridamma is installed. A log of margosa (*Neem*) wood about 3 ft. high and six inches in diameter is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and clothes over it. Then

the procession of the earthen pot half filled with butter, milk and rice is conducted everyday till the epidemic subsides "(Whitehead p 65). It has also been noted that margosa or neem tree is an evergreen bearing white flowers and is frequently associated with village divinities (p 37 fn)

When the image of Jagannātha is replaced every 17th year, the figures are cut out of a *Neem* tree

22 A good deal has been said about the catholicity of admission of all orders of men into the temple and the special privileges enjoyed by the Śābaras. All this has been laid at the door of Buddhist influence. But in the worship of the village deities the Pujāris are drawn from all the lower castes indiscriminately, though in any one village the Pujāris of a particular goddess nearly always belong to one particular caste (Whitehead, p 43). The privileges enjoyed by the Śābaras are relics of ancient customs

23. Similarly even without postulating Buddhist influence, the free access of all classes of viators may be explained. In the Kāmākhyā temple of Kāmarūpa similar practices are in vogue. "Kāmākhyā herself admitted of being worshipped both according to Right hand and the Left-hand methods. Moreover, there was no restriction to foreigners about the mode of Kāmākhyā worship. They could worship according to the practices current in their native localities. In other countries conformity to local customs was enjoined but in Kāmarūpa foreigners were exempted from conformity to local rites and ceremonies. Kāmarūpa is the favourite haunt of the Devi. No other place is like it. In other places the Devi is rare but in Kāmarūpa she dwells in every house" (B Kakati *Mother goddess Kāmākhyā* p 48). In the Kāmākhyā temple people have not only free admission but also own modes of worship

About the obscene pictures on the walls. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* a certain festival in connection with the worship of the Devi has been mentioned. This is called *Śabarotsava*, the festival of the Śābaras. "On the tenth day of the autumnal worship people were enjoined upon to sing lewd songs naming the sexual organs in the company of finely dressed virgins and prostitutes. They were also to throw rice, flowers, dust and mud at one another &c. Failure to join the revelry would bring down the wrath of the goddess upon the delinquents. This was called *Śabarotsava* (Kakati *The Mother goddess Kāmākhyā* pp 47-48)

There are parallel South Indian practices observed in connection with the worship of the village goddess. "Once in every year, festival is celebrated in her honour during the harvest season...and while the services was in progress, naked women had to sing and dance before the deity". At the close of the festival when the image of the village deity

is carried in a procession to the boundary of the village the Asadis or the outcastes who officiate as priests during the function sing an obscene song in praise of her and indulge in indecent jests at the expense of the chief men of the village. In Kerala it used to be the custom until quite recently to sing obscene songs during the Puram festival (or the festival of Bhagavati) at Shertally. At Cranganore the right of distributing the Prasādam during the Bhagavati festival is held as a monopoly of the women folk of certain families, and they are obliged to answer question on sex matters put at the time of distributing the Prasādam (N Venkataramanayya *Rudro Janu*, 1941, pp 59-60)

24 Similar rites or practices are however indulged in all over the world in connection with the worship of mother goddesses. "The worship of mother goddesses was every where attended by rites which to us are revolting. Herodotus indicates the obscene character of those which prevailed at the Delta region. In Asia Minor, the festivals of the Great Mother and her son who symbolised the generative agency in nature were the scenes of terrible practices. Men mutilated their bodies and women became the "sacred wives" of the god (Mackenzie *Egyptian myth and legend* XXXIX)

25 To sum up, from the materials examined above it would appear that almost all aspects of the Jagannātha cult have some correspondences with some features of primitive rites and customs, some of them obtaining even now in South India. In the form to which these rites are observed in connection with temple worship they may be regarded as sublimations. The images of Jagannātha are symbols dressed up as images, and in South India gods or goddesses are worshipped both in images as well as in rude symbols according to the exigencies of circumstances. The symbols consist of a stick, a spear, a wooden stake, a stone, a post, a clay or a brass pot. The images frequently consist of carving a human head on the top of a wooden pillar. And the figures of Jagannātha are only such carving on wooden pillars.

The process of Vaisnavising the symbols has been noticed above. They have received the group name of Jagannātha, Jagannātha being one of the attributive names of Viṣṇu. As lunar deities, the images should have been linked with Śiva as Somanatha, but the triple manifestation has been hard to reconcile with Śiva though a connection with *tri-sūlo* has been suggested. From the scanty materials now available, it can not be said how the images came to be associated with Viṣṇu. From popular associations of Jagannātha with the Buddha (see 16) it is not unlikely that the images were first taken over by the Buddhist, and subsequently reclaimed by the Vaisnavites.

(39) THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN NIRVIKALPAKA AND SAVIKALPAKA
PERCEPTION IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

by

PROF D N SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.

Meerut College, Meerut

Schools of Indian Philosophy notably the orthodox realist schools, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Mīmāṃsā, and the Buddhist school of Dīrgha distinguish between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka*, i.e. the indeterminate and determinate perceptions. Connotations of these terms, of course, differ not only with different schools of Indian Philosophy but sometimes even with the writers of one and the same school. One of the problems of Indian Philosophy which has not so far engaged the attention of scholars is At what age or in what stages did the distinction between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka* in the process of perception arise, and who was or were the pioneers in introducing this distinction.

Of the six orthodox philosophical Sūtras taken in their most probable chronological order, the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa does not advance at all any theory of perception, and therefore the question of distinction between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka* does not arise. In the definition (or rather description) of perception contained in the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* of Jaimini, it is stated that "When the senses of a person come in contact with an existent object, a cognition produced therefrom is perception"¹. Here there is no trace of the distinction in question. Similarly in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Kaṇāda, which makes a meagre reference to the nature of perception in the course of proving the existence of the soul², there is no indication of that distinction. The definition of perception given in the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gotama³ contains three adjectives of perceptual cognition, i.e. (1) *avyapadeśya* (unnamable),

1. Satsamprayoge puruṣasyendriyāṅgām budhijanma tatpratyakṣam. Ms I. 1, 4.

2. Ātmendriyārthasannikarsād yannūpadyate tadanyat. Vs. I. 1 18.

3. Indriyārthasannikarsotpannam jñānamavyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakam pratyakṣam. Ns I i 4.

(ii) *avyabhicāri* (uncontradicted), and (iii) *vyavasāyātmaka* (definite). Of these, the first and third adjectives, i.e. *avyapadeśya* (unnamable) and *vyavasāyātmaka* (definite) have been interpreted by *Vācaspati-miśra* as indicating two kinds of perception, i.e. the *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka*.⁴ There is little doubt that this is *Vācaspati-miśra*'s own innovation. It was not known to *Vātsyāyana*, the earliest commentator on the *Nyāyasūtra*, and not even to *Udyotakara*. Of course the term *avyapadeśya* (unnamable) might suggest that perception as defined here is meant to be free from admixture of verbal element, and, therefore, somewhat akin to *Nirvikalpaka*. But the same cognition is also stated to be '*vyavasāyātmaka* (definite) : i.e. determinate'. *Vātsyāyana*'s own interpretation of the term '*avyapadeśya*' is that a cognition of an object generated by the sense-object contact is indicated by words such as 'colour', 'taste', and, therefore, the cognition in question may be taken to be a verbal one. The term *avyapadeśya* which means "not verbal" has been added to exclude that possibility. He further says that word is not used (as in the case of a verbal cognition) at the time of a perceptual cognition but it is used only at the time of expression of that cognition (*vyākharakāla*).⁵ Thus the distinction between *Savikalpaka* and *Nirvikalpaka* is not known to the *Nyāyasūtra* *Yogasūtra* of *Patanjali* which is of sufficiently late date, not only does not know this distinction, but uses the term *vikalpa* in the sense of 'knowledge' caused by mere verbal usage and devoid of any reality⁶ which is almost the Buddhist meaning of this term. *Sāmkhyaspravaṇasūtra* which is as late as the fourteenth century deserves here no mention, but even the definition of perception as given there makes no reference to the distinction in question.⁷ In the Buddhist philosophy there is no reference to it in the writings of *Vasubandhu* and his predecessors. *Jainas* simply refuse to accept the existence of *Nirvikalpaka*.

So far the problem has been dealt with negatively. Let us now consider when there occurs in Indian Philosophy the first indication of the distinction in question. The earliest term used for a sort of first stage of perception is '*ālōcana*' which has been used by *Kumārila*, in his wellknown account of *Nirvikalpaka* perception.⁸ The earliest use, so far I have been able to trace, of the term '*ālōcana*' in this sense is met with in the *Sāmkhyakārikā* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, which is the most authoritative work of the *Sāmkhya* school. The term, however, does not occur there in connection with the definition of perception.⁹

4. NVTT p 114

5. NVB p 109 and 111

6. YS I : 9

7. SPS I 89

8. SV, IV 112.

9. SK 5

Describing, however, the function of senses the author says that with reference to objects colour etc the function of senses is 'ālocanamātra'¹⁰, mere first apprehension or the undifferentiated sensum presented by the senses to Manas, the internal sense (and not the 'mind' as usually but erroneously rendered in English). Further it is said that manas is Saṅkalpaka : it differentiates or determines the undifferentiated sensum presented by the senses¹¹. On the basis of this, Vācaspatimiśra, the most authoritative commentator on the Sāṃkhya kārīkā introduces a full-fledged distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, as if it were contained in the Sāṃkhyakārīkā itself¹². It is, however, clear that the distinction was not known to Iśvarakṛṣṇa, otherwise some reference to it must have been made in his definition of perception. As a matter of fact Iśvarakṛṣṇa here merely differentiates between the functions of the senses and the manas, which is not the same thing as distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka.

The next stage, in which there is clear discernment of an earlier and a later stage of perception, is to be met with in Prasāstapāda. His date in relation to that of Dīnāga has been a matter of hot controversy. Stcherbatsky in one of his early articles tried to prove that Prasāstapāda borrowed ideas from Dīnāga, and unfairly tried to conceal his obligations¹³. Keith also agreed with him¹⁴. Randle has, however, pointed out that Stcherbatsky later on changed his views, and came to the conclusion that Prasāstapāda far from being a borrower from, and posterior to, Dīnāga was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Vasubandhu, the teacher of Dīnāga¹⁵. As we shall see that the problem before us itself throws some light on this controversial point. There are three statements of Prasāstapāda in this connection which deserve notice. In the first of them, while describing perception he says 'In the case of three substances (earth, water and fire) which possess dimension called 'mahat' (gross), there arises from such causes as possessing many parts, the manifested colour, light, and four kinds of contact, and from the presence of auxiliaries dharma etc 'a mere apprehension of the form (Svārūpālocanamātra). From the contact

10 Rupādīṣu pañcāṇāṃ ālocanamātramāsyate vṛttih SK 28

11 Ibid 27.

12 STK 27 Kārīkā.

13 Le Muséon Vol V 1904, quoted by Faddegon, the "Vaiśeṣika system" p 27

14. Indian Logic and Atomism p 27

15 Stcherbatsky's Introduction to the German translation (by Otto Strauss) of his work 'Epistemology and Logic as taught by later Buddhists' 1924 quoted by Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools p. 29

of the mind with the soul there arises, on account of qualifications such as (i) Universal, (ii) Particular-Universal, (iii) Substance, (iv) Qualities, (v) and action a qualified perception in the form "A cow which is (i) existent, (ii) substance and earthly (iii) having horns and (iv) which is white, (v) is moving"¹⁶ *Prāśastapāda* does not explicitly say that the former "mere apprehension" precedes the latter qualified perception. In his second statement in the same context *Prāśastapāda* introduces the two stages in the form of *pramāṇa* (the means of knowledge) and *pramā* (the resultant cognition), and says "When cognition of a substance etc. is the *pramā*, the form of *pramāṇa* consists in mere apprehension of the form of Universal and particular-Universal"¹⁷ But in origination of the cognition of universal and particular Universal, the undivided 'mere apprehension' is the *pramāṇa*¹⁸ There is no other *pramāṇa* for this, because it is not in the form of the result (of another *pramāṇa*)¹⁹ It means that *pramā* and *pramāṇa* are identical in this case. The two statements of *Prāśastapāda* taken together imply that in the first instance there is mere apprehension of the Universal and the particular (or the particular-Universal)²⁰ which is followed by the perception of substance qualified by the universals. Here we have the germ of the later Nyāya Vaiśeṣika theory of a clear-cut distinction between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka*, as we shall see later on. The views of *Prāśastapāda*, however, are in a fluid state. In the first statement quoted above 'mere apprehension of form' refers to the Substance, and not to the universal or the particular-universal (*Sāmānyaviśeṣa*) as it does in the second statement. In a third statement he introduces another alternative with regard to the distinction between *pramāṇa* and *pramā* and

16 *Dravye tāvat trividhe mahaty anekadravyavattvodbhūtarūpa prakāśacatuṣṭaya-sannikarṣād dharmādisāmagrye ca svarūpa locanamātram, Sāmānyaviśeṣadravyaguṇakarmaviśeṣaśāpekṣādātmamanāhsannikarṣāt pratyakṣam utpadyate sad dravyam pṛthivīviśāṇī śuklo gaur-gacchati.* PPS p 186

17 *Sāmānyaviśeṣeṣu svarūpālocanamātram* Ibid 187. See n 19 below.

18 *Avibhaktamālocanamātram* Ibid 187 See n 19 below

19 *Tatra sāmānyaviśeṣeṣu svarūpālocanamātram pratyakṣam pramāṇam pramītiḥ dravyādiviśaya-jñānam Sāmānyaviśeṣajñānotpattau avibhaktam ālocanamātram pratyakṣam pramāṇam asminnanyat pramāṇāntaramasti aphalarūpatvāt.* Ibid p 187.

20 The term 'viśeṣa' which since the time of *Prāśastapāda* has come to mean a special *padārtha*, the ultimate-particular residing in eternal substances, is used confusedly in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* and *Prāśastapādadhāṛya* itself, and even in later works, sometimes in the sense of a particular individual (*vyakti*), and sometimes in the sense of particular-Universal (*Sāmānyaviśeṣa*)

says "True and unnameable cognition of any kind of object resulting from four kinds of contact may be regarded as *pramāṇa*, and the idea of the pleasant, unpleasant or indifferent nature (of the object cognized) is the *pramā*"²¹ In this alternative there is no reference to the earlier stage of perception called '*ālocana*'. One of the points of controversy between the Buddhist and the orthodox Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school was that while the former regarded *pramā* and *pramāṇa* as identical, the latter insisted that they were two different stages. In the second and third statements quoted above, *Prāśastapāda* tries to establish difference between *pramāṇa* and *pramā*. In his second statement he says that the earlier stage of mere apprehension is *pramāṇa*, and the subsequent definite perception is the *pramā*, while in his third statement he says that the definite perception itself is the *pramāṇa*, and the idea of pleasantness etc is the *pramā*. It would appear that the word '*ālocana*' in *Prāśastapāda*'s work does not stand in a clear-cut way for *Nirvikalpaka* or indeterminate perception as accepted in the later N-V School. This is further indicated by the fact that both *Kandali* and *Kīrapāvali* interpret the word '*ālocana*' in the first statement as '*nirvikalpaka Pratyakṣa*',²² but in the Second one, the same word has been interpreted by both of them to mean 'contact of the sense with the object'.²³ This shows that confusion regarding the sense of this word already existed in their time. We may, therefore, conclude that *Prāśastapāda* had a vague idea of an earlier stage of perception which he called as 'mere apprehension of form', and also held not quite clearly and positively, that this 'mere apprehension' was that of universal and particular-universal. He had no definite and positive theory of undifferentiated and indeterminate perception which invariably precedes a determinate perception as accepted in the later N-V School. The fact that *Prāśastapāda*'s ideas regarding *nirvikalpaka* are meagre and vague, clearly indicates that he could not be posterior to *Dīṇāga*.

A clear-cut distinction between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka*, not only of sequence in their occurrence and of the degree of their vividness, but real, qualitative and fundamental was made, for the first time in Indian Philosophy, by *Dīṇāga*, the founder of the Buddhist Logic and Epistemology. He probably belongs to the fifth century, although his date continues to be controversial.²⁴ According to him there are

21 *athavā Sarveṣu padārtheṣu catuṣṭaya-sannikarsā-dāvitatama-vyapadeśyam yajjñānam utpadyate tatpratyakṣam pramāṇam.....* ..
pramītiḥ guṇadoṣamādhyasthyadarśanam pp 14 p 187-188

22 *ālocanamātram grahṣamātram vikālparahitam pratyakṣaṇiḥ*
yāvat Kān p 189 *ālocanam nirvikalpakaṇ pratyakṣam Sāksātkāri*
Kiv p 278

23 *ālocanam indriyārthasannikarsaḥ*, Kān p 198 *ālocanam*
indriyārthasannikarsaḥ Kiv p 268

24. Winternitz, Indian Literature Vol II p 362-63

two *pramāṇas* (means of knowledge) —(i) *grahana*, the *Nirvikalpaka* (The sensation or the undifferentiated perception) which alone, according to him, is true and pure perception, and (ii) *adhyavasāya*, the thought or imagination which covers inference as well as the so-called determinate perception²⁵ of the orthodox realist schools, i.e. all that involves thought process²⁶

Steinbatsky compares these two radically different sources of knowledge as accepted by *Dīṇāga* to Sensibility and Understanding of Kantian epistemology²⁷. *Dīṇāga* says that sources of knowledge are only two because the reality presented by them is also two fold. One of the two realities is ultimate particular (*Svalakṣaṇa*), the point-instant (*Kṣaṇa*) which is transcendental, the thing-in-itself (*Parmārthasat*). This is apprehended by *grahana*, the *nirvikalpakapratyakṣa*, the pure sensation. The other reality is that of thought-contents, a generalized entity (*Sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) which is constructed by our imagination (*Kalpavā*). The second reality is only empirical, phenomenal (*Samvṛtīsat*). This is comprehended by our thought-process which means inference in a broad and general sense. This includes determinate perception of the realist school also. The latter, according to *Dīṇāga* is only a pseudo perception, which appears to be a pure perception simply because it follows in the wake of the true perception, the *Nirvikalpaka*²⁸. Thus the reality (*prameya* being of two types, the *pramāṇas* (means of knowledge) are also only two²⁹. The nature of reality being radically different, the *pramāṇas* are also radically different. It means that they operate only in their own respective spheres. The *nirvikalpaka* apprehends only the direct reality, the ultimate particulars (*Svalakṣaṇas*). It can never cognize the indirect, the constructed or the generalized reality (*Sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). Similarly the *adhyavasāya* or inference or thought comprehends only the latter reality, and does not operate in apprehending the former i.e. the direct reality. The phenomenon of each of the two *pramāṇas* operating only in its own sphere is technically called *pramāṇavyavasthā*. On this point, the realist N-V school joins issue with the Buddhist

25. *Savikalpaka pratyakṣa*,

26. *tasya (pratyakṣasya) viśayaḥ Svalakṣaṇam anyat sāmānyalakṣaṇam* 'So' numānsya *Viśayaḥ* NB I.

27. Buddhist Logic Vol I, p 69 ff

28. *Pratyakṣapṛṣṭhabhāvītvāt*

29(i) *atra pramāṇam dvividham Kutsācet, dvilakṣaṇam prameyaṃ Svasāmānyalakṣaṇābhyām bhinnalakṣaṇaṃ prameya-ntaraṃ nāsti* PS p 4,

(ii) *tasya (pratyakṣasya viśayaḥ) Svalakṣaṇam ... anyat sāmānyalakṣaṇam* 'So' numānsya *viśayaḥ* NB Ch. I P I.

According to the former the different *pramāṇas* (means of knowledge) operate in the sphere of one another, i.e. the same object at one time may be cognized by perception, and another time by inference or any one of the *pramāṇas*. The N-V theory is technically called *pramāṇa samplava*. It is now clear how Dīṇāga drew a fundamental and radical distinction in the nature of Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka. They are not two kinds of perception as accepted by the realist. But they are two types of knowledge quite different, not only in their nature and essence, but also in the sphere of their operation. The orthodox realist schools never accepted that kind of distinction between the two, but the qualitative and essential difference in the nature of two kinds of perception as accepted by the later N-V school was undoubtedly influenced and adapted from the theory of Dīṇāga as we shall presently see. This brings out the full significance of the controversy between the Buddhist and the realist orthodox schools.

Amongst the orthodox writers, the earliest use of the term Nirvikalpaka in the sense of an earlier stage which invariably precedes Savikalpaka or determinate perception, is met with in Kumāṇila's *Śloka-vartika*. The date of Kumāṇila is 700 A. D. The knowledge called 'ālocana' which is used, as we have already seen, in Sāṅkhya *Kārikā* to denote the functions of the senses, and by Prāśastapāda in the sense of 'mere apprehension of the form' is definitely declared by Kumāṇila to be 'nirvikalpaka', which according to him is the first apprehension caused by the pure object, and similar to that of children or the dumb in which particularity or Universal is not experienced, but only the individual, as the substratum of them, is apprehended³⁰. He further says "after that (i.e. the Nirvikalpaka perception) an object is determined by its attributes like universal etc., and that too is a perception". The last words, 'that too is a perception' are obviously addressed to the Buddhist who does not accept the determinate (Savikalpaka) knowledge as perception. The theory as put forward here has clearly the stamp of Dīṇāga upon it, which is discernible even after its orthodox adaptation. Otherwise what can be the sense of the words 'caused by the pure object'. According to the realist even the determinate perception is caused by the pure object, for even the attributes, universal, etc. are objectively real, and even in the determinate perception there is no admixture of any mental element. The adjective 'pure' before the object can have significance only in the theory of Dīṇāga. It seems, therefore, one of the instances of an inadvertent borrowing from Dīṇāga. In Kumāṇila's description of Nirvikalpaka, there is, however, no sharp distinction based on the qualitative and essential difference between the two kinds of perception.

30. *Asi hyālocam jñānam prathamam Nirvikalpakam, bāhāṇkā-dvījjñānasadṛśam Śuddhavastuṣam, na viśeso na sāmānyam tadānimanu-bhūyate tayorādhārabhūtā tu vyaktirevavastīyate* SV IV 112 and 113.

31. *Tataḥ param punarvastu dharmair-jātyādibhirvayā bhūddhyāvastīyate āpi pratyakṣatvena sāmānā* Ibid IV 120.

which was propounded by the N-V school. Kumārila says that Nirvikalpaka is like the apprehension of children and the dumb. This appears to be like an answer to a school of grammarians who held that all ideas were necessarily and invariably associated with words. To them Kumārila says that there is no word element in the Nirvikalpaka stage. The real point, however, with regard to the transcendental nature of Nirvikalpaka as brought out by Dinnāga, namely that we are unconscious of its existence (which was accepted by the later N-V School)³² is missing in Kumārila. His theory is, thus, not fully developed as that of the later N-V School, but Kumārila amongst the orthodox writers is the first who definitely recognized an earlier stage in the process of perception, and designated it by the terms, 'Nirvikalpaka'.

So far as the N-V school is concerned, the earliest introduction of the Nirvikalpaka theory is met with in the *Nyāyavārtikātātparyatikā* of Vācaspatiśiśra, unless he may be held to be posterior to Jayanta, the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* who is fully conversant with that theory. Vācaspati introduces the theory by declaring that he received it from his preceptor³³, Trilocana. It has been suggested that Trilocana may be identical with Jayanta, for in the introductory stanza of his work, *Nyāyakarikā*, Vācaspatiśiśra offers salutation to his teacher who is mentioned as the author of *Nyāyamañjarī*³⁴. But this is not at all plausible. In his lengthy discussion on the meaning of the terms 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyatmaka' in the Gotama's definition of perception, Jayanta does not seem to be even conversant with the interpretation of these terms given by Vācaspatiśiśra of which he would himself be the author if he were identical with Trilocana. As for the salutations to the author of *Nyāyamañjarī*, coming as it does before a *Mīmāṃsā* work, that might have been some *Mīmāṃsā* work quite different from the *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta. It is well-known that the term 'Nyāya' is a common designation of both *Mīmāṃsā* and N-V school works. Thus in the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say who of those two authors, Vācaspatiśiśra and Jayanta was earlier.

It was stated that Vācaspatiśiśra interpreted the words 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyatmaka' in the Gotama's definition of perception as Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perceptions. According to him the part of the *Sūtra* — *Indriyārthasannikarṣotpannaṃ jñānaṃ avyabhicāri* (i.e. uncontradicted knowledge produced by the sense-object contact) is the definition of perception, and the words 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyatmaka' enumerate two kinds of perception, i.e. 'Nirvikalpaka' and 'Savikalpaka'. This interpretation is unknown to Vātsyāyana, the

32 Nirvikalpakamatindriyam

³³ Trilocanagurūnnītamārgānugamano nṛtikah, yathāmanam
yatbāvastu vyākhyātamidamīdṛśam NVTT P 114

³⁴ NK, first stanza

earliest commentator on the Nyāyasūtras, who is definitely earlier than Dīhāga. Not even Udyotakara knows anything like this interpretation. Vācaspatiśāra says that those two authors have not given this interpretation because it is so very clear that the students (of Nyāya) would themselves understand it³⁵. The fact, however, is that far from being very clear, the term 'avyapadeśya' has been a hard nut to crack. Vātsyāyana's interpretation of this term was not acceptable to Śrīdhara, Udayana or Vyomaśiva, the three great commentators on the Prāśastapāda. Each of these gives his own interpretation. Jayanta, in course of a lengthy discussion, has given a number of theories with regard to the meaning of this difficult word³⁶. None of them have accepted Vācaspatiśāra's interpretation. In fact, they have not even referred to it. Obviously Vācaspatiśāra's interpretation is his own innovation. It does even violence to the text of the Sūtra where the word 'avyabhicāri' which according to Vācaspatiśāra is a part of the general definition occurs in between the two words 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavahāyātma' which according to him denote two kinds of perception. The reality in this case seems to be that when under the influence of the theory of Dīhāga, it became incumbent on the N-V School to adopt the two kinds of perception, Vācaspati thought it fit to bring out those two kinds of perception from the words of the Sūtra itself. Vācaspati's reverence to the founder of the Nyāya school got the better of his habit of making scrupulously faithful interpretations of the text. Thus Vācaspatiśāra or his preceptor Trilocana, from whom he received this interpretation, was the pioneer in introducing the distinction between Savikalpaka and Nirvikalpaka in the N-V School. But if Jayanta, or Vyomaśiva, the earliest commentator on Prāśastapāda, be held to be earlier than Vācaspatiśāra (which is quite possible), Vācaspatiśāra, even in that case, would be the first to bring out that distinction within the framework of Gotama's definition of perception, and thus make it an essential doctrine of the N-V School.

According to the latest theory of the N-V School as fixed in a definite and clear-cut manner by Gaṅgeśa, Savikalpaka perception is differentiated and qualified knowledge, i.e. "Saprakāraṁ jñānam". It means that in a cognition like 'This is Jar', there are two elements, namely the subject and the predicate, or in the Nyāya terminology, the viśeṣya (that which is qualified) and its attribute veśeṣa. Here 'this' which means the jar, the substance is the subject or viśeṣya, and 'jariness' which is an universal is the predicate or attribute. Both factors, i.e. 'jar and jariness' (ghaṭa and ghaṭatva) are related by the relation of subject and predicate, i.e. veśeṣyaviśeṣanabhāva. The Nirvikalpaka perception, on the other hand, is "devoid of predication of name, universal etc., and it does not comprehend its object as qualified with

35. Tadetatadatisphuṭatvāt śiṣyanavagamanyata eveti bhāṣyavārtikā-kārābhyāmavyākhyātām NVT T P 114

36. This has been dealt with by the present writer in a separate paper (unpublished)

some attribute, and therefore it is 'Nirvikalpaka' : *i.e.* unqualified or undifferentiated³⁷ It means that in the first instance although we have apprehension of both jar and jariness (ghaṭa and ghaṭatva), the two factors are not related as the one which is qualified (viśeṣya) and the other which qualifies (viśeṣaṇa)³⁸ Secondly it was held by Gaṅgeśa that "Nirvikalpaka perception is beyond the Ken of consciousness (atīndriya) which means that on account of its being unrelated, its nature is such that we can never be conscious of it"³⁹

From the time the Nirvikalpaka theory was introduced in the N-V School till its culmination in Gaṅgeśa there arose many views regarding its nature. It is not the purpose of this paper to trace and discuss all those views, but in passing some broad points may be indicated here. (i) Jayanta and Vyomaśiva hold that the main point of difference between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka is that in the former the element of word does not enter, and it is therefore vague and indefinite⁴⁰ This view has an affinity with Dharmakīrti, and also with Kumārila who followed the former. Both of them laid stress on the absence of the word-element in the Nirvikalpaka. (ii) Udayana in his Kiraṇāvalī says that in Nirvikalpaka only the individual, the substratum of universal is apprehended, *i.e.* a cow is apprehended without cowness etc.⁴¹ (iii) In Vācaspatimiśra and Śrīdhara we have a further step. They hold that in the Nirvikalpaka stage both individual as well as its universal are apprehended, but they are not related as subject and predicate⁴² Both of these authors have not clearly brought out, as was done by Gaṅgeśa and the later Naiyāyikas that (iv) Nirvikalpaka is beyond our cognizance, *i.e.* it is 'atīndriya'. These are some of the fine distroc-

37 Tatra nāmsjātyādīyojanārahīṭsm vaiśiṣṭyānavagāhī nīprakāraṃ Nirvikalpakam Te Nirvikalpakavāda, P 809

38 Viśeṣyaviśeṣaṇānavagāhī jñānam

39 Tatbā ca prathamato ghaṭaghaṭatvayor vaiśiṣṭyānavagāhyeva jñānam jāyate, tadeva Nirvikalpakam tacca na pratyakṣam N S M stanza 58

40 Yatprathamākṣasannipātasamaya eva jñānamanullikhitāśabdakam śabdānusmaraṇe hetubhūtamutpadyate tad avikalpam pratyakṣam. NM P 76

Anythā hi viśiṣṭārthānupalabdau viśiṣṭasya Saṃketasamarāṇasyānupapattē V V P 557

41 Gotvādyapratitāvaṇi tadāśrayasya pratīteḥ. Ku p 278

42 Jātyādisvarūpāvagāhī na tu jātyādīnāṃ mitho viśeṣyaviśeṣaṇabhāvāvagāhī NVT p 108

Sāmānyam viśeṣyam cobhayamāpi gṛhṇāti paramidaṃ Sāmānyamayam viśeṣa itī vivicya na gṛhṇāti Kan p 189

tions which may be discerned amongst the principal authors of the N-V School

Broadly speaking the following conclusions may be summarized with regard to the development of the distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perceptions in Indian Philosophy —

(i) In *Prāsaṅgastapāda* there is a vague idea of a sort of mere apprehension (*ālōcana*) which is regarded as an earlier stage in the process of perception

(ii) *Dharmakīrti* is the real founder and first discoverer, in Indian Philosophy, of the fundamental and qualitative distinction in the nature of Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perception

(iii) Amongst orthodox writers *Kumārila* is the first to use the term 'Nirvikalpaka' in the sense of an earlier stage which invariably precedes Savikalpaka or determinate perception

(iv) *Vācāspati*, or his preceptor *Trilocana*, seems to be the pioneer in introducing the distinction in question in the N-V School, or at least bringing it within the frame work of the *Gotama's* definition of perception.

(v) The latest theory of the distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, as accepted in the modern N-V School, was formulated by *Gangeśa*

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminīyopanisadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नहिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं शब्दा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

But this is not the right way of putting facts. Rather we ought to say that this particular as manifesting the 'mrd-jāti' or clay-universal is the cause of this particular as representing the ghaṭa-jāti or jar-universal. In the Nyāya terminology we would say that 'mṛd-jātiya' is the cause of ghaṭa-jātiya. Now why should we state the relation in this way? The reason is that according to the Naiyāyikas the jātis or universals are eternal while the 'particulars' are subject to creation and destruction. Therefore no law can be established in terms of transient entities. Moreover a 'particular' devoid of any jāti would be simply inconceivable. Thus once it is granted that the law of cause-and-effect holds between 'jātis' there follows, as a matter of course, a very favourable result.

There would be as many Kāraṇajātis as there were Kāryajātis and thus we can easily say that for certain transcendental effects such as 'enjoyment of heavenly joys' there are such transcendental causes as the performance of Jyotiṣoma sacrifice. But such a person who can point out the causal relation between such transcendental facts is Iśvara who is omniscient and without human failings like rāga and dveṣa and whose injunctions are recorded in the Vedas.

Thus having noted the place of Kāryavaijātya and Kāraṇavaijātya in the general scheme of Nyāya philosophy let us turn to the subject of this paper *vis* that the relation of cause and effect be stated only in terms of jātis. In the first 'śabḍa' of the Nyāya Kusumāñjali Udayanācārya has at the outset stated how it is necessary to postulate a law of causation to explain contingency (Kādācitkatva) of things. And having successfully done so he goes on to say that this relation obtains between jātis or universals. To take a concrete case when we say that this clay is the cause of this jar what do we mean? Do we only mean literally that this particular clay is the cause of this particular jar and do not mean anything beyond or do we mean something more? The Naiyāyika says that we do mean something more. We mean that the particular clay and the particular jar in question are causally related only so far as they are characterized by their respective jātis. To him, who looks upon Universal as an eternal padārtha (oitvam, ekam, anekānugatam) a bare particular not inhered by a universal is an ontological absurdity. As Dr. Bhaduri puts it in his book *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika Metaphysics* —

"A sequence between two particulars cannot be interpreted as a case of causality unless it is at the same time a case of invariable relation between the universals by which the particulars are characterized. In other words, the causal relation between two particulars is not between two particulars as such but between them as with their respective generic characters. The fact is that a particular as abstracted from the universal is only an unintelligible symbol, and so the perception of a particular is necessarily the perception of a particular as qualified by the Universal." (Page 288)

According to Udayanācārya we find that the effects having a particular *jāti* are seen to emerge from causes having another particular *jāti*, for such is the nature of sequence of cause and effect. As for instance, an effect having 'jar-ness' is always produced out of clay having 'clay-ness' and not otherwise. Similarly an effect having cloth-ness (*paṭatva*) is produced out of a substance that has thread-ness (*tantutva*) inherent in it. Now this law of precedence and succession between things having 'clay-ness' or 'thread-ness' and 'jar-ness' or 'cloth-ness' is violated if we do not accept their relation of causation as referring to '*jāti*s'. As the *Kusumāñjali* puts it — *तथापि वस्तुवैकल्येन निवर्तमानेषु न जात्यपेक्षयेति चेन्न । नियतजातीयत्वभावात्तत्वात्तात्*

To make it clear. A particular effect having *jāti* invariably comes out of another substance having another *jāti*. That is so because there is an invariable relation of sequence between particulars having specific *jāti*s. That is why it is maintained by the *Naiyāyikas* that the relation of causation obtains between *jāti*s. And if it is held that the relation holds good between particulars and that it has nothing to do with the universals then this necessary or invariable relation of sequence, which we just noted, is violated and there arises the contingency of either all the effects having all the *jāti*s or all the effects having only one *jāti*. This goes quite contrary to our experience. For if it is held that an effect jar does not come out of something that has 'clay-ness' inherent in it or in other words if it is said that the 'clay-ness' of clay does not determine the effect being a jar and that it is only clay as such that determines the effect in a particular case then we might as well say that a jar could be produced out of anything and everything which is absurd and which leads to the position that the jar will have all the possible *jāti*s inhering in it, an anomaly of greatest magnitude. And if it were said that the contingency of all the effects having all the *jāti*s does not arise since there is no ground for saying that there are different *jāti*s even as there is no ground for saying that there are different *jāti*s like *ghaṭatva* and *kalāśatva* then there arises the difficulty of all the effects having one *jāti* only, an equally incredible thing. In other words whether we hold that whatever the *jāti* of the cause, it is its nature to produce an effect of a specific *jāti* or whether we hold that it is the nature of the effect that it has a specific *jāti* no matter what happens to be the *jāti* of the cause, in either case will arise the contingency of either all the effects having all the *jāti*s characterising them or all the effects having only one *jāti*. In either case the nature of an effect having a specific *jāti* is impaired.

To this the *vyaktivādi* may retort by saying that it is not the nature of an effect of a particular *jāti* to emerge from a cause of one specific *jāti* only. For instance, fire can be produced from heated grass, flint or from solar rays reflected through a lens. In this case the plurality of causes is evident. So it is useless to argue that in case it were granted that the causal relation holds between particulars as

such there will be violation of nature of effects belonging to a specific *jāti*. For even if it be conceded that it is the nature of an effect characterised by a particular *jāti* to emerge from a cause having another specific *jāti* the concession is invalidated by another fact namely that fire can be produced out of the three alternative causes just mentioned. To meet this objection the *mīmāṃsakas* may step in and say that the plurality of the causes is only apparent, it is not a fact. The cause of fire is only one, *viz* the *śakti* or power favourable to the production of fire, which is shared by all the three things. The flint, the heated grass and the solar rays, reflected through a lens are not the causes of fire but are vehicles of *śakti* favourable to the production of fire and thus the rule of the cause and effect belonging to their respective specific class is not compromised. The *Naiyāyika* or for the matter of that *Udayanācārya* has his own explanation to offer in this case. But first he explodes the one given by the *mīmāṃsakas*. The difficulty in accepting the *mīmāṃsaka* explanation is as follows —

In case things having different class character are thought of as capable of producing effect of one specific *jāti* then we cannot infer the existence of one of the alternative causes by seeing the effect. For instance we cannot infer the existence of grass, flints or solar rays reflected through the lens by seeing fire. In other words we cannot determine whether in this particular case of fire which of the three causes produced the fire. Similarly in the absence of one of the alternative causes the non-existence of the effect also cannot be inferred. And this is surely a great predicament. As the *Ācārya* puts it —

यदि हि विजातीयैर्व्येककार्यकरवादाभिः समुद्देशात् न कार्यात् कारणविशेष-
कभावमुमीयेत् । कारणव्यावृत्त्या च न सङ्जातीयस्यैव कार्यस्य व्यावृत्तिरवश्यमेव ।

Why does this difficulty arise at all? It arises because if flint is non-existent there may be the possibility of the fire having been produced from grass or from solar rays reflected through a lens, or may be from some other thing which may have the fire-producing power but which we may not be aware of. To obviate this difficulty the *mīmāṃsaka* says that power is not such a thing as would exist anywhere and everywhere, thus impairing any chance of inference based on causal relation being valid. In fact the causal relation is postulated only after such relation has been ascertained on unbreakable grounds (यद्यपि दृष्टान्तव्यवस्था भविष्यतीति चेत्) In reply *Udayana* asks. But how is the causal relation to be ascertained? Causality is to be ascertained on the strength of the ascertainment of *śakti*. But according to the *mīmāṃsaka* the *śakti* itself is a super-sensible entity. What we actually perceive is the mere antecedent and not the basis on which we can postulate *śakti*. Thus the postulation of *śakti* leads to further problems instead of solving the original problem. This sets aside also the

explanation that explains the emergence of an effect from one and subtle jāti

(एतेन सूक्ष्मजातीयादिति निरस्तम्)

The mīmāṃsaka had so far tried to explain away the problem of plurality of causes by pointing out that grass, flint etc are not the alternative causes but rather the alternative vehicles for the power favourable to the production of fire. This explanation having been shown to be fraught with difficulties he now makes an attempt to save his position by saying that the cause of fire in this case is only one *viz* the atoms of fire. Grass flint etc are nimitta causes. So the difficulty pointed out by the vyakti-vādin that here is a case of an effect emerging from causes having different jātis or difficulties pointed out by the Naryāyika are not palpable. For what determines the (jāti-bheda) difference in the Kāryajāti is the jāti of the material cause and not the nimitta and asamavāyi causes. But this is also fraught with insuperable difficulties. If the nimitta or asamavāyi causes do not matter it is meaningless to consider them as causes. Their very causality is set at naught. It is not that the presence of nimitta and asamavāyi is antecedent to the production of the effect but the fact is that it is only when the nimitta and asamavāyi are present along with the samavāyi that the effect comes into being. That is in the absence of the nimitta and the asamavāyi the effect is not produced at all. In other words the nimitta and the asamavāyi as much determine the characteristics of the effect as the samavāyi. In fact the whole collocation of the causal items is equally significant. Had it been that the samavāyi kāraṇa were only the determining factor in settling the kārya jāti then it would have been impossible to account for the fact that guna and karma having different jātis inhere in the same dravya. As Udayana says —

कार्यजातिभेदाभेदयोः समवायिभेदाभेदादेव तत्त्वम्, न निमित्तासमवायिनीति
केन तयोपकारणत्वप्रसंगात् । नहि सति भावसाधनं तत्, किन्तु सत्येव भावः । न च
जातिविषयमेव समवायिकारणमात्रं निश्चयनम्, अपि तु सामग्री । अन्यथा
पुण्यकर्मणामेकोपावृत्तकाले विजातीयत्वं न ह्यात् ।

Finding himself under a predicament the Mīmāṃsaka might modify his statement and say that what he says about the material cause determining the nature of the effects refers only to the effects that are dravya and not those that are guṇa and karma. That is, in case of effects that are dravya their jāti is determined by their material cause. But the Naryāyika says that even this much cannot be granted for both milk and curd as effects have the same material cause but their jātis are different. The atoms constituting milk and those constituting curd are same yet because of difference in nimittakāraṇa the effects differ in jāti having said so much, says Udayana, one can easily understand

that the invariable concomitance between two things cannot be established in the Apohavāda view also. For according to this view invariable concomitance can be established only on the basis of causal relation or the relation of 'ādātmya', of which the latter itself is based on the former. And thus causal relation between two things cannot be established if we accept the Apohavāda view. According to Apohavāda 'fire' means something that is different from non-fire. Now the cause of smoke would be something different from that which is non-fire which does not necessarily mean fire. For example, alone may be looked upon as 'not fire' and something from 'not fire' i.e. alone may as well be a brick, and to say that smoke is produced by a brick is on the very face of it absurd. Thus according to this method causality cannot be ascertained and explained in case of a single cause, not to speak of alternative causes. Such being the position, an Apohavāda cannot ascertain invariable concomitance between two things. This leads to the most lamentable position of their being deprived of the use of inference as a *pramāṇa*.

To sum up, therefore, if we accept any of the three views regarding causality just mentioned viz. *vyaktivāda*, *śaktivāda* and *apohavāda*, there follows inevitably the breakdown of the nature of the cause and effects belonging to their respective *jāti*s. And as to the objection raised by the *vyaktivāda* that the break down of the nature of things is already a fact which is indubitable, the *Naiyāyika* says that there is no such breakdown. The effect 'fire' produced from grass is different from the one produced from flints and so on. Just as there is difference in the modes of producing fire there is also difference in the fire thus produced. Fire is produced from heated grass by blowing, from drills by drilling and from solar rays reflected through a lens. As the modes of producing fire from heated grass etc. are specified so the fires thus produced are specific in character, or what we may call, they are characterized by an '*avāntara-jāti*'. Therefore a difference in the subsidiary cause leads to difference in the species of the *kārya* also. And if we postulate *śakti* in grass etc., as the *mīmāṃsakas* have a wont to do, we must extend the postulation of *śakti* to blowing and drilling etc. also and the contingency would thus arise that fire will have to be looked upon as capable of being produced from flints by blowing and from grass by drilling. As a recent commentator of the *Nyāya-kauśamāñjali* puts it—

अतः सहकारिवैलक्षण्यवत् कार्यवैलक्षण्यमपि युक्तम् अन्यथा शक्तिस्वीकारे
तृत्यादादिषु फूटकारादावपि सा कल्प्या । एवं च निरन्तरमविराट् तृत्यादप्यन्यापत्तिः ।

So though the atoms of fire are the cause of the generic fire, grass etc., are the cause of the difference in the species falling under fire. We find that even though there is difference in fire, a lamp illuminates the whole apartment of a mansion, not so the fire from burning wood though throwing out a cluster of flames and still less so the cow-dung

fire. So by experience we infer difference of species in the fires produced by different modes. The syllogism can thus be stated —

The fires produced from grass etc., belong to different species
(अवाप्तरजाति)

For they have been produced from different causes just as fires produced from wick—a burning wood and cow dung are characterized by different jātis or species (अवाप्तरजाति)

For as a rule the effects produced from different causes differ in jātis

तुष्यादिकज्ज्योतिर्मद्वत्वाच्चग्निविजातीयः.

तन्निष्कारणसम्पत्त्वात् प्रदीपवत्

नो यत्कारणान्तिरिक्तज्ज्वः सः तत्कारणजः प्रदीपवत्

Thus the relation of cause and effects obtains between jātis. As a rule an effect having a particular jāti has only one cause having another particular jāti. But where there are alternative modes of producing effects having the same generic characteristics such effects will have their own specific jāti (अवाप्तर जाति) besides the common genus. One who cannot make out such specific jātis had better infer only the generic cause from the generic aspect of the effect. The Naiyāyika does not frown upon such a position —

यस्तु त (कार्त्तमेव) नाकञ्चेत् स कार्त्तसामान्ये कारणमात्रमनुमिष्यतीति किमनु-
पपन्नम् ।

Here a difficulty may be pointed out that if we accept that the fires produced from heated grass etc., have different species characterizing them then the different smokes-produced by such fires will also have some specific differences which may not be detected. As a result one cannot infer generic fire from generic smoke. Similarly we cannot infer non-existence of generic smoke from non-existence of generic fire. This means that inference becomes impossible, for the relation of invariable concomitance cannot be established, the relation of cause and effect and identity (सादृश्य) having become unascertainable. This objection, says, the Naiyāyika, has no force with him. It can only stagger the Bauddha who establishes his relation of cause and effect on the basis of something imperceptible which he calls कुर्वन्मूलम् and who does not accept the rightful place of ज्ञानम् and स्वतंत्रिक in ascertaining causal relation. But for the Naiyāyikas the relation of cause and effect holds between universal which itself can be ascertained on the basis of

अन्यथा and व्यतिरेक । Even if in any case there is some specific peculiarity in the cause there will have to be postulated some specific peculiarity in the effect also. And if the respective peculiarities are detectable then the inference of specific cause and specific effect is also possible and if otherwise, the inference of cause in general and effect in general is always possible. The presence of an undetected peculiarity does not interfere with the general inference.

Only one possible question in this connection remains to be answered. It is this. If heated grass flints and sun's rays reflected through a lens determine the peculiarity in the fires thus produced, what is it that determines the generic character of fire therein. The Naiyāyika says that in the production of mere fire wind is the incidental cause, the combination of atoms of fire is the *asamavāyi* cause and the atoms themselves are the material cause. This self-same causal aggregate along with substances possessing weight is the cause of solidified fire. Again the same aggregate having acquired perceptible touch gives rise to burning fire and even so conjoined with water becomes atmospheric fire and with what is earthly becomes terrestrial and on conjunction with both becomes gastric fire. Thus the causes of specific changes should be made out.

किं पुनस्तथापि दहनसामान्यस्य प्रयोजकं । वृषादीनां विशेष एव नियत-
इति चेत् । न तेजोसाश्रोतृत्वात् एवमो विहितम् । अथवा सयोगोऽसमवायी,
तेजोऽवयवास्समवायिनः । इत्यनेन सामग्री गुणधर्मद्वन्द्वसहितो विहिततस्य । इत्यनेन
तेजोगतमुद्भूतस्पर्शमेष्वेव दहनं, तत्रापि जलं प्राप्य विह्वलम्, पार्थिवं प्राप्य भीमम्,
अथवा प्राप्योदरमादभत इति स्वयमूहनीयम्

(41) THE SVĀTANTRYAVĀDA OF KASHMIR AND THE VOLUNTARISM
OF SCHOPENHAUER

by

DR K. C. PANDEY,

Lucknow University

The Voluntarism of Schopenhauer arose under Kantian influence. It accepts the view that the object of knowledge is nothing more than an idea, because the subject, the knowing being, is so conditioned by the forms of knowledge, space, time, causality etc., that it can never know any object as it is in itself, but only as modified by the subjective conditions.

Kashmir Śaivism agrees with Kant and, therefore, with Schopenhauer that what is known at the empirical level is only a phenomenon or idea. For, like Kant, it also admits that the knowing subject can know the given, not as it is in itself but as it appears through the limiting conditions (I) temporal relation (Kāla) (II) causal relation (Niyati) (III) relation to personality (Rāga) and (IV) relation to other phenomena (Vidyā).

Significance of the Ideas

A natural question that every one asks is whether this world is merely an idea or whether it is also something else, something more than an idea, and if so, what? This something that we seek for, as the question implies, must be completely and in its whole nature different from idea, the forms and laws of the idea must, therefore, be foreign to it. It cannot be arrived at under the guidance of the laws, which are the forms of the principle of sufficient reason.

This something, the noumenon, as opposed to the phenomena, in Kantian philosophy, is called the thing-in-itself. Schopenhauer agrees with Kant that the thing-in-itself is objectively unknowable. But when Kant asserts that it is simply inferred, Schopenhauer differs on similar grounds as those on which Kashmir Śaivism differs from the Anumeyārthavādi Buddha, who holds that the objective world is a matter of

inference only. He asserts that we are immediately aware of it in our action and emotion and that it is Will.

On this point also Kashmiri Śaivism agrees with Schopenhauer. For, it admits that the principle of freedom (Svātantrya Śakti¹, Vimarśa, or Spanda) is immediately present to us in states of intense emotion such as those of anger or fear, in which all external affections of mind disappear.

The Will as the Inner Being of Everything

Schopenhauer's view that the world apart from being idea is, in its inner nature, Will, is based on the analysis of voluntary action as follows —

The body is given in two different ways to the subject of knowledge, who becomes individual only through identification with the body.

(I) It is given as an idea in intelligent perception as an object among objects and subject to the laws of object.

(II) It is also known in a quite different way as that which is immediately known to every one and is signified by the word *Will*.

For, every act of Will is also at once and without exception a movement of the body. The act of Will and the movement of the body are not two different things objectively known, which the bond of causality unites, but they are only given in two entirely different ways (I) immediately and (II) in perception for the understanding. Thus, the action of body is nothing but the act of Will objectified & passed into perception.

Here again there is agreement between Schopenhauer and Kashmiri Voluntarism. For, the latter also holds that action is nothing but the Will² externalised (Cakīrṣā bahisparyantatām prāptā kriyā itya bhidbhyate).

He enters into lengthy arguments to establish that not only our action but also the whole body itself is nothing but objectification of *Will*. He accordingly suggests that the double knowledge, which the

1 S Dr. 11 and S K. 39

2, I P V Vol II, 183.

individual subject has of the nature and activity of his own body and which is given in two different ways, be used as a key to the nature of every phenomenon in nature and that if we follow the analogy of our own bodies in judging what the objects are apart from being mere ideas, we have to admit that just as in one aspect they are ideas, just like our own bodies, so, in another aspect, they, in their inner nature, must be the same as that in us, which we call *Will*. For, besides *Will* and idea nothing is known to us. If, therefore, we wish to attribute the greatest known reality to the material world which is known to us as a mere idea, we have to give it the reality, which our own bodies have for each of us. For, we can nowhere find another kind of reality which we can attribute to the material world.

Thus, if we hold that the material world is something more than our own idea, we must say that it is, in itself, in its inmost nature, that which we find immediately in ourselves as *Will*.

On the basis of analogy of what goes on in a human being, when the body performs an action, Schopenhauer recognises the inscrutable forces, which manifest themselves in all natural bodies, as identical in kind with that which in human being is the *Will* and as differing from it only in degree.

Schopenhauer holds that the fourth class of idea, in which there is no antithesis of subject and object, which comprehends duly one object, the immediate object of inner sense, the *Will*, and which is experienced as identical with the knowing subject, is the key to the knowledge of the inner nature of the first, comprising those complete ideas of perception, which form a part of our experience, which are referable to some sensation of our bodies and which are capable of being perceived under the forms of space and time.

In the case of man this *inner being* is called character. But in the case of stone it is called quality. In both the cases, however the inner being is the same. When it is immediately known it is called *Will*. But when it is a mere presupposition it is called *natural forces*.

This *inner being* is the strongest in the case of man. For, in man the subject in volition becomes the object of knowledge only in inner sense. In stone the objectivity of *Will* is the weakest, because there is no awareness of *Will*, because the *Will* is blind. Thus the *Will* in Schopenhauer's system denotes that which is the inner nature of everything in the world and the one kernel of every phenomenon.

Schopenhauer holds that the thing-in-itself is not altogether directly unknown and is not simply inferred, but that it is immediately known.

and that it is *Will*. The Will, as thing-in-itself, lies outside the principle of sufficient reason in all its forms and consequently it is groundless in itself, though all its manifestations are entirely subordinated to the principle of sufficient reason.

In self-consciousness the Will is known directly and in itself. In this consciousness, therefore, lies also a *consciousness of freedom*. It is free from all multiplicity, though its manifestations in time and space are innumerable. It is one, not in the sense in which an object is one. For, the unity of an object can only be known in opposition to a possible multiplicity. It is not one in the sense in which a concept is one, the unity of a concept originates in abstraction from multiplicity. But it is one as that which lies outside time and space and is the possibility of multiplicity.

Philosophical Wisdom

He asserts that the truth 'the world is my idea' holds good for everything that lives and knows, though man alone can bring it into reflective and abstract consciousness. The philosophical wisdom is nothing but bringing this truth into reflective and abstract consciousness.

This is another point of agreement between Voluntarism of Schopenhauer and that of Kashmir. For, according to the latter, the liberation in life (*jīvanmukti*) is nothing but the realisation that 'the entire universe is my manifestation', (*Sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ*)

Fundamental Difference Between Voluntarism of Kashmir and that of Schopenhauer

Schopenhauer holds that, in general, nature signifies that which acts without the assistance of the intellect and that nature is identical with what we find in ourselves as *Will*. The possibility of this fundamental knowledge depends upon the fact that in us the *Will* is directly lighted by the intellect, which appears in us as self-consciousness. If the *Will* were not lighted by the intellect, we could just as little arrive at a fuller knowledge of the *Will* within us as without us and would have stopped at inscrutable forces of nature. We have to abstract the *Will* from intellect if we wish to comprehend the nature of *Will* in itself and thereby penetrate to the inner being of nature.

Schopenhauer holds that *unconscious Will* constitutes the reality of things, and its development must advance very far before it finally

attains in animal consciousness to the idea and intelligence. He starts by doing away with the presupposed simplicity of our subjectively conscious nature, the ego, the soul. He shows that the intellect is physically conditioned, that it is the function of the brain, the material organ and, therefore, depends upon it. Without the material organ, he holds, the intellectual function is as impossible as grasp without the hand. Intellect, therefore, belongs to mere phenomenon. The Will, on the contrary, is bound to no special organ, but is everywhere present as that which moves and forms. It constitutes the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenon. The intellect as a mere function of the brain is involved in the destruction of the body. But the Will is not. The two are heterogeneous. This heterogeneity of the two and the subordinate nature of the intellect explains why man in the depths of self-consciousness feels himself to be eternal and indestructible; but can have no memory beyond the duration of life.

Schopenhauer's Will, the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenon, is an abstraction from that identity with which alone he can justify the use of the word 'Will'. He was under the influence of the result of the researches of the scientists, both his predecessors and contemporaries. He wanted to identify the presuppositions of the various sciences, with something that was immediately known to him at the empirical level. He accepted the Kantian doctrine that pure consciousness of the subject in total isolation from the object is impossible. His system arose in antagonism to that of Hegel. He had a positively low opinion of Hegel. For such reasons he could not admit the ultimate reality to be *mind or thought*. He, therefore, abstracted Will from mind. He calls this originally blind force, Will, because he holds that it is identical with what we are immediately aware of in voluntary action and emotion.

The Kashmir Voluntarism, on the other hand, arose at a time, when the beautiful land of Kashmir was the land of Yogins. Every one of the main writers on this system was a Yogin. To them the self-consciousness in isolation from the object was the most indubitable experience. They knew that a great Yogin could create the objective things by sheer force of his Will. However ridiculous such a possibility may appear to modern minds, with materialistic bent, the Kashmir Voluntarists admitted it and they had reason to do so.

They, therefore, did not feel compelled to abstract the Will from self-consciousness. They admit the Will to be an aspect of the mind. This view is in consonance with the experience of Will, as even Schopenhauer admits. This is the aspect of the mind, which constitutes the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenal world. This Free Will is essentially Universal Self-consciousness. It is the starting point of the concretisation of the Universal Mind as Self-luminous and

Self-conscious Reality. It differs from the Universal Self-consciousness in so far as the Universal Self-consciousness is free from objective reference, does not involve the antithesis of the subject and the object, the Free Will has the objective reference. The object, however, to which the Will is related is the Universal 'this' which is its own manifestation and lacks all determinacy exactly as does the mental picture in the mind of a great artist at the time of inspiration. It is like the imperceptible stir in calm water before the rise of waves. It is like the internal stir that precedes the perceptible movement of a physical organ. It is that aspect of the Universal Mind, which is responsible for the objectification of what is identical with it.

Immanent and Transcendental knowledge

Time, space and causality are the forms of human intellect, by virtue of which, the one being of each kind (the idea), which alone really is, manifests itself as multiplicity of similar beings constantly appearing and disappearing in endless succession. The apprehension of objects by means of and in accordance with the forms of intellect is immanent knowledge. But that apprehension of objects which transcends these forms is transcendental knowledge. According to Kant, the transcendental can be attained in abstract, through the criticism of pure reason. But German voluntarism holds that in exceptional cases this transcendental knowledge may be got intuitively.

The transition from immanent knowledge to the transcendental takes place suddenly. The knowledge is always in the service of Will. But in exceptional cases it breaks free from the service of the Will. This happens when the individual subject ceases to be individual, when he becomes the pure willless subject of knowledge. When he no longer traces the relations in accordance with the principle of sufficient reason but rests in fixed contemplation of the object free from all relations to other objects, when he rises into the object.

Aesthetic experience as Transcendental Knowledge

Schopenhauer seems to come nearer the Kashmir Voluntarism in his treatment of the problem of Aesthetics. He asserts that if man, relinquishes the common way of looking at things, gives up tracing the relations of things in accordance with the principle of sufficient reason, if he does not relate the object of knowledge to his own Will, if he ceases to consider, the when, the where, the why and the whither of things and looks at simply and solely the what. If he does not allow abstract thought to take possession of his consciousness but, on the contrary if he sinks himself entirely in the presented and lets his whole consciousness be filled up with quiet contemplation of it, if he forgets even his individuality and exists only as a pure mirror of the object

so that the the perceiver and perception become one if the object is free from all relation to what is not itself, to what is outside itself and if the subject is free from all relation to Will then that which is so known is no longer the particular thing as such, but it is the Idea, the eternal form, the immediate objectivity of the Will at this grade, and therefore, he who is sunk in this perception is no longer individual but he is pure willless, timeless and spaceless subject of knowledge. The aesthetic experience is, therefore, nothing else than apprehension of relationless object, the Idea, by pure subject

In aesthetic experience the subject, which passes into the object, that is free from all relations, becomes one with the object for the whole consciousness is nothing but perfectly distinct picture of the object. In it the subject and object are no longer distinguished. They interpenetrate each other completely. Similarly the knowing and the known are undistinguishable.

(42) KARMA-YOGA TRADITION

by

SRI PRAHLAD C DIVANJI, BOMBAY.

Statements in the Gītā as to the previous history of the Karma-yoga doctrine. II—Those as to its early history corroborated by accounts in the Matsya Purāṇa and Yogavāsistha, III—Partial clarification of its subsequent development in the Gītā itself and corroboration thereof by accounts in other works, IV—Other accounts in the Upanisads of Brāhmanas approaching Kṣatriyaa for instruction in the Adhyātmavidyā, V—Concluding remarks

I—Statements in the Gītā as to the previous history of the Karma-yoga doctrine

The *Bhagavadgītā* contains in its third chapter¹ a statement that the Lord had formerly communicated to the people in this world instruction to keep faith in two ways of approach to himself, namely by the Jñāna-yoga of the Sāṃkhya and the Karma-yoga of the Yogins. Then as for the latter, which has been elaborately expounded in the said chapter, there are statements in Chapter IV² as to its divine origin, subsequent traditional transmission amongst the royal sages, its decadence after a long period and revival thereof by Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he imparted knowledge thereof to Arjuna. It is an interesting point for investigation, whether and if so, how far those statements receive corroboration from the other extant works in Sanskrit on the Adhyātmavidyā. Having kept it in mind for some time during the course of my studies I have come across some similar statements in several works bearing on that point and therefore I propose to place the result of my critical examination thereof before this learned audience for its consideration.

1. B G III, 3

2. The said stanzas run thus —

इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् । विवस्वान्मनवे प्राह भनुरिक्ष्वाकवेऽब्रवीत् ॥१॥
एवं परंपरामाहमिमां शार्ङ्गयनो विदुः । स काशेनैव सहसा योगो नष्टः परंरूप ॥२॥
स पदार्थं मया तेऽयं योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः । भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुच्यते ॥३॥

II—Those as to its early history corroborated by accounts in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Yogavāsistha*

2 The first statement in the fourth chapter of the *Gītā* is that the Karma-yoga had in a previous age been expounded by the Lord, i.e. the Prajāpati, to Vivāsvat. Allied to it is the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, which, as narrated by Sūta, purports to reproduce that which had been narrated by Keśava or Nārāyaṇa in the form of a miraculous fish to Manu Vaivāsṇava a hundred years prior to the Great Flood, contains a chapter in which there is a eulogy of the Karma-yoga as being superior to a thousand Jñāna-yogas and further statements that knowledge had arisen from the Karma-yoga, that it is therefore the "Parama Pada", that Brahman, (the Veda), had arisen from Karma-jñāna and not "jñāna" (knowledge) from "Akarma-(in)action", that therefore one with mind composed attains the knowledge of the constant essence while engaged in action, (for verily) the whole of the Veda and the conduct of those who know it have Dharma as their source. This Dharma is further said to consist predominantly of 8 "Ātmagunās" (qualities of the heart or moral virtues) namely—(1) compassion towards all beings, (2) forgiveness, (3) protection of the weak, (4) absence of jealousy towards others, (5) internal and external purity, (6) maintenance of an attitude of pleasantness towards actions (duties) coming up without being striven for, (7) absence of stinginess in spending wealth for the needy and (8) absence at all times of covetousness towards the wealth and wives of others. It is thereafter added that the said qualities had been called "Ātmagunās" by those well-versed in the *Purāṇas*, that the cultivation thereof itself constituted "Kriyā-yoga" which acts as the means for the attainment of the Jñāna-yoga, that no one is found to attain knowledge without the help of Karma-yoga and that therefore one should by effort discharge the duties prescribed by the *Śrūti* and *Smṛti*. The next 13 stanzas explain what those duties are and what are the effects of their discharge and the last, 26th stanza, winds up the topic by saying that whoever is devoted to the *vedāntasāstra* and the *Smṛti* is ever afraid of neglect of duty and is intent on the practice of the Kriyā-yoga has nothing left to acquire in this or the next world.

3 Reading the whole chapter through one finds that there is the same emphasis in it on adhering to the life of a householder and continuing to discharge one's appropriate prescribed duties and promise that one who does so attains knowledge for the attainment whereof the Jñānayogins resort to a life in action, as in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and the 18th chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. That the subject-matter of this

3. Mat Pu LII 5-7.

4. Op cit 8-10

5. Op cit 11-12

chapter in the *Purāṇa* is not based on the *Gītā* is clear from the subsequent chapter because it is stated therein⁶ that in the other Kalpa there was only one *Purāṇa*, whose extent was "Satakoṭi", that Brahmnā had first recollected it and, that it was thereafter that the Vedas came out of his mouths. It is also stated there that assuming the form of Vyāsa in each *Dvāpara* yuga the Lord abridges the *Purāṇa*, so as to bring its extent to "Caturlakṣa" and divides it into 18 *Purāṇas* for use in this earthly region, although in the *Devaloka* it continues even now to have its original extent, and that is the reason why it is said that there are 18 *Purāṇas* here at present. Besides the difference in the sources of the tradition we also notice that whereas according to the *Gītā* it was his father Vyāsat who had imparted the knowledge of this Yoga to Manu according to the *Matsya* it was Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa, himself who had done so and secondly, that the special necessity and efficacy of singular devotion and self-surrender to Vāsudeva, which is set forth in the *Gītā* at more than 'one place' while emphasising the performance of disinterested action and the cultivation of moral virtues is conspicuously absent from the passage from the *Matsya Purāṇa*. These points of difference suggest to my mind that the authors of the two works had access to the same tradition of Karma-yoga but through different sources containing two different versions thereof.

4 This Yoga had been taught by Manu to Ikṣvāku according to the passage in the *Gītā* Chapter IV quoted in foot-note 2. Corresponding to that assertion I have found in the *Nirvāṇa-prakarana* of the *Yogavāsistha* an account by Vasiṣṭha of a "Manu-Ikṣvāku Samvāda". It is a short account in 99 stanzas as contained in the *Nirṇaya Sāgara* Press edition.

It is remarkable as to its extent that the Devanāgarī transcript of the Śāradā script version of the same work (Ms No 8771 at the S A A Library, Śrinagar) contains the dialogue in Sargas 122-29, the total number of stanzas wherein is 356. As to the importance of the dialogue in the work it is also remarkable that Gauda Abhinanda had considered it so important that whereas he has made out an abridgement of the work, the total number of stanzas wherein comes to 5013, as printed in the N S P edition, 1937, including some not forming part of the text at all (e.g. the first 4 of Chapter VI 16) and those not found in the N S P edition of the bigger work (e.g. the next 30 in the same chapter and Sarga) as against a few more than 29,000 in the latter, he has in Chapter VI 13, containing the said dialogue, included no less than 98 stanzas, appearing to have been taken from a different version of the work than that on which the N S P edition of the bigger work is based.

6 Op cit U III 3-11.

7 B G III, 30-32; V, 29; VI, 29-32, 47; VII, 12-30; VIII, 3-15, IX, 10-34, X, 1-11; XI, 52-55; XII, 6-20; XIV, 26-27; XV, 14-20; XVI, 48-62.

8. *Yogavāsistha* VI/1, 117-22.

5. Although these 3 sources differ amongst themselves as to the wording of several stanzas common to them they agree in the main as to the substance of the dialogue. In all it begins with an introductory remark by Vasistha that Ikṣvāku, the propositus of Rama's family, from whose name the dynasty ruling at Ayodhyā was known as the "Ikṣvāku dynasty", furnished a good illustration of the statement in the last stanza of the previous Sarga, namely that the greatest remedy for one who desires to attain adequate peace of mind and to cross the ocean of rebirths, which is a mine of long-continued miseries, is to think over the problems, "Who am I?" "How must this universe have come into existence" and "Who may be free from it?" It thereafter goes on to state that Ikṣvāku, having once failed to solve them although he did think over them in solitude, put the same questions to Bhagavān Prajāpati Manu, who had come to his court from Brahmaloka. The latter's answers are, as could be expected in the *Yogavāsistho*, that all this phenomena, which appears to the senses and the mind to exist, does not in fact exist and is like a will-o'-the-wisp or a mirage, that which is beyond the organs of perception is indestructible, that is what really exists here and that is the real self, the "Ātman" of the perceiver. The rest of the episode consists of explanations of the possible doubts, arising from the answers which are in direct contradiction to the experience of an average human being based on and of an advice to cultivate an opposite tendency of the mind step by step sensual perception. The last stanza winds up the discourse by the concluding remark of Vasistha that saying so Bhagavān Manu repaired to his home in the Brahmaloka and that Ikṣvāku also having had recourse to that way of looking (at the phenomena) became steady.

6. Reading the episode as a whole the first difference, between the Karma-yoga as expounded in the *Bhagavadgītā* and the teaching here of Manu, that catches the eye is that whereas the former is based upon a realistic view of the phenomena the latter is based on an extreme idealistic view thereof appearing to have been based on the *Kārikā* of *Gauḍapāda* interpreted in terms of Kashmir Śaivism which is based, on the Mālinī Tantra, and which is the view consistently advocated as the true one throughout the work. This should not however frighten us away and would not justify us in concluding that except for the occurrence of the same names of the participants in the discourse there is no common ground between the two. For seeing whether there are any such grounds we must read carefully the latter part of the episode consisting of the last 60 stanzas, wherein the remedy for the eradication of the false sense of reality of the diversity of the sense-objects has been mentioned and an advice given as to how to train up the mind to adopt the right attitude towards the said objects. When that part is closely examined we find that except for the substitution of the Cit i.e. Ātman, in place of "Ahaṁ" or Vāsudeva" or "Bhūta-Maheśvara" etc indicating the highest essence, which is the same as the "Cit" of the *Yogavāsistho*, there is no difference between the practical side of the teachings in both the works. And that is what should be the case because the teaching

of Vasiṣṭha was intended to better equip Rāma for the life of a householder of the ruling class, which he begins to lead subsequent to this initiation, made at the age of 16 years before he commenced his career under the guidance of Viśvāmitra. Owing to the limit set upon the papers to be read at such gatherings I cannot enter into a detailed comparison of the similar passages in the two works after quoting them in *extenso*. However for the knowledge of those intending to thrash out the point for their satisfaction I mention the passages in the foot-note below.⁹

The statement in the concluding stanza as to Ikṣvāku having become steady on adopting the changed outlook towards the sense objects as advised is also significant and negatives the possibility of his having retired to a forest and implies that he continued even thereafter to attend to his duties as a king, just as Arjuna began to fight on hearing the advice of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Rāma showed his readiness to accompany Viśvāmitra for the protection of his sacrificial ground and subsequently adopted the life of a householder.

7 It is very doubtful whether for this account the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* had depended upon a tradition derived from another earlier source because it is quite clear that he had drawn largely upon the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas* for the names of the characters in the nearly 4 dozen *Ākhyānas* and *Upākhyānas* contained therein, upon the *Mānva and other Tantra works* besides the *Gaṇḍapāda Kārikā* for its main doctrine and even on some classical works such as the *Meghadūta* and *Varāṅga-tataka* for the models of his descriptions etc, and above all, there are scores of stanzas and half and quarter stanzas in the *Arjunopākhyānā* which appear to have been borrowed from the *Bhagavadgītā*, as shown by me at length in my paper on "Yogavāsiṣṭha and Bhagavadgītā" read at the first Delhi session of the I P Congress in December, 1936. On the other hand there are certain episodes such as that of the Akāśaśa in the *Utpatti-prakarṇa* which appear to have been the inventions of the author, and some such as that of Śikhidhvaja in the *Nirvāṇa*, whose characters, though appearing to be historical, cannot be traced to any known source. I have however mentioned this dialogue between Manu and Ikṣvāku because its contents seem to support the statement of the author of the *Gītā* that the Karma-yoga tradition had been transmitted by Manu to Ikṣvāku.

9 Cf B G IV 20-21 and L Y V VI 13 99-100, B G XII 15 and L Y V VI 13 103, B G III 27-28 and L Y V VI 13 51-52, B G IV 41-42 and L Y V VI 13 53, B G XVIII 14-16 and L Y V VI 13 76, B G XVI 14-16 and L Y V VI 13 85, B G XI 54, and L Y V VI 13, 109 and so on.

10 L Y V VI 5 which is an abridged version of that contained in Y. V. VI/1. 52-55.

III.—Partial clarification of its subsequent development in the *Gītā* itself, and corroboration thereof by accounts in other works

8 The first stanza in chapter IV of the *Gītā* narrates the transmission of the Karma-yoga tradition for two generations only. The second therein says only roundly that the said Yoga thus handed down from generation to generation was known to the royal sages but that after the lapse of considerable time the tradition about it was broken, and the third says that it was revived by Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he imparted the knowledge thereof to Arjuna because he was his devotee and friend. It is therefore a point for investigation who were the royal sages who had kept alive that tradition for a long period after the death of Ikṣvāku. As to that the *Gītā* itself contains at another place¹¹ a statement that "Janaka and others" had attained "Samādhī" by Karma itself. We cannot however get from that much definite information even as to one individual because "Janaka" was the family name of the kings of Videha from Mithilā onwards according to Patṅger¹², who relies for that statement on *Vāy.* 89.23 and *Brahmaṇḍa* III. 64.24, and cites the instances of several named individual kings of that dynasty who have also been called by the generic name "Janaka" there and in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa*¹³. We also know that the father of Sītā, whose personal name was Śradhvaśa has been called "Janaka" several times in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. With regard to all the kings of Videha having their capital at Mithilā, founded by the said Mithilā¹⁴, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says¹⁵ that all those kings of Mithilā were well-versed in the "Ātmavidyā" (Science of the Self) and free from the "Dvandvas" (pairs of opposites such as attachment and hatred) through the grace of the Yogeśvaras. The Yogeśvaras there referred to are the 9 of the sons of Rābha, the Ādinātha or first Tīrthahara of the Jāinas, whose names were Kavi, Hari and others as given in another Skandha of the same *Purāṇa*, where it is also stated that the king of Mithilā whom they had instructed in the *Bhāgavata* Dharma was Nimi, son of Ikṣvāku¹⁶. Here then we have a part corroboration of the statement in the *Gītā*. It cannot be said to be a complete one because Nimi, though a son of Ikṣvāku, had not come to know Karma-yoga from his father but from the Yogeśvaras, who were Kṣātriyas who had devoted their lives to the realisation of the true self of man and to the good of mankind by imparting knowledge there-

11 B G III 20

12 Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p 95, f n 5

13 Op cit. f n's 6-13

14 Bh Pu IX 13 13

15 Op cit IX 13, 27

16 Op cit XI 2 15-27 read with IX 13 L

of and of the means for its realisation, to the deserving. That it was Karma-yoga, not Jñāna-yoga which emphasises the necessity of physical renunciation, which they had expounded to the King is evident from the nature of the questions and answers recorded in the *Bhāgavata*¹⁷, and from the concluding remark of the sage Nārada, who had narrated the dialogue, to the effect that "on hearing the exposition of the Bhāgavatā Dharmas the king accompanied by his family priest adored the sages, and that thereafter the Siddhas disappeared into an inner plane while those present there were looking on and that the king having followed the Dharmas (rules of conduct) attained "Paramā Gatiḥ". The general statement that the Kings of Mithilā were all well-versed in the Ātmavidyā is also borne out to a certain extent by the occurrence of dialogues on philosophical topics between Janakas of the names of Karāla, Vasumāna, the father of Devarāta, Devarāta, Dharmadhīva and a king of Videha who had become the instructor of Śuka Yogi, because before retirement he had been advised by his father to go and meet the king, given in the Mokṣadharmas of the *Sānti-parvan*¹⁸. From amongst those, two of the Janakas whose personal names have not been given but who appear to be the father of Devarāta and he himself, who were contemporaries of Yājñavalkya, are mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*¹⁹. And Pargiter mentions²⁰ that there are stories about several of the Janakas in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu, Garuḍa* and others. From these sources then it is clear that proficiency in the Adhyātmavidyā had been inherited by the descendants of at least one of the sons of Ikṣvāku.

9. It is not clear to me who except two were the other Aikṣvākas who exerted themselves to keep alive the tradition and who were the other Kṣatriyā rulers meant to be understood to be included in the same category as the Janakas. The one exception from amongst the Aikṣvākas is that of Bṛhadratha, in the *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣat*²¹, wherein there is an account of the teaching imparted to him by the sage Śākāyana and the other is that of Rāmacandra to whom, according to the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha*, the sage Vasiṣṭha, who was his contemporary, had expounded the Adhyātmavidyā.

17 Op cit XI 2 15 to 5 42

18 Op cit XI 5 43-44

19 MBH XII 3 130, 137, 138, 146, 148 153-54,

20 Bṛhad An Upa III 1-9, IV 1-4

21 AIHT p. 95 f n 5, p 96 f n's 3-13.

22 Mai Upa 1-5

IV—Other accounts in the Upaniṣads of Brāhmaṇas approaching Kṣatriyas for instruction in the Adhyātmavidyā

10 It is remarkable that the instructors of all the Videhas except the first were Brāhmaṇa sages, there being Vasistha in the case of Karāla, Bhṛgu in that of Vasumāna, Yājñavalkya in those of Devarāta and his father, Pañcasūkha in that of Dharmadhvaja and Vyāsa in that of his contemporary Janaka. It is therefore not proper to take their instances as supporting the statement in the *Gītā* as to the tradition having been carried on by the Kṣatriyas amongst themselves. There are however some instances in the *Upaniṣads* of the opposite character: i.e. to say, instances of Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Karma-kāṇḍa but totally ignorant of Brahmanavidyā and Adhyātmavidyā approaching royal sages for instructions on topics connected with the latter on the ground that they had been thinking about them. Thus for instance, there is that of Prayābana Jaivali in the *Chāṇḍogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*²³, that of Asvapati Kekaya in the *Chāṇḍogya*²⁴, that of Ajātasairu Kāśya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Kauṣṭhī*²⁵ and that of Citra Gārgya in the latter²⁶. These are no doubt stray instances and it is not possible to determine with any degree of confidence in which age those Kṣatriyas lived and whether or not they were in any way related to one another and who were their ancestors. What they however help to determine is that whereas many of the Brāhmaṇas, though learned in the Vedas and acquainted with the sacrificial rites, were not able to solve the problems of metaphysics which others put to them or which arose in their own minds, Kṣatriyas were able to do so at some period in the development of philosophical speculation. The fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi, who later on evolved²⁷ the famous Mahāvākya "Tat tvam asi", which is one of the four such formulas on which the Vedānta doctrine of the identity of the individual with the supreme soul is based, who also established the equally important Vedānta doctrine that which exists could not have been produced from that which did not exist and that the reverse of it only can be true²⁸, and who acquired the miraculous power implied in the account of the Man-

23 Chān Upa I 8-9, V 10 Bṛhad Ā Upa VI 2

24 Chān Upa V 11

25 Bṛhad Ā Upa II 1-3, Kauṣṭ B Upa IV

26 Kauṣṭ B Upa I-II

27 Chān Upa VI 8-15

28 Op cit VI, 2

the doctrine²⁹ was once ignorant of the reason for and course of transmigration and of the *Pañcāgnyīdyā*³⁰, which formed part of the Karma-yoga and had therefore to go to *Pravāhaṇa Jaivali* to learn it, and also of the true nature of the *Vaiśvānara*³¹, for learning which he had to go to *Aśvapati Kekaya*. Above all, it is very significant that *Jaivali* reminds *Gautama Uddālaka* before instructing him that the said *Vidyā* had never before been communicated to the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kṣatriyas* alone having command over it in all the regions³².

V Concluding remarks

11 It is thus apparent from the above investigation that the assertions contained in stanzas 1-3 of chapter IV of the *Bhagavadgītā* as to the origin and transmission of the Karma-yoga doctrine for a long period amongst the *Kṣatriyas* alone are borne out substantially by the ancient *Paurāṇic* and *Vedic* literatures. The further assertion therein that some time prior to the time of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* or to that of the composition of the *Bhagavadgītā* the tradition had become interrupted also appears to have been borne out by the fact of some of the *Janakas* and *Bṛhadratha* being required to take instructions therein from *Brāhmaṇa* sages. Lastly, the inference of *Garbe*³³ that this break must have occurred between the times of *Buddha* and *Paṭaliptā* cannot be deemed to have been born out by the said evidence because *King Bṛhadratha*, who was instructed by *Śākāyanya*, after he had renounced his kingdom according to the *Mātrāyaṇī Upaniṣat*,³⁴ must be the well-known founder of the *Bṛhadratha* dynasty and because even the last of the *Bṛhadrathas*, of whom *Jarāsandha*, contemporary of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* was one had preceded the advent of the *Saisunāga* dynasty on the throne of *Magadha*, and *Bimbisāra* and *Ajātasatru* of *Magadha* were the contemporaries of *Lord Buddha*.³⁵ The said inference also appears to be not well-founded when we remember that the time of decadence of the doctrine, which the author of the *Gītā* has been referring to, is one prior to the age of *Śrī*

29 *Bṛhad Ā Upa* VI 3

30 *Chāh Upa* V 3 10

31 *Op cit* 11-24

32 *Op cit* 3.3.

33 Introduction to the German translation of the *Gītā*, translated into English by N. B. Udgar, p 33

34 *Mai Upa* I 1

35. History of Indian Literature by Winternitz, Vol I, pp 474, 524; Outline of Ancient Indian History by R. C. Majumdar, p 92

^A Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, who obviously lived long before Lord Buddha. That time therefore goes beyond 11th to 15th B C at least. Which it must have been cannot be determined without going at length into the history of the Bhāgavata religion, whose origin goes back to the age in which were composed some of the hymns in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda, as shown by me in my paper on that subject and on the origin of the Jain religion³⁶.

(43) VARTI OR PSYCHOSIS

by

DR P T RAJU, PH D, SASTRI,

University of Rojputana

The present paper deals with the doctrine of psychosis, as upheld by the advaitins. Again, it deals, not with all kinds of psychosis, but only with that involved in ordinary perception. Psychosis further is to be understood in the sense of the normal function of mind, not in that of the abnormal. In short, this is a paper on epistemology.

In spite of a healthy realistic epistemological attitude on the whole in their doctrine of illusion, the advaitins give also a psychological explanation of perception. They are not prepared to treat the object of illusion as a mere object of imagination, not even as an object remembered, but as an object having a peculiar kind of existence called the *anvayavasthā* or inexplicable. Yet they say that, in perception, the *vṛtti* of the internal organ (*manohāraṇa*) goes out to the object and takes its form, which is known as the object. Again, when the question is raised about the relation between the *vṛtti* that assumes the form of the object and the object whose form is assumed by the *vṛtti*, they say that it is *tādātmya*, which, when properly translated, would mean identity in self or essence. Hence it becomes difficult to understand how a psychological process can be identical, even in essence or *ātmyam*, with the object, which we regard as physical. Hence some amount of psychologism appears to have entered the epistemology of the advaitin, which one may find unjustifiable.

But this unjustifiability is only apparent, for no one would say that the problem of truth does not have its psychological side as well. Perception involves the workings of the senses and mind, and so the admission of the role of these psychological processes would not turn one's epistemology into psychology. The advaitins themselves are not willing to turn their epistemology into psychology, as shown by their theories of illusion.

What could they mean then when they say that the *vṛtti* takes on the form of the object? Are we to understand that there is an object with all its qualities existing independently of the *vṛtti*, and is contacted

by it for taking the form? Indeed, the advaitins are not clear on the point. Yet their realism obliges them to say that there is an object independent of the *vyti*.

Should we then interpret the *vyti* as taking an *objective form* rather than the *form of an object*? In the former case, the form is psychological but with an objective intent, and in the latter case, there is already an object with a form of its own to be assumed by the *vyti* different from the object and its form. We know that the qualities supposed to belong to the objects do not *completely* belong to them and that the qualities, though attributed to the objects and not to the mind, are not *completely* independent of the mind. So if the object with its qualities is, in a sense, a product of the mental process or *vyti*, it would be less untenable to say that the *vyti* assumes an objective form than to say that it assumes the form of an object inclusive of its qualities. For, if the object, in some sense, is a product of the *vyti*, in that sense it cannot be independent of the *vyti*, and so far it would be unreasonable to say that the *vyti* assumes the form of the object, which is other than itself.

But if this form of the object is not other than the *vyti*, the very foundation of realism would be lost. If this objection is true, we should have to say that the object with its form exists independently of the *vyti* and the *vyti* assumes the form of the object.

How then is realism to be defended, while admitting the role of *Vyti*? The advaitin's answer can be found in their doctrine of the dream. In the dream the *vyti* divides itself into the subject and the object. The subject possesses the dream body, and through it sees the dream object. And so long as the subject passes through the dream, he does not feel that it is a dream and a mere fabrication of mind. But when he comes down to the waking state, he realizes that both his dream body and his dream objects were the products of his mind, that is, of its *vyti*.

The importance of dream for epistemology has not yet been fully recognised. The feature of dream that is of significance in this connection is that, though the objects are products of the *vyti*, so long as the dream lasts they are not experienced as imaginary and subjective, but as independent of the dream subject and affecting it in spite of itself. That they are not independent of the mind is realized by us only when we come out of the dream. Nay, there is something more, not only the dream object but also the dream subject is a product of the *vyti*, and both are the products of the same *vyti* splitting itself into the subjective and the objective poles of dream experience. And this fact is realized by us when dream is transcended. The dream is subjective not from the stand-point of the dream subject but from the stand-point of that of the waking consciousness: the mind of the waking subject then is the unity of the dream subject and dream object.

Can we explain waking experiences also in a similar way? The advaitin holds that we can and should. Just as the underlying unity of the duality of the dream subject and dream object is realized by us in the *vr̥t̥ti* of the waking subject, the unity underlying the duality of the waking subject and its object can be realized at a still higher level, which has therefore to be postulated. A spontaneous *vr̥t̥ti* breaks itself up into the subjective and objective poles of experience at the waking level also. Just as the underlying unity of the dream duality cannot be generally realized at the dream level itself, the unity underlying the duality of the waking consciousness cannot generally be realized at the waking level itself. This is an implication of the *vr̥t̥ti*'s spontaneity. That is, if the subject of the waking consciousness knows that its mind is creating the form of the object, then the object will cease to be a perceptual object and becomes an imaginary one. When we say that the *vr̥t̥ti* belongs to the subject, we do not mean that it is worked by him deliberately, but that it works *through* him.

The *vr̥t̥ti* and the *antahkaraṇa* to which it belongs are generally regarded as belonging to the body, the subject, the person or the centre of experience. But there are serious ambiguity and vagueness in all these expressions. The very word *antahkaraṇa* is misleading. It means the inner sense but inner to what? we tend to jump to the conclusion that it is inner to the body. It was this tendency that led to the location of the mind in the pineal gland, the heart etc. For a similar reason the Nāyāyikas treat mind as atomic, capable of flying with infinite speed from sense to sense within the body. But we should not forget that, according to the advaitin, mind is *vibhū* (all-pervasive) and not limited to the body. Then how can an all-pervasive entity be inner to the body? It would be truer to say that the body is inner to the mind or *antahkaraṇa*. Here again we have to say that just as a self-same mind comprehends both the dream subject and the dream object, a self-same mind comprehends both the subject and object of the waking consciousness also.

It is this spontaneity of the *vr̥t̥ti* and transcendence by the *antahkaraṇa* of the physical body, with which the subject is generally associated, that enable the advaitin to retain the objectivity of the object of perception and its independence of the subject associated with the body. That is, the subject associated with the body is not free to give whatever form it likes to the object, the form is given to the subject by the *vr̥t̥ti* working *through* him. The objective existence of the object is forced on him; he has no control over its existence, otherwise, perception would not be different from imagination.

We have next to ask the question: if the *vr̥t̥ti* working through a certain individual divides itself into the subjective and objective forms, and then appears to the individual as an object, why is that object seen by another individual as the same object seen by the first individual? To answer this question, we have then to postulate not only a unity underlying any subject and its object but also a unity underlying such unities.

Such a unity of unities is postulated by the Advaita in accordance with the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. It is the cosmic person, which again has, like the individual, the three states of waking, dream and deep sleep, called respectively Virāt, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Īśvara. Virāt is the cosmic unity working through the individuals in their waking state, Hiraṇyagarbha is the same working through the centres in their dream state, and Īśvara again the same working through the centres in their deep sleep, in which all the *vāsanās* and *samskāras* lie latent.

We may summarize as to how the advaitin retains his realism, while yet treating the objects as due to *vytti*. First, though the *vytti* belongs to him, it is not worked by him, but works *through* him. So it is different from imagination, which is worked by him voluntarily. *Vytti* forms images, if by images we mean the forms possessed by the objects. It has, therefore, something in common with imagination. In fact, imagination also is a form of *vytti*. But the peculiar objective attitude we have in perception is lacking in imagination. In imagination, we do not feel that the object is forced upon us, but rather we create the object with our imagination, which is a voluntary power. The *vytti* of perception assumes a peculiar individuated form, not at the choice of the individual, but even in spite of him. Secondly, even the spontaneous *vytti* of the individual assumes not merely an *objective form* or a form towards which the individual adopts an objective attitude, but also the *form of an object* which means that there is a factor controlling the activities of even this spontaneous *vytti*, and is supplied by the principles of Virāt, Hiraṇyagarbha and Īśvara.

So far as the spiritual atmosphere of the Advaita is concerned, the above account of the *vytti* is consistent and reasonable. But one may ask: Why should the spontaneity of the *vytti* of the individual be explained in terms of spiritual entities like Virāt, Hiraṇyagarbha and Īśvara? One may as well say that this spontaneity is natural or due to Nature. But then this is a question of the spiritual versus the naturalistic views of the universe, and to answer it we have to go beyond the scope of the present paper.

XIII — TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

(44) INDIAN ART AND IDEOLOGY

by

SRI ASIT K HALDAR

The historians and art-critics of the West had to acknowledge that "Indian art had fallen into undeserved neglect in the Victorian Era" and a true appreciation of its spiritual meaning was due to the work of three pioneers—E B Havell, Anand Coomarswamy and Dr Abanindra Nath Tagore. As regards the apathy of the early European art-critics, Professor Wilkinson writes "the main reason for this is simply that Europe would not lift its heavy eyes and look beyond its borders" (*vide* 'Indian Art'-essays by H G Rawlinson, K de B. Cordington, J. V S Wilkinson and John Irwin 1948). Another reason for such misunderstanding, he points out, "it was difficult for the European to see with Indian eyes without Indian guidance. Indian paintings were accordingly under-estimated and misunderstood."

Dr Coomarswamy and Havell were hardly understood by our Indian scholars of old generation and they never could take their works as authoritative versions. Among a few others, who took up their pen in India, were those who looked at it as a part of the national awakening and as such found an opportunity to make the selves known by advocating renaissance in Bengal. They in fact looked at the outer fringe of Indian art and began writing on it in a scholarly manner without understanding much of its inner meaning and ideology. This accounts for the utter negligence by our countrymen of the good work done by Dr Abanindra Nath Tagore and his pupils for over quarter of a century. We now notice that some of our modern artists, (like the artists of the early Victorian Era) have again begun to brush aside the traditional art of India to achieve something new by deliberately imitating the Surrealist, or Dada School of Art in modern Europe. Tradition to these artists means imitation of the past and as such intrinsic value of the past experience lost all significance to them. When we praise Kālidāsa we should know how much he was indebted to Vālmiki for producing his epoch-making 'kāvyā'. Indian art which continued for over two thousand years, up to the early 19th century in Cochin, Travancore and also subsequently thrived in the folk-art of Bengal up to the beginning of the 20th century, received a great blow and lost its distinctive ideology and dignity in the hands of our so-called

modern artists and art-critics After Havell and Coomarswamy, we have unfortunately got no one to throw more light on the meanings and vitality of traditional art and possibilities of its adaptation to suit the modernist's outlook

If we, on the other hand, trace the development of European art, we would see that it continued for a long time (after Gothic and Byzantine period) developing realistic aspect of pictorial composition in a most scientific manner with multifarious Christian romantic conception With the advent of photography and the two successive wars, the ideology of European art, painting and sculpture lost all its charm due to the scientific approach in all sphere of life's activity Europe left its pure form of art of painting long ago in Gothic and Byzantine art A modern European art-critic, Maurice Dennis describing the ideology of some of the modern art of Europe unwittingly defined pure form of traditional Indian painting and said, "a picture is a plane surface covered with colours assembled in a certain order" Indian art does not differ fundamentally, but only when he advocates that it should not convey any emotion, romanticism or traditional bias According to another art-critic of the West, Claude Jannot, "the painters of Europe have tried new experiments, taken lessons from the East and from Africa and turned towards the middle ages"

According to Indian conception, a painting 'citra' literally means a creation which evokes surprise ('āścarya'). Therefore it never meant to be a photographic likeness of Nature Moreover to understand art of both Oriental and Occidental countries in their true perspective, we should know about their historical development and ideologies Art developed along with the increase of interest in life and growth of culture Art, like religion, therefore can never be devoid of life's ambition and as such it is impossible to make it secular Fundamental differences of Oriental and Occidental art therefore lies in their respective approach Secular and personal art can only appeal to cliques and like fashion can disappear, but a heroic art unites a whole race in one spiritual foundation In this respect what Hindu-Buddhist and Christian art did to Asia and Europe can well be ascertained through their continual achievements of several centuries The inner significance of the religious form of Oriental art can be explained through their multifarious examples Hokusai, a great Oriental artist (of Japan) explaining the function of an artist said that he must identify himself with his subject which he paints in a spiritual sphere, and it should be an insult to credit him with observation, for to observe, implies a separation from that which is observed It is likewise a test of art, that it should enable spectator to forget himself and to become its object, as he does in dreams But this procedure is not really a short one "Only when", he said, "I was seventy-three had I got some sort of insight into the real structure of Nature, at the age of eighty shall have advanced still further, at ninety I shall grasp the mystery of things; at a hundred I shall be a marvel and at a hundred and ten every blot and every line

from my brush shall be alive." This mystic experience bears the 'reality'-the Eternal truth, which has been explained in Hindu-Buddhist philosophy. Oneness of things was felt in 'ākāśa'-(space) and in 'śr̥ṣṭi'-(matter). Artist can feel oneness with the object he depicts in his works, provided he can understand the symbolism and ideology which framed the whole structure of our ancient Indian philosophy.

Indian artists never ventured to copy Nature realistically and therefore sometimes invented awe-inspiring symbols which a man could hardly visualise through his senses. In 'Bhagavad Gita', the Viśva-rūpa, is an artistic conception of the 'Virāṭa-Purusa'—the infinity, ever expanding all permeating force,—the abstract and absolute truth. Symbols are concrete expressions, much easier to disseminate the spiritual value in human mind. The ceremonial symbols of Paurāṇic types were evolved to convey more meaning in a greater vividness within a simple structure. Indian mythology with artistic symbolism can claim much scope for concrete interpretations, of human mind. Rossetti or Blake, however strong they may have been in their allegorical conceptions, they had to invent deliberately symbolism of their own to express respective mental images through paintings. But an Indian artist can express such allegorical meanings in their work provided he can utilise symbolisms after understanding them from common ritualistic objects, expressing multifarious aspects of manifestations of divine spirit. These symbolisms had sound meanings and were understood by the man in the street, but due to our secular form of general education and also for the unwillingness on the part of the orthodox priests to explain, their inner significance remained a closed chapter for us. Otherwise infinite variety of allegorical and abstract form of original paintings, with the back-ground of high-class scientific education of the artists were possible. If we have to live as a nation, we shall have to thrive just as other nations of the world with their respective cultural heritage and are genuinely proud of their distinctive art tradition and its ideology. Some of them are making experimental efforts to bring about a solution for a secular form of art. In all these diverse outlook of the nations blossom variety of art-forms, just as the flowers of different land thrive in their own particular soil. Such unity in diversity can be traced all over the world in music, painting, dancing, sculpture, architecture and also in languages, physiognomical character and dresses. We all can tolerate and understand their value and respect them. Similarly our own distinctive culture, which has got a great traditional background, cannot be ignored.

All ceremonial symbols convey more meaning in a concrete way and with greater vividness than in any other verbal formulae. Symbols are languages much easier to understand and learn in order to express the spiritual reality through them. Some aspect of the divine can be clearly defined. In India such symbols (Māhgalika) are to be found in abundance. 'Śaṅkha' (conch) 'Cakra' (wheel) and 'Padma' (lotus) and 'Vajra' (thunder) are constantly employed in both art and religion. Of

all symbols the wheel of a chariot, which is the emblem of all progress, took great significance in both art and religion. The kings and priests were called 'Chakravarti'. Sorrows and pleasure of life have been constantly compared to a wheel movement. The chariot stands for the psycho-physical vehicle as which or in which according to our knowledge of 'who we are' we live and move. The steeds are senses, the reins their controls, the mind the coachman and the spirit (Ātman) the charioteer (Sārathi). Lord Kṛṣṇa preached 'Bhagavad Gītā' standing on a chariot. Buddha turned his wheel of Eternal Law Divine (Dharma). In early Indian art when making images of Buddha was forbidden, the wheel took its place to symbolise his dynamic teaching. Aesthetic and religious experience burst forth with an exuberance of manifestations through the symbolic representation of the wheel in ancient India. The "Svastika" symbol (though invented much earlier than Hindu Buddhist civilisation) took root in art and religion as it also came from the wheel pattern. In this pattern the infusion of 'Purusa' (energy) and 'Prakṛti' (matter) is expressed in two opposite curvatures out of which all creation was possible. In another way, the constitution of worlds and individuals is compared to a wheel in India. We therefore find that early Indian art, in caves and temples, human figures and numerous scenes of life carved and painted, bore this effect of the wheel, and a rhythmic and dynamic wave persisted. It can easily be traced in the composition of sculptural panels and in paintings. A warm current of mystical consciousness, the forces of the 'wheel of life', can be observed in all Buddhist Hindu art. The 'wheel-order' is evident in the circular composition, the gestures of the 'Kṛṣṇa-bhaṅga' and 'Ati-bhaṅga' poses of the human figures of Ajanta, in the Bagh caves, Sanchi and Bharut paintings and sculpture. The curve of the limbs and poses of the figure apparently indicate the wheel movement which was ultimately adopted in all Hindu Buddhist art of the Asiatic countries Khotan, Miran, Tarsan to China, Java, Cambodia and Japan, through the infusion of the Mahāyana Buddhist religion, in early days.

In this way, Indian artists were rich in symbolical motifs in art and not isolated examples like Rossetti, Blake and few others to evoke symbolical and spiritual meaning deliberately. Artists of India could therefore afford to be visionaries and mystics. The central abstract and spiritual aspect of all undifferentiated creatures of this earth have been defined by them through multifarious symbolism. The central philosophical ideals found definite scope in visual art of this country. We can find this ideology of Indian art through the analysis of the inner spirit of human mind and its nature as described by the Indian sages. According to the Hindu religion, which primarily aimed at philosophy the creative power of God Eternity is 'Māyā' ultimately transformed itself into 'Kāma' (desire) and 'Sahkalpa' (determination), which are essential aspects of all human activities. 'Prakṛti' (Nature) consists of three, distinctive forms of virtues (Gūṇas) and all human beings are subject to their influence, they remain active in the psychological sphere in

'Sattva'-purity, 'Rajas'-activity and passion, 'Tamas'-apathy and darkness

According to Bhagavad Gītā, Sattva, 'Rajas' and 'Tamas' are nature-born-guṇas (virtues), which bind fast in the human body of which 'Sattva' forms its stainlessness, luminous and healthy expression bound by attachment to wisdom. Whereas, 'Rajas' having the nature of passion, is the source of the attachment to the thirst for life, that binds the dweller of the body by the attachment for action, but 'Tamas' born of unwisdom, indolence and sloth. In other words, 'Sattva' attaches to bliss, 'Rajas' to action, and 'Tamas' having shrouded wisdom is attached, on the contrary, to negligence. When the wisdom light streams forth from all gates of the body, then it may be known that 'Sattva' is increasing. Greed, outgoing energy, undertaking of action, restlessness and desire these are born of the increase of 'Rajas', darkness, stagnation and negligence as well as delusion are born of increase of 'Tamo-guṇa'. All artists and poets of our country observed these ideologies in classifying their art and literature. I had the good fortune of meeting the last of the indigenous 'Pat' artists (Folk artists) of Kalighat (Bengal), who used to classify their works in the same manner. All paintings depicting Gods and Goddesses were classified by them as work of 'Sattva-guṇa'. Rajoguṇa type of paintings were generally birds, animals, fish or a lady in toilet, etc., and 'Tamo-guṇa' type pictures were unhappy married couple beating each other, a demon devouring a lady and such other hideous scenes. If we analyse the art of Europe through our ideology, all types of Biblical paintings including Madonna can be classed as 'Sattva-guṇa' type of work, all landscape and portraits as 'Rajas' and all ultramodernist's experiments in art in Europe, which contained the element of pride and destruction, can be classed as 'Tamas' art. These reactionary art-forms obviously originated due to the two successive world wars.

We can now, according to the 'Sanskrit Kāvya-Alaṅkāra Śāstra' divide these three elementary virtues (guṇas) in nine different types of Rasas 'Bhāvas'.

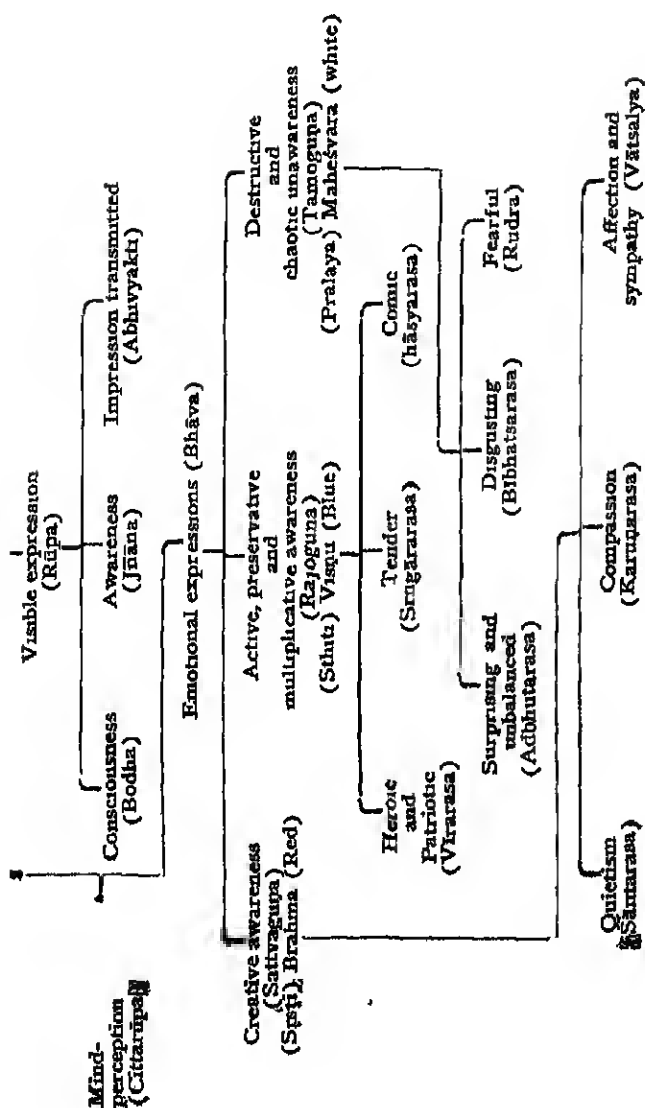
Sattva-Guṇa essentially contains the following three virtues — (1) 'Śānta-rasa' (the quietistic) which brings peace in mind with the philosophical outlook on life, (2) 'Karuṇa-rasa' (the compassion) evoked through the death and calamity of the fellow-beings, (3) 'Vātsalya-rasa' (affection for all creatures).

Rajoguṇa contains — (1) 'Vīra-rasa' (the heroic expression and courage with which people fight for their country, patriotism, charity and all other works containing ethical morals), (2) 'Śṛṅgāra-rasa' or 'Ādi-rasa' (the Tender) which evokes love in man and woman essential for biological reproduction, (3) 'Hāsya-rasa' (provoking laughter and humour).

In *Tamo-Guṇa* we find -- (1) 'Adbhuta-rasa' (surprising and unbalanced element in our mind), (2) 'Bihhatsa-rasa'—(the disgusting), (3) 'Raudra-rasa' (the fearful expression). These three Rasas are all psychological unsophisticated and primitive expressions of a child or a cave-man. It contained anger, pride and destructive elements. No artist can therefore escape from the above mentioned 'guṇas' and 'bhāvas' whether he prefers modernist ideology of Europe or spiritual abstractness of Indian Art. Vālmiki wrote about them in his epic 'Rāmāyṇa' explaining the aim and object of his 'kāvyā'.

The Artists of ancient India never considered that reality of existence is based on its apparent seed of origin. It went further to the absolute—the centre-point of the wheel of life. In one of the Ajanta frescoes a wheel of life is depicted in which all aspects of human life and activities are shown between the axles of it.

With the abstraction of various aspects (guṇas) of the life expression, civilised man invented many symbols and patterns of art. Of course, such symbols depend upon the range, depth and exactitude of his apprehension. He should have an analytical power to discriminate and a trained mind and habit to hold the sequence of individual definitions in thought and imagination, compare them with each other, determine just where and how they focus sharp and clear meanings, ideals and attitude. The following chart may further explain it --



Sattva Imagination, i.e., bringing the image within. A very sensitive person can only possess such a faculty of experiencing para-normal phenomena and realise the supreme truth of "Self" (Ātmā). Psychic phenomena—phenomena of the soul are revealed to him.

All works of art done out of imagination, subjective, objective or abstract which bring peace.

Rajas. Focussed towards worldly activities and bringing materialistic gains.

All works of art with commercial objectives—landscape and portrait paintings included.

Tamas Representing unbalance of mind—vague, inchoate representations.

All art of primitive immature imagination, and perception.

(45) THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF GEYA NĀTAKAM.

by

Ma. P. SAMBAMURTI

Concerts heard in India can be classified into —

1. Those belonging to the realm of pure music, and
2. Those belonging to the realm of applied music

In the former, music is enjoyed for its own sake, irrespective of the ideas contained in the sāhityas. A kṛti like *Koluvayunnāde* in *Bhairavi* rāga is enjoyed because of its admirable musical construction and the tāna style of development. When *Viṇā* or *Nāgasvaram* is played we enjoy the music in all its fullness. Instrumental concerts are concerts of pure music. Gāunarasa or aesthetic pleasure is the feeling experienced on such occasions. In concerts of applied music, the music serves as a vehicle for the effective portrayal of the ideas contained in the sāhitya. The music in combination with the sāhitya produces the desired rasa. In applied music, music is used for a specific purpose. Music herein is only a means to an end and not an end by itself. Through instrumental music, solo or orchestral, it is possible within certain limits to create the nava rāsas and feelings like loneliness, forest life, detachment from the world, affection, mystery, repentance, tenderness and devotion. The Gēyanātakam or opera belongs to the sphere of applied music.

Concerts belonging to the sphere of applied music are many. The *Kathā Kālakṣepam* of the South corresponds to the *Klitan* of the North, this and the *Bhajana* provide examples of concerts of sacred music. In the *purāṇa paṭhanam*, the verses are sung to wellknown rāgas like *Kēdāragaula* and *Ānandabhairavi* and they have a mass appeal. The *Nṛitya Nāṭakam* inclusive of the *Bhāgavatamelanāṭakam*, *Kuchipudi Nāṭakam*, *Kuṭi avanjī Nāṭakam*, *Yakṣagāna* and *Kathakali* come under applied music. *Bommalāṭam* (Puppet Show), *Nizhalāṭam* (Shadow Play), *Terukkutṭu* (*Vīṭhi Nāṭakam* or the Street Drama), are instances of folk plays wherein music plays a prominent part. In

Kummi, Kolāṭṭam, Pinnal Kolāṭṭam, Kaikoṭṭikali, gobbī, gaiba and Rāsa some of the finest specimens of folk music can be heard. Recitals of Ballads, Warsongs and performances of martial music come under concerts of secular music.

Concert Parties are of the mobile or stationary type. A Nāgas-waram Party performing before a Deity is a temple procession, a tēvāra bhajana gōṣṭhī following the deity on such an occasion, a military band performing while marching are instances of mobile concert parties. A party of musicians performing in a concert hall and a dance performance in a theatre are instances of concerts of stationary type. Bhajanas when performed in mandirs or temples on Ekādaśī and other sacred days furnish examples of stationary concert parties. Bhajana parties going along the streets singing sacred songs furnish examples of mobile concert parties. These are concerts which can be given in open air and concerts for which a hall with good acoustics is required. The Saṅgita Mahal in Tanjore is an ideal concert hall. When one performs there, he is reminded of the pleasant acoustics of the famous concert hall Gewandhaus in Leipzig in Germany. There are open air theatres in Gajjee and other places in South India.

The Nāṭakam or Drama, Nṛtya Nāṭaka or Dance Drama and Gēyanāṭaka or opera are popular in all civilised countries. In the nāṭaka, the interest is principally in speech and action. In the Geyanāṭaka the interest is in speech, action and music. In the Nṛtya Nāṭaka the interest is in speech, action, music and dance. Music is an integral part of the Geyanāṭaka just as dancing is that of the Nṛtya Nāṭaka.

Nāṭakas and Nṛtya Nāṭakas have been in existence from ancient times. They were staged either in properly constructed theatres or in theatres improvised for the purpose. In a drama, the presence of music is just incidental. On account of its literary value, a Nāṭaka is also read and enjoyed. Recitals of Nāṭakas are also given. In the Gēyanāṭaka, the music forms a vital part of the play. The fullest enjoyment comes only when we witness an opera properly enacted and with proper musical accompaniments. On account of their musical and literary value sometimes even recitals of Gēyanāṭakas are given. Not infrequently a Bhāgavata takes up an opera and gives it as a musical discourse. His problem is simplified since the required songs and verses are there ready for him. In the history of Indian Music, Gēyanāṭakas come after the Nṛtya Nāṭakas, though strange it may seem. Gēyanāṭaka as an art form can emerge only when the art of music has been developed to a high degree of perfection. The art of dancing loomed large in ancient times. The terms Saṅgita in early times connoted Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtya. It is only in later times, that

with the development of Music we find the art of dance treated separately and Saṅgīta taken to mean Gīta and Vādyā. Almost all the standard works written on music till the beginning of the 14th century had chapters on dance. The later works written on Saṅgīta dealt with music alone and not with dance.

The nucleus of Gēyanāṭaka is seen in the Gīta Govinda of Jayadeva. The Aṣṭapadi hymns of Jayadeva constitute ideal dance lakṣya. Even now aṣṭapadis form the stock repertoire of prominent dancers. Works on the model of *Gīta Govinda* like the *Śrīvāṣṭapadī* of Śrī Chandrasekharendra Saraswati and the *Rāmāṣṭopadī* of Rāmakavi were written in later times.

The first work approximating to a Gēyanāṭaka to be written in Sanskrit is the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā Parakhyaṇī* of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha (17th Century). In this work, the songs intended for being danced to are few. Such songs have invariably sequences of jātis or rhythmical Mnemonics. The works of the later composer, Meeraṭṭi Venkaṭarāma Śāstri (18th and early 19th Century) are all dance dramas. The great composer Tyāgarāja (1767—1847) attended these dance dramas staged in Meeraṭṭi and later developed the pure Gēyanāṭaka. The Gēyanāṭaka reached perfection in his *Prahlāda Bhāṣa Vijayam* and *Nowkā Charitram*. The former is an opera in five acts and the latter an opera in one Act. The ślokas, padya, Cūṭukā and the darus (Varnana daru, Svagata daru and Samvāda daru) figuring in these two operas make them highly enjoyable.

The *Nandanūr Choritam* of Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa Bhārati is a typical opera in Tamil. Works like the *Rāmanāṭakam* of Arupāchala Kavirāyar (1711-1776) and *Bhārata Nāṭakam* of Muthurāmakkavirāyar may be produced as operas.

The Gēyanāṭaka is an indivisible music drama. Shorn of its music, the play will lose much of its charm. There is no prose. Beautiful songs and verses abound in them. Every character sings and acts his or her part. As the creation of rasa is important, only rakti ragas capable of producing emotional effects are used in Gēyanāṭakas. The tālas used in them are of the simpler variety. Rare rāgas, complicated tālas and difficult saṅgatis have no place in Gēyanāṭakas. The pātra pravēśa darus of Bhāgavata mēla nāṭakas are absent in Gēyanāṭakas.

Whereas in Gēyanāṭakas, classical music of a vivid character with an occasional sprinkling of folk tunes is used, in Yakṣagānaś Kuravaṇi Nāṭakas and Terukkūttu, folk tunes predominate. The śālitras of songs in Gēyanāṭakas are simple and straight. Their meanings are readily understood. The choral accompaniment is a

necessity in nritya nātakas but not in Gēyanātakas. A properly constituted orchestra, capable of producing tone-colour effects can provide an excellent accompaniment. Mukha gītas (overtures) can usefully be composed for Gēyanātakas. To write a good Gēyanāṭaka one has to be a poet, composer, dramatist, student of psychology and human nature, possess gifts at melody-making, have capacity for effective characterisation and conceiving musical dialogues and soliloquies and finally possess the sense to perceive how the whole thing will shine when produced on the stage. This accounts for the paucity of Gēyanāṭakas.

(46) AIDUKA

by

DR PRIYABALA SHAN

The word Aidūka is explained in Amarakośa as कुड्य "एवमुक्तं यदन्तर्गतरत्न-कीकलम् (2-2-4) that which has bones in its interior. Monier Williams Sanskrit—English Dictionary equates Aidūkā with Buddhādūka and compares it to a Buddhist Stūpa. The late Dr K P Jayaswal also in his "History of India (150 A D to 350 A D)", while discussing the passages from Mahābhārata (Vanaparva Ad 190) mentioning Aidūka takes it to mean a Buddhist Stūpa.

This identification, however, cannot be accepted in the light of the description of Aidūka given in Visvudharmottara (Khaṇḍa III, Ad 84). This Purāṇa (circa 500-700 A D) after describing different deities as various aspects of Vaiṣṇavī Trīmūrti in the preceding adhyāyas, devotes a whole adhyāya to its description. This description, which I shall discuss later on, leaves no doubt that Aidūka was a Brahmanical structure of worship. It would, therefore, be interesting to find out the origin or proto-type of Aidūka in Vedic literature.

The explanation of the mistaken identification of Aidūka with a Buddhist Stūpa must be sought in the probable similarity of their shape. The origin of stūpas is traced to the tumuli or sepulchres raised over the dead and containing the relics of the dead. (History of Indian and Indonesian art by Dr A. K. Coomaraswamy, p 30)

As I mentioned in the beginning, according to Amarakośa, Aidūka means a Kuḍya which has bones in its interior. This goes to prove that Aidūka and stūpa had similar purpose. We should, therefore, try to find out whether there is anything resembling tumuli or sepulchres in Vedic literature.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, we find discussions about various things pertaining to Śmaśāna or burial mounds. As this is a matter bearing on our subject I quote below relevant passages from that work pertaining to the disposal of the dead.

अवाप्तैः कृत्वाप्य कुर्वन्ति । अवाप्तैः दमयान कुर्वन्ति । गृहस्थः प्रश्नानि वा ।

अतुः अकि । देवाश्चासुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या दिक्स्वर्षम्भः । ते देवा असुरान्स्वपत्ना-
न्म्रातृभ्यान्विस्मयोऽनुवृन्त सेऽदिकाः पराभवस्तस्माद्या दैव्यः प्रजाश्चतुः सक्तीनि ताः
रमशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ वा असुर्यः प्राच्याश्चक्षुः स्वपरिमयश्चक्षानि सेऽनुवृन्त अ-
नादिः ॥ - - - - ।

अन्तर्धायो द्वैके निवपन्ति । देवाश्चासुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या अस्मिँल्लोकेऽस्वर्षम्भः । ते
देवा असुरान्स्वपत्नान्म्रातृभ्यान्विस्मोऽनुवृन्त तस्माद्या दैव्यः प्रजा अनन्तर्हितानि
ता रमशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ वा असुर्यः प्राच्याश्चक्षुः स्वान्तर्हितानि ते अस्मां
स्वयस्मिन् ॥

Julius Eggling translates the above passages as follows—

'They now do what is auspicious for him. They now prepare a burial place (Śmaśāna) for him to serve him either as a house or a monument' (K XIII Ad 8 B I Vol 44 Page 421)

'Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound) Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending in the (four) regions (quarters) The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome wherefore the people who are godly make their burial places four-cornered, whilst those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterns and others (make them) round, for they (the gods) drove them out from the regions' (S B E Vol 44, p 424)

Now some bank up (the sepulchral mound) after covering up (the site) The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending for (the possession of) this (terrestrial) world The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from this world, whence those who are godly people make their sepulchres, so as not to be separate (from the earth), whilst those (people) who are of the Asura nature, the Easterns and others, make their sepulchral mounds so as to be separated (from the earth), either on a basin or on some such thing' (S B E Vol 44, Page 429)

(The translator takes the word 'Camī' to be a shallow stone basin or trough, either solid or consisting of masonry (bricks) in the manner of stone-lined graves)

From the above passages of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the following three points may be noted —

- (1) There were two types of Śmaśānas, one used by Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ and the other by Āsuryaḥ Prāchyāḥ Prajāḥ

- (2) The Śmaśāna or the tumulus of the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ was four-cornered (चतुर्भुजः) while that of Āsuryaḥ Prācyāḥ etc round (परिमण्डलः)
- (3) The remains in the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ type were placed directly on the earth (अनन्तर्हिताग्निः) while those in the Āsurya type in a basin or a Camū (अन्तर्हिताग्निः से चमू)

These points clearly show that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa recognises two types or varieties of burial mounds—one of the Daivya people and the other of the Āsurya people, easterners etc

Now the question arises who were the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ and who were the Āsuryaḥ Prācyāḥ etc The Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ can be easily identified with the followers of the Vedic cult But who were the Āsuryaḥ Prācyāḥ etc? Egghog takes Prācyāḥ as distinct from Āsuryaḥ but we can take Prācyāḥ as qualifying Āsuryaḥ also, and can say that they were the followers of non-vedic cults prevalent in the Eastern parts of India Now it is well known to scholars that there were many such non-vedic sects in Magadha and other eastern parts of India before the time of Buddha and Mahāvira In fact they were the forerunners of the later śramaṇa sects, such as Jains, Buddhists, Ājīvikas etc As Prof D R Bhaudarkar says in his work, 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian culture', 'the Śramaṇas were an unbrahmanised non-vedic sect of recluses It also appears that the people of East India upto the 3rd cent A D had a socio-religious fabric of their own' (Page 53)

If this identification is correct, we can say that the Śmaśāna or tumulus of Āsuryaḥ, Prācyāḥ etc was one which was used by the eastern people following non-vedic cults In fact, we can say that the Śmaśāna of Āsuryaḥ, Prācyāḥ people was one from which the stūpa of Śramaṇas might have developed This is proved by two details of its description given in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa viz that it was round in shape and the remains in it were placed in a Camū or a basin The similarity of this type with stūpa is obvious

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the Daiva variety as four-cornered Vispudharmottara gives as the basis of Aidūka a Bhadrapiṭha which is also four-cornered Thus the basic identity of this form with Daiva Śmaśāna is quite clear

I must, however, confess that I have not succeeded in finding any mention of the word Aidūka in either the vedic Mantras or the Brāhmaṇas But the philological origin of the word Aidūka would

connect it with the Vedic root ईह् to praise or worship. Aīdūka can be grammatically explained as ईह् स्तुती-उक्कद्वय (सि०१०१) इति साधु । पदकत्वं इहम् इति पेदकम् ।

I may here mention that the word इह् also is derived from a root meaning to praise viz ह्यु. Another interesting point in connection with Aīdūka and Stūpa is that both Amara and Hemacandra do not give the word Stūpa in their Kośas, while both give identical definitions of Aīdūka. Dr V S Agrawala, however, regards Aīdūka as 'an old Prākṛta word for terrace derived from Eīdūka or Edūka meaning 'raised terrace'. In the text of Rāy Paśantiya Sutta edited with the commentary of Maḷayagiri, by Pt Behardas the reading in the text of R P is इह् while in the commentary of M is एदुक

It is explained by the commentator as Dehali—'the threshold of a door or a raised terrace in front of it according to M Williams. Aīdūka and Eīliya can, no doubt, phonologically be connected but the meaning of Eliya or Eduga is not identical with that of Edūka as given by Amara and Hemacandra. A word which has a connotation similar to that of Aīdūka mentioned in R P is गोदयसमुज्जय meaning a round casket. The casket contained the thigh bone of a jina as relic निवासकहा. It is said in the same text that this समुज्जय is an object of worship for Sūryabha god, and other gods and goddesses (R P pp 224-25). So Eliya of R P, to its author's mind at least, is not the same word as Eduka of Amara and Hemacandra. If the Eliya of R P were the Prākṛt form of Aīdūka meaning a receptacle containing a bone-relic, Hemacandra at least should have given the meaning of Dehali in his Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi or Anekārtha kośa. So I think that in spite of phonological similarity, we should, for the present, regard the Prākṛt Eliya and Sanskrit Aīdūka as two different words or merely homonyms.

So if we can ignore the absence of reference to the word Aīdūka in early Vedic literature, we may say that Aīdūka refers to the tumulus of the followers of the Brāhmanical cult, just as stūpa refers to that of Śramaṇa sects. The word must have come into vogue when these Śmaśāna structures must have become also places of worship.

The Śmaśāna provides another link also. The description in Viṇayadharmottara which starts with a Liṅga in the centre of its Bhadrapiṭha, as we shall see presently, clearly shows that though the Aīdūka which finds place for all the principal gods and cosmic elements, is in form basically a liṅga, a symbol of Śiva. The association of Śiva with śmaśāna is well known (विदुस्तद्वगोचरः Kumāra Sambhava Sarga

3 ślo 77) This association might have been responsible for the use of the word *Aidūka* for a structure sacred to Śiva and as the concept of Śiva developed into a god signifying the whole cosmos and harmonizing all dualities or contradictions, so his symbol *liṅga* was sublimated from being an image of a phallus into a symbol of the whole cosmos

Now let us consider the description of *Aidūka* as given in *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Khaṇḍa 3 Ad 84) The first thing, that is mentioned, is its *Bhadrapiṭha*. It (*i.e.* *Bhadrapiṭha*) is furnished with four beautiful stairs corresponding to the four directions. This *bhadrapiṭha* is surmounted by two other *bhadrapiṭhas*. On the third, a *liṅga* form should be placed. This *liṅga* should not be accompanied with the *Rekhā*. In its middle should be raised a four-sided immovable (*Dhruva*) staff. Above it there should be thirteen *bhūmikās* *i.e.* floors. On it (*i.e.* the *thirteenth Bhūmikā*) there should be a rounded staff. This should be decorated by a medallion representing in its two halves, the sun and the moon.

The thirteen *bhūmikās* with the *āmalasāraka* represent the fourteen worlds. The *liṅga* represents, of course, *Mahesvara*. The rounded staff represents *Pitāmaha*, while the four-sided staff represents the god *Janārdana* *i.e.* *Viṣṇu*. The three *Bhadrapiṭhas* represent the *Gunas* probably referring to *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. The *gunas* are to be known as the three worlds containing the movable and immovable objects (*Traṣṭhokya-sacārācaram*). Below the *bhūmikās* (floors) but above the *liṅga*, should be placed in the four directions the *Lokapālas* carrying *śūlas* in their hands. Their names are *Virūḍha*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Virūpākṣa* and *Kubera*. All of them should have the dress of the sun and should wear armours. They should be adorned with ornaments. *Virūdhaka* represents *Śakra*, the lord of *Devas*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Yama*—the leader of the worlds, *Virūpākṣa* *Varuṇa*—the lord of waters, and *Kubera* is the lord of the *Yaksas*.

In the first verse of this *adhyāya*, it is stated that by the worship of *Aidūka* the whole world is considered as worshipped. This probably signifies that *Aidūka* represents some sort of cosmic form embracing all things. This interpretation is supported by the fact that *Aidūka* finds place for all gods and the whole *Triguṇātmaka* world;

The vedic origin of *Aidūka* which I have suggested above would justify its inclusion in V D because, if it were a Buddhist form, it could not have found a place in it. We, however, find the word *Aidūka* used in the Buddhist *Mahāvastu* to indicate a Buddhist *stūpa*. As it happens in the case of other words like *Cantya* etc. this word and *Aidūka* also must have been used in course of time, in a general sense, as a synonym of *stūpa*.

It would be appropriate to consider at this point the verses from the Vanaparva (Ad 90) of the Mahābhārata. They are as follows—

एदूकान् पूजयिष्यन्ति वर्जयिष्यन्ति देवताः ।

शूद्राश्च प्रमथिष्यन्ति न द्विजाः शुण्डसदये ॥ १५

आश्रमेषु महर्षीणां ब्राह्मणाश्च सद्येषु च ।

देवस्थानेषु चैत्येषु नागानामाश्रयेषु च ॥ १६

एदूकचिह्ना पृथिवी न देवगृहभूषिता ॥ १७

Three points emerge out of these ślokas—

- (1) Aīdūkas and Devalas are contrasted,
- (2) Aīdūkas were more numerous than Devagṛhas or temples,
- (3) Aversion is shown to the Aīdūkas

Let us take the third point first—

As I said in the beginning, the late Dr. Jayaswala takes these Aīdūkas to mean Buddhist stūpas. He regards these verses of the M. Bh. as describing religious conditions of India in the Kuśāṇa age, in which according to him there must have been numerous Buddhist stūpas indicating prevalence of Buddhism and decline of Brahmanism. In fact these verses are supposed to lament this state of affairs.

The first thing to be said against this interpretation is that there is nothing in the verses themselves or their context to suggest a Buddhist or even non-brahmanical reference. Secondly, we might ask what is the evidence to suggest that these verses of the M. Bh. apply to the Kuśāṇa age? and thirdly assuming that these verses refer to the Kuśāṇa age, we might say that there is no reason to believe that Brahmanism in its Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava aspects was in decline in that age and that the Buddhist cult had become so powerful as to throw into background the temples of Brahmanical deities by its more numerous stūpas. If anything, there was a revival of vedic cult in the preceding Sunga period and there is evidence to assume that Śaiva-worship and Viṣṇu-worship were as prevalent as Buddha-worship, if not more.

So, in my humble opinion, the aversion to Aīdūkas must not be explained by interpreting Aīdūkas as Buddhist stūpas. We might find some reasons for this aversion in their association with inauspicious

śmaśāṇa,—and in their uncouth shape which would suggest a magnified *śiṅga* or remind one of a Śmaśāṇa-mound

There is also another noteworthy point in the description given in V D. The description of Lokapālas as wearing armours and dresses of northern style and as carrying śūlas would imply that the Aīdūkas probably were more or less influenced by foreign uncouth styles. It is well-known to scholars that the Indian rulers belonging to foreign tribes followed not any particular cult of India but according to their inclinations worshipped Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Buddha and built temples and stūpas in the styles which appealed to them. So the foreign Śiva worshippers might have built Saiva Aīdūkas in their own styles. This would explain the disparagement of Aīdūkas in the M Bh. It may be that when these verses of Vanaparva were composed this strange aspect of Aīdūka was repugnant to the orthodox followers of Brahmanical cult and that they were alarmed at the rapid spread of the practice of building Aīdūkas to the detriment of artistic and auspicious Devagṛhas. But in course of time this aversion might have disappeared and the strange foreign features might have been assimilated or Brahmanized, so much so that by the time of the Gupta age they must have become so important a Brahmanical cult as to deserve a whole adhyāya in V D. The epithet *prajāhita* applied to Aīdūka by V D is significant. It means 'having the name of Prajāhita' 'good of the people'. This might suggest that there might have been other varieties of Aīdūkas and that Prajāhita Aīdūka was the approved type.

Thus the verses of Vanaparva and the 84th ad. of the 3rd Khaṇḍa of V D give us a glimpse in the process of assimilation of religious elements which are in the earlier stages regarded as inauspicious or strange but which somehow become popular and get a place in the Brahmanical cult. It is one more illustration of the assimilative nature of Hindu culture.

Now let us take the first two points *viz* the Aīdūkas and Devatās and Aīdūkas and Devagṛhas. These two points can be treated together. They raise the issue whether the Aīdūkas were images or temples. In modern terminology whether they are sculptural or architectural? The verses of Vanaparva imply that they were something of both, image and temple. The V D gives its description in the last part of Prātimālakaṣaṇa, which is followed by Prāsādalakaṣaṇa, as if to suggest that Aīdūka is something of Pratiṃśā and something of Prāsāda.

Now if our theory about the origin of Aīdūka *viz* Vedic Śmaśāṇa or tumulus, is right, we can say that it was primarily an architectural form containing a relic, but as the thing to be worshipped was hidden in the mound, it was the mound which got worship, the mound in the course of time, symbolizing and representing the interred object of worship. But the tendency of Indian religious art has always been to

decorate the plain surfaces of its architecture and this must have worked in the case of earlier plain Aīdūka mounds or tumuli. We see from the description of V D that images and symbols of all sorts of gods find place on Prajāhita Aīdūka. But its primary form seems to be a square with a flag-staff in the middle and an āmalasāraka and a disc at the top.

The fact that the first thing to be placed on the Bhadrapiṣṭha is Liṅga, suggests that Aīdūka must have first passed from its original tumulus stage to the stage of being associated with Śiva. I am almost tempted to suggest that the worship of Śiva in the form of Liṅga has something to do with Aīdūka, and though the phallus theory is generally accepted, I would venture to suggest that the word Liṅga should be interpreted as a Cinha (चक्रचिह्न) and that Aīdūka with or without Liṅga was the Cinha of the god of Śmaśāna.

According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal 'an actual specimen of edūka monument having three terraces and Śiva liṅga at its top has been unearthed at Ahichchatrā in Bareilly district during the recent excavations of the department of Archaeology

(47) "A STUDY OF TEXTILES AND GARMENTS AS DEPICTED IN THE
Kharoshthī DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN"

by

SRI RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA, M A, BANARAS

The discovery of *Kharoshthī* documents by Sir A. Stein at Central Asian sites (Niya, Endere and Loulan) some fifty years ago ushered a new era in the history of the region. These documents, mainly written in *Prākṛt* of N W F Provinces, are a store house of information regarding the political, social, administrative, economic and religious conditions of Chinese Turkestan in the first three centuries after the death of Christ. "It seems strange that ruins far away in the barbarian north, overrun by what Hindu legend vaguely knew as the 'mythical ocean of sand' should have preserved for us records of everyday life older than any written document (as distinguished from inscriptions) that have as yet come to light in India itself."

The documents at our disposal are mainly of a secular nature, dealing mostly with disputes and decisions concerning lands and property, complaints to the king by ordinary people, deeds of purchase and sale, collection of royal taxes, agreements between private individuals, presents, sending of royal envoys and messengers, instructions from the king to the state officers and some occasional references to the Buddhist monks and the saṅgha. The whole record is available to us in the shape of small wooden tablets, some leather fragments, silk pieces and a few paper manuscripts too.

I Materials of Textile goods

(i) Wool : e. *uṣṇa* (or *uṣṇā*, doc 318) or *uṣṇa* doc 345) = skt *ūrṇā*, Iranian *varna* or *varnava*, Avestan *vardnā* [Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 793]

(ii) Hemp : e. *śaṣṇa* (doc 318) = N Pers *san* (Barrow, BSOS, VII, p 787), skt *jana*, Hindī *jana* [cf. *sōmya* in LAI,

1. Numbering 782 in all. Of these 764 were published in three volumes [See abbreviation 7] of KI, and 18 in BSOS, IX, p 111-25

2. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, (1907), Oxford, p 369

p 128, *sānī* and *sāṇa* in *A Shi-English Dictionary*, 1899, Oxford, p 1063 by Monier Williams]

(iii) *silk* The documents refer to different varieties and colours of silk as --

(a) *Paṭa* Interpreting the word *paṭa* as a "roll of silk" [*Trans. Language*, p 102], Burrow refers to similar views of Dr Lüders [*Textilien in Alter Tunesien*, APAW, 1936, p 24 ff] But, Prof F W Thomas (BSOS, XI, p 546-7) interprets the same as "perhaps a muslin cloth" (cf Act Or XII, p 62 note 5), similar to Tibetan *kha biags*. The Nānāghāt cave Inscription of Nāganikā too refers to 300 *paṭas* [Sirca: D C, *Select Inscriptions* I, 1942, Calcutta, p 188] A first century A D silk strip from Tunhuang with a *Brāhmī* inscription on it records a *paṭa* forty *gushṭa* in length [Stein A, *Serindia*, 1921, Oxford, p 701-4] A *Kharoshthī* note on a silk piece found in the Lop Nor region and deciphered by Sten Konow [*Sino-Swedish Expedition reports*, VII, 1 cited in BSOS, XI, p 549] actually reads *paṭa*

(b) *Yirka* or *ṣirka* of doc No 697, interpreted by Stein (as cited in KI, III, p 308) as representing chinese word from which were derived greek *ῥυκινον* and our silk, is still quite obscure

(c) *Prigha* (doc No 316, 318)

Dr, Lüders, *op cit*, p 30 (as cited by Burrow in *Language*, p 108 and by Dr V S Agrawala in IHQ, 1951, XXVII, p 15-7), identified *prigha* with skt *prāga* of Mahāvvyutpatti (232 26) and explained it as "flowered silk" Dr W B Henning [*Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1945, p 150-7 cited by Agrawala, *ibid*] thinks that *prigha* denotes "a monochrome damask or unicoloured figured silk" He also referred to variants in *Mahāvvyutpatti* as *prāga*, *prāgu* and *prāgā* [cf *pungā* of doc 416, *pungā* of doc 264, *piśaṅga* *prāgaṇ* of Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita*, *prāga* of the Fan-Yu'sien-tyu-wen quoted by Agrawala, *op cit*, p 15, Pāṭo *prang*, syrie l w *prng*, BSOS, XI, p 782] Archaeological discoveries in China and Central Asia have brought to light silk damasks in numerous colours of Han age [cf Andrews F H *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities from Central Asia*, 1935, Delhi, p 18, 20]

(iv) *Leather* ie, *choṃa* [doc No 17, cf O Stein in BSOS, VIII, p. 778]=skt *charma* Also according to Thomas (Act Or XII, p 46 note 3), *churorma* needs to be compared with skt *charma* or wool

3 Some measurement, cf *ośṭhāsyā paṭa gushṭi śaṭavarīṣa*

(v) *Cotton* The documents do not refer to any word for cotton⁴ or some such material though cotton rugs and carpets were found at Niys and Endere [see *Ancient Khotan*, p 137, 374, 134, *Serindia*, p 221, 379]

II Size of Textile goods

Bath monks (doc No 489) and laymen were fined in shape of *poṭas*, the number of which ranged from 1 to 15 in case of the farmer and 30 in case of the latter (doc Na 345, cf 41 *paṭas* as price of a woman) Perhaps *poṭas* were of some standard length and fixed price. Our documents [published in *KI, I II III*] fail to refer to the size of the *poṭas* but as stated in footnote 3 above, *shoparisa gushṭi* refers to 40 *gushṭi* as the length of a *paṭa*. F W Thomas (BSOS, XI p 547) equates *gushṭi* with *dishṭi* of our documents while A Stein [*Serindia*, p 702-3] takes it to mean 46 spans on the presumption that a silk roll, with a Chinese inscription of first century B C an ill⁵, records the width as 2' 2" (Chinese) and length as 40' (Chinese) and that 46 *gushṭi* were identical⁶ with 40 Chinese feet. In fact the phrase should be taken as referring to 40 *dishṭi* [= *dishṭi* of doc No 589, 592, *hṣṭi* of doc 415, 437—In *Pāṇini VI 2 31* there is reference to *dishṭi* and *viṣṭi* together, also *dishṭi* in *Koutika sūtra* and commentary on *Kātyāyana śrauto sūtra* as cited by Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 480]

Like *paṭas* other textile goods as *kaṇavas*, *lastugos*, *raṇis*, *urnava-raṇḍe*, *thavaṇne* or *thavamnas*, *nainatas*, *kaṇaji* etc, were numbered with the exception of *arnāvojis*, *lastugos* (doc 728), *kaṇahavomnaga* and *tavastogas* which were all measured in *hastas*⁷ (ie cubits, One *hasto*=18")

III Dyeing and Printing

The science and technique of dyeing and printing must have reached the zenith of eminence as is evident from a combination of calais as —

(1) While is *ṣpata* (No 318) or *ṣpedaga* (*Language*, p 21), or *ṣpeli* (Na, 83) =skt, *ṣveta*, Av *spastiso*, *spiti*, Mid Pers *sped* (BSOS, VIII, p 900), *spityy* of an unpublished Manichaean Sogdian document (Henning cited by Agrawala, *op cit*, p 16)

4 Of course skt word *kapāśa* (=cotton) travelled into Uigher as *k' p' z* (Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 779, also Bailey referring to another word *kapāśa*)

5 cf BSOS, XI, p 547 even for prices etc, of such rolls

6 A conjecture indeed, cf Iranian *distay* [*KI, III*, p 350]

7 cf *urnamās hasta 5* in doc No 318

(ii) *Pāṇḍura* (doc 660) is skt *pāṇḍura* [=white or yellow, cf Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 781, J C Ray in JBOIRS, III, pt II, p 226], Khot saka *yisḍar* (BSOS, VIII, p 141, cf p 136]

(iii) *Sānapru* (doc Na 660) or *sanzpru* "vermillion", cf. Old Pers *sinhabrus* [Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 782]

(iv) *Yellow* ie *pita* or *peta* (doc 318=skt *Pīta*, cf Trans, p 59 note *Kaṣaro* (doc 606) means the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk. It is identical with skt *kaṣṭhā*, Toch A *kāshār* [Language, p 82, BSOS, XIII, p 389], Agnean *kāshār*, Kuehan *kashāra*, sogdian *karaya* garment etc, as discussed by Bailey in BSOS, XIII, p 130, 389]

(v) *Blue* ie *nīla* (doc 318)=skt *nīla*

(vi) *Red* ie *rotaga* (doc 318)=skt *raktako* [cf Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 782] In connecting *rayaga* of doc 660 with *rotaga* we can well account that doc No 660 is a record of various varieties of *poṣas* as also opined by Bailey (*ibid*, p 781)

(vii) *Red Blue* i e *nīla rotaga* *kigi* in doc No 318

(viii) *Kremiera* (doc. 660)

Bailey (BSOS, XI, p 782) compares the word with Zor *krmir*, Pāzand *xermiera*, Arm *karmir* Hebrew *karmīl*, Bud Sag *karm'yr*, New Sogd *kirmir* (=red), skt *kṛmīra*⁸ and thus opines that it denotes particular colour as "crimson red"

(ix) *Palagouarna* (doc 660) *Varma* is skt *varna*, Av *varṇāh* [BSOS, XI, p 782, cf Tavadia J C, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, 1950, Viśvabhāratī, I, p 72], in the sense of "colour" [cf also *puṣpa varṇa* in doc 510, *suvarṇa varṇa* in doc 511, *khara varṇa* in doc. 318 etc] *Palaga* has been interpreted to mean "variegated and compared with Mid Ir *pal* of Zor Pāh, N Pers *palang* etc, (BSOS, XI, p 782)

(x) *Ass colour* i e *khoro varna* (doc 318)='grey' colour

(xi) *Printed and multicoloured* clothes were also in use as is evidenced by phrases as *chitrāga lyoḥmana* (doc 318), *chitrapaṣamoe*

8 A demon's name in *Mahābhārata*, III 368 ff as well, cf Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 284 also referring to this word in Bāṇa's *Harṣo Carita* in the sense of "variegated colour"

lastuga (doc 366) In Sanskrit we have *citra*=painter and *citra-ga*=represented in picture (Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 227, cf. *Citrastra*, *citra* in Indian literature as referred to in JBORS, III, pt II, p 227, *uchitra* *poṣalaka* of *Laṭṭavistara*, PBVB, p 95, modern Indian *Chīṭa*=[र])

IV Art of Weaving and Embroidery

The *Khārashī* documents also refer to embroidered garments⁹ of *suṣṇkīṛṭa vidapa* and similar *iyatmana* of doc No 318 The form *suṣṇakīṛṭa* was compared with Arabic *sūsānīrd*, N Peis *sozankard* by Lüders (cited in *Language*, p 131, BSOS, XI, p 535-6) while F W Thomas (BSOS, XI, p 535-6) disagrees with Lüders and traces its derivation from skt words He refers to *sūcīkarma*, *sūcyāṣṭ-rayam karma* of *Bṛhat saṃhitā* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūci* for the use of *sūci* (=needle)

V Carpets¹⁰ and Blankets

(1) *Tāvastaga* (doc 583), *tavastogo* and *thovastoe* (doc 714) meaning "carpet" have all been taken as Iranian words derived from *tāsten* [KI, III, p 348, cf Arm 1 w *tapast* and *tapastoh*=mat, N Peis *tabastah*=fringed carpet as referred to by Burrow in *Language*, p 94 and BSOS, VII, p 512] Bailey (BSOS, XI, p 793) thinks that *thavastae*= "carpet cloth" The documents refer to various sizes of carpets in cubits as 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13

(2) *Lastuga*, an object nothing very costly (*lahu māṃgaramaitra* in doc 184) was frequently sent as present It was also a printed one (*Chitrapaṭamae*) in doc Na 566 Burrow (BSOS, VII, p 786) connects it with N Pers *dastār* (=towel, handkerchief) while D C Sirceai with skt *lastuka* (=string, a fillet, a child's top as cited in *Select Inscriptions*, p 243, p 243 note 2) But from doc No 728, *lastuga*, [as suggested in KI, III, p 365] is stated to have been 7 cubits in length Hence any identification with a napkin or handkerchief does not seem to be plausible It was perhaps some shawl or some such object [Act or XII, p 66 note 11]

9 For the discovery of textile pieces woven in "warp rib", chain stitch" "satin twill patterns etc, see Andrews F H, *op cit*, p 19, 20, Burlington Magazine, London, July September, 1920, p. 6 ff, *Serindia*, p. 897 ff

10. For Central Asian carpet industry in ancient days, consult *Ancient Khotan*, p 134, McGovern W M, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, 1939, Chapelhill, p 53, Andrews, *op cit*, p. 19

(iii) *Kojavonmaga* (doc 583) was some table cloth or small carpet, 2 cubits in length. In the existing document it is associated with a carpet 4 cubits long [cf *Language*, p 81 about Luder's interpretation]

(iv) *Kojavā¹¹, koṣova* (also *kuṣavo* in doc 345, *Trans*, p 66 note, *Language*, p 1) need to be compared with Pāli *kojawa*=rug, cover with fleecy hair [cited in Rhys Davids's *Pali Dictionary*, p 55 s v *ka*] or *kayavo* of Jain literature (*L A I*, p 129, p 129 note 78). Doc No 432 refers to white *kajava*. These objects were counted in numbers. Khotanese rugs [cf *khatamni kajavo* in doc 583, *khotani kajava* in doc 592, *khotamni kajava-alena¹²* in doc 519] were objects of fancy in Chinese Turkestan. *Kaṇṇapaho*, a variety of kambala in *Arthaśāstro* (II 11 100, cited in *Language*, p 80) which was identified by Burrow (*Language*, p 80) with *kajava*, was perhaps a name given to rugs made in Kucha country.

(v) *Akushdha* (doc 207) or *ogishdho* (doc 431-2) or *agishṭo* (652) or *agishga* (doc 152), closely associated with *kajavas*, were perhaps blankets or rugs [cf *Trans*, p 28, note of doc 154] p 135, note of doc 652, *KI*, III, p 329]. *Avaliha* (doc 575) and *avale* (doc 431-2) too seem to have been of a somewhat similar nature [cf skt *ava/hi*=to hide oneself in, *Language*, p 78].

(vi) The Indian word *kambala* (=rug) being quite conspicuous by its absence in our documents, Bailey (BSO³, XI, p 793) thinks that *arnavaji* (doc 59, 83, 113, 385, 433, 714) represented "the kambala cloth (?)". Doc No 83 refers to a white *arnavaji*. These objects were usually counted in numbers and it is only in a solitary record (No 83) that reference is made to such an object 8 cubits long.

(vii) *Raji* (doc 655, 714) was perhaps somewhat approaching *raṣṭī* (=quilt) *Amūṭō* [cf *raji amilo* in doc 655] in Jaina literature [PBVB, p 149-50] was "made of fleecy hair" and its use was prohibited for a Jain monk [*L A I*, p 129]. Also Dr Jain [*L A I*, p 129 note 75] refers to *śiṣāka* according to whom *amilo*=camel. Since in doc 655, the award of two *raji amilo* was made along with a camel, the former was perhaps prepared from camel's skin [cf *ushtra kambolas* quoted in PBVB, p 97, covers made of camel's and lion's skin, PBVB, p 153].

11 cf Thomas, Act Or XII, p 54, O Stein, BSOS, VIII, p 778, Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 793 interprets *koṣova* as 'Woollen cover'. Phrases *ka (rārya) kaṣava 1* (doc 728) and *kuṣava aadha* (doc 345) are quite obscure.

12 Burrow [*Language*, p 77] feels that *alena* is "an epithet of rug or blanket=*ālayana* i.e. rug for lying down in".

(viii) *Namata*¹³, *namati*, *namataga namatae*, *namantae*, *namadaga* meaning "felt" need to be compared with N Pers *namad*, Pahl *namat*, Pali *namataka*, Angla Indian *nundah*, Tibetan *snam-mdah* etc. Felt making was a prosperous and flourishing industry of Central Asia even as early as the times of the Scythians and the Sarmatians [cf. Megasthenes, *op cit*, p. 52-3, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 134, 410, Andrews, *op cit*, 19-20]

VI Cloth in general

Reference to *paṭa*, *śaṭṭha paṭa* and *oṃṇa hasta* has already been made above. *Tavanaga*, *thavannae*, *thavannaga*, (cf. *thavanagamae*, *thavannamiae*, all refer to 'cloth in general' perhaps, cf. saka *thanna*¹⁴ = cloth. Burrow (*Language*, p. 94) feels that *thavannaga* is derived from the Persian base *tāftan* and *tāban*. Since in doc. 207, 149, 141, they are all counted in numbers as 3, 4, 6, 15, it appears that they were perhaps of some standard size and dimension. Documents refer to the use of wool for these objects (No. 149, 318). *Kaṭa-thavanna* (doc. 149) was perhaps some cloth woven in the design of a mat (cf. Skt *kaṭa* = mat, Manier Williams, *op cit*, p. 243). In case we associate it with *kaṭi*, the phrase will denote a cloth for tying round the waist [cf. *kaṭa sāṭaka* of the *jātakā* literature].

Astarana vastarona (doc. 439, 187) or *astaramna vastaramna* (doc. 431) = "clothing and bedding" [for details see Thomas, BSOS, XI, p. 536. Also *pravaraṇa vastarona* in doc. 565 compared by Thomas with *prāvarana āstarana* of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*].

VII Garments

(1) *Prahuni* (doc. 318), read as *prahoni* by Burrow (*Trans* p. 59 note), was perhaps some term for a stitched garment. Our document refers to some such as *paṭavannidaga kuvana prahuni*, *khavarana prahuni* and *kremeru paṭiyannaga prahuni*. Burrow (BSOS, VII, p. 514) derives *prahoni* from saka *prahona*—garment (Khatanese *prahona* in BSOS, XI, p. 535, 786, BSOS, XIII, p. 121, 391, Act or XIV, p. 232, BSOS, VIII, p. 128).

13. *Language*, p. 30, 78, 100, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367, KI, III, p. 352, JRAS, 1934, p. 475.

14. cf. *Language*, p. 96-7, BSOS, VII, p. 512, BSOS, XI, p. 535, Act or XIV, p. 232, *Trans*, p. 105, BSOS, VIII, p. 917, note I of p. 916, *Trans*, p. 27.

As regards *kuvana*¹⁵ *prahm*, Burrow [*Language* p 84] seeks comparison with saka *kuhamihau* (= *chailapaṭṭa*)

(ii) *Chataga* (dac 505) is taken as identical with *chhādaka* and *chadaka* [*Language*, p 50] meaning "clothing" It is certainly an object for being used as a garment for in the document it "stands in apposition" to a particular article of dress (cf BSOS, VII, p 783] i e a *havah* is designated as *chhataga*¹⁶

(iii) *Head dress Veda* [cf *China veda*, dac 353] = skt *veshṭa*, Pāli *veṭṭhana* or *veṭṭha* [*K I*, III, p 344] = turban

(iv) *Robes and cloaks* —

(a) *Choḍaga* (dac 19, 506, 722, *choṭaga* in 316) They were prepared (doc 722) and demanded by ladies in exchange for some textile goods (doc 316) We do not know whether ladies used them or not [cf *choda* or *chola* in skt = jacket, bodice, *choḍaka* or *cholaka* = jacket, Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 402] According to Burrow (*Trans* p 144 note of doc 722), *choṭagā* = "coat" They were also given to slaves and servants along with meals and wages [*सोम पचेवर परिग्रह दत्तो* in doc 19, *सहस्रोहम* in doc 506] Central Asian people used to wear long cloaks [cf *cinacola* of *Harṣa charita*, *PBYB*, p 161, *K I*, III, p 345]

(b) *China chimara* (doc No 149) indicates chinese robes (*Trans*, p 27, cf. *cīvara*, the dress of a Buddhist monk as cited BSOS, VIII, p 427, *Language*, p 21, BSOS, VIII, p 608) It is not certain whether *chimara* has any connection with skt *cumi* = "a plant from the fibres of which cloth is made" (Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 398)

(c) *Kasara* i e, Yellow robe of a Buddhist monk (dac 606)

(d) *Kavoṭa* (dac 505, cf *havah*, dac 581, 432) has been identified with skt *kavacikā* [*Language*, p 82, BSOS VII, p 783, Bailey in BSOS, XI, p 795, cf skt *havaca* or *havasa* = 'armour'¹⁷, Coat of mail in Monier Williams *op cit*, p 345]

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that in dac Nos 272, 292, 236, 435, *kuvaṇṇa* is used as an epithet of corn too

¹⁶ *Chataga* of doc 161 seems to have no connection with this *chhataga* The former was perhaps the same as *choṭagā* or *choḍaga* (= robe)

¹⁷ For the discovery of some *Kharoshthī* records wrapped up in ancient armour textiles from Loulan, see *Serindia*, p 379

(e) *Polis Ehavora* (doc No, 534) O. Stein (BSOS, VIII, p. 778) interpreted the phrase as "garments made of one piece of cloth" and that *poṭa*, according to *Halāyudha Abhidh.*, II, 393 meant "cloth" while *varako*=cloak, stuff etc., (BSOS, VIII, p 778, note 8) Burrow (*Trans*, p 106) puts forth its meaning as "*poṭhi*, on one occasion" [१८ पौषि एक वर]

(f) *Puchhama* (doc No 534), in O Stein's opinion (BSOS, VIII, p 777) "would correspond to skt *pukṣoma* (पुक्षम) which seems to be unknown In modern Eastern Turkestan, *bodyuma*=knot, bundle as referred to by Radloff Perhaps connected with that is *poṭsh* (*pochku*)= long night-gown like garment worn by Kashmiris, when made of cotton cloth is called *poṭsh*"

(g) *Chāmra* (doc 714, *chomdri*, doc 272) In Bailey's opinion (BSOS, XI, p 793), the phrase= *chādar* cloth," well compared with Iran *chōdor*, N Pers *chādar* (=cloth) Associated with *hamanto* (=trouser, as will be discussed later) it may refer to some upper garment as opposed to lower one It does not seem to be plausible to agree with Burrow (*Language*, p 89) who suggests to connect with skt *cāndrakom* (=ginger)

(h) *Karchi* (doc 357 १८ ६ *karchi komuto*) It is very interesting to compare it with Av *kārān*, Asi *haerch* (=furcoat) Thus the phrase means "trousers made of *karchi* material" [Bailey, BSOS, XI, p 794] but it is more appealing to take it as denoting both upper and lower garment together¹⁸

(i) *Garments for the breasts*

Kamchuli (doc 149, 318, *komjuliyo*, doc 343)=skt *kañcuho* or *kañcuṣṭhā*=bodice or jacket worn by the ladies Such jackets¹⁹ were made of wool (doc 318), while unicoloured silk (doc 318) and hampen cloth (doc 318) *spetapriṣṭha* (doc 318) is the same as *spytty pryng* of an unpublished Manichaean Sogd document [Henning cited by Agiawala, op cit, p 16]

(j) *Garments for the Waist* १८ *koyabonidhano* (doc 149) cf *kōyabandhanam* of the jātaḥ literature [Mehta R L, *Pre-Buddhist India*, 1939, Bombay, p 262, cf *PBVB*, p 147, *Serindia*, p 636-7 about an ancient girdle from Mirān]

(k) *Trousers*

18 Cf *chōmdri-kanimomita* (714) as a parallel phrase Tavadia (op cit, p 80 81) identifies *karchi* with modern *kurṭā*=shirt

Kommanita or *hamanito* [doc. 272-714] have been compared with Khatanese *kaumadan*, *kūmāda* [= *sūthanna* =trouser, cf BSOS, IX, p 532, XI, p 793 quoting *sūthana* of the *Mahāvīyupatti*] meaning "trouser". Thus Bailey disagrees with Thomas who [J of Greater India Society, XI, p 64] interprets *chāndri* as "jade" (cf also Act Or, XII, p 46 note 3)

Equally obscure is the phrase *somstoma* (doc No 149) which has been suggested as an equivalent of Khatanese words for trousers [i.e. Bailey BSOS, XI, p 532 compares with *sūthanna*]. The use of trousers was a typical central Asian device [see McGovern, *op cit*, p 48-9 for the introduction of trousers in other parts of the world and that too from central Asia [cf modern *sutthana* =trouser]

(1) *Miscellaneous garments and textile goods*

(i) *Churanna* (or *churmo* or *churmo*) were compared with Iran *Chūrāna* or *chiravarma*, old Iran *choravarma* (=facing covering veil, Bailey in BSOS, XI, p 794) Burrow [*Language*, p 90], on the other hand takes it as same "agricultural commodity"

(ii) *Rotanna* (or *ratap*) is closely associated with *churanna*, Bailey (BSOS, XI, p 794) identifies the former with *ro dvanna* derived from Iran *rauda banda* (=face binding veil, cf N Pers *ruy-band* = veil) Bailey does not agree with Burrow's views (BSOS, VII, p 787) and also those of his own propounded earlier in BSOS, VIII, p 913 But, since in doc 387 *rotanna* is measured in *milmas* and *his* like corns etc, it does not seem plausible to attach any importance to Bailey's latest views

(iii) *Sadi ar radi* of doc 431-2 has been taken to be the same as *roji* (of doc 655, 714) by Burrow (*Trans*, p 88 note of doc 431-2), while Bailey (BSOS, XIII, p 389 ff) and Thomas (Act Or XIII, p 79) prefer the reading *sadi* as equivalent of *sāḍī* of Jaina literature, *sāḍa*, *sāḍī* and *sāḍaka* of skt texts etc

(iv) *Pansavanta* (or *panjhavanta* of doc 316) or *pasonvanta* (doc 534) taken to be identical by Burrow (*Trans*, p 106 note) were made of *prigha* and *waal* in docs 316, 534 respectively

(v) *Vidopa* was an embroidered garment (doc 318)

19 of ladies and their dresses printed in the frescoes of Mirān temple in Chinese Turkistan, *Sermdih* 516-9, Sung Yun's description about women of Yu-tien in *Ancient Khōtan*, p 170

(vi) *Lyokmana* was both embroidered and printed (doc 318)

(vii) *Kigi* (or *bhigi*) is referred to as some blue-red (doc 318) garment while Thomas (Act Or XIII, p 72) suggests an identification with *bhigī*=vessel

(viii) *Urnavaramde* (doc Na 345), enumerated in association with some textile goods, was perhaps some garment made of *urna* (wool) but Rapson [*KI*, III, p 335] prefers to take *varide* (instead of *voramide*) and compares with *varatāka* of *Lakṣaṇā* (ed Weber, p 98)

(ix) *Shoes Kavaj namata* (doc 432, only *kovojs* in doc 581) may be interpreted as "shoes prepared from felt" Like *kojawa* and *kaṣava*, *kavaj* may be taken as *kovojs* while *kavash* in *Fan-yu-tsa-Ming* (cited by Tavadia, *op cit*, p 84) and N Pers *kafs* both mean "shoe, slipper" (cf Tibet *kabaro* cited by Tavadia, *ibid*, *khapurā* in Jain literature, *LAI*, p 133, *PBVB*, p 178)

(x) *Rapes* i e *roju* (doc 288, 264, 534=skt *raju*) or *rasamna* (doc No 175, 345=skt *rasanā*, N Pers *rasan* cf *Language*, p 114, BSOS VIII, p 786) were frequently sent as presents (doc 288) and taxes (doc 264)²¹ The text *u rasamno* (doc 175) corrected as *unu rasamna* by Rapson [*KI*, I, p 70] may be taken as *una rasamna* suggesting *rapes* prepared from wool In doc 345, *rasamna* is associated with *namatas* and *urnavardam de* Burrow (*Language*, p 13) also suggests that *vadhi* (doc 264) may be taken as "*vardhrī*"=rape

(xi) *Sacks Gani* (doc No 154, 207) needs to be compared with skt *gana*, Pāli *ganaka*, both meaning a "woollen rug" But the context of the Niya documents (Na 214) clearly indicates that it denoted some 'sack for the lucerne of horses' [i e *dui ganyammi ashi-stave*, cf *Trans*, p 40] In skt, *gono* or *ganotarī*=sack [Monier Williams, *op cit*, p 367] It is much more interesting to note that document Na 756 is in itself a silk bag with a *kharoshthi* note on it [cf *Innermost Asia*, 1928, Oxford, p 223] Bailey, (BSOS XI, p 767) suggests that *gūṇa* of an unpublished document from Khadlik may be traced in the *gani* 'sack' of Niya documents

20 Use of long boots by Central Asian people, McGovern, *op. cit*, p 2, 252, *Ancient Khotan*, p 372

21 Cf Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan about the collection of hair for rape making, JRAS, 1934, p 504 Certain *Kharoshthi* documents were found tied with goats' hair, *Ancient Khotan*, p 238.

VIII. Use of Textile goods

(i) *As wealth and property* [doc 149, 534, 318, 345, 187] Proper account was also maintained (doc No 660)

(ii) *As media of exchange* —

- (a) Paying hire charges of a camel (doc 83) as *arnavajī*
- (b) Purchasing land, girls, women, corn²¹, wine²²
- (c) Price of a gūl partly paid in rugs (doc 592)
- (d) Price of a woman as 41 *paṭas* (doc 32)
- (e) Price of land payed in shape of rugs etc (doc 579, 322, 655)
- (f) Price of a *kaṣava* (as 5 or 10 *muli*)^{22a}, carpet 13 cubits long for 12 *muli* etc

(iii) *As objects to be paid as taxes* —

1 e *agishḍa*, *namata*, *kaṣava*, *goni*, *raju*, *hamuṇṭa*, *arnavajī*, *raji* etc (doc 207, 714, 264, 382, 154)

(iv) *As objects of gifts and presents* — i. e., *chhotaga*, *lastuga*, *chinaveḍa*, *tavastaga*, *kaṣava*, *raju*, *paṇḥavanṭa* *prighamaga* etc

(v) *As objects of debts and loans* — Debt of silk is recorded in doc 35 [1 e *paṭa ṛṇa* cf *varanārṇa* of Pāṇini VI, 1 89 *Vārttika* [cited by Monier Williams, op cit, p 932]

(vi) *As subsistence for servants and slaves* Both persons employed on work charge basis (doc 19, 403) and household slaves (doc 506) were given clothing along with food and wages (no wages for slaves in doc 506)

(vii) *As objects fines*

Reference to fines of *paṭas* prescribed for monks and ordinary people has been made above

21 Note king's eagerness to purchase one *kaṣava* for royal corn (doc 448) cf doc 622

22 Wine to be sold for clothing and bedding (doc 431-2)

22a 1 *muli* being 1/12th of a gold stater [cf doc 419 where 1 gold stater + 2 *muli* = 12 *muli*]

(viii) *For binding of tablets —*

Strings served the purpose of binding wooden tablets in order to avoid unauthorized inspection. Fibres or hair mixed with clay seals have also been recovered. A *Kharoshthī* document, after being sealed afresh was tied in yellow silk [Serindia, p. 229, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, p. 356].

(ix) *As writing material —*

(a) *Leather*—doc. Nos 665, 349, 341, 371, 379, 376, 385, 387, are documents on leather [cf. also *chama-pothi* of doc. 17, Act Or XIII, p. 78]. The use of leather for writing purposes must have led to the slaughter of animals on a grand scale. It is indeed strange that religious ideas did not militate against the use of animal's skin for writing etc. (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 347).

(b) *Silk*. Just like leather, silk too was utilised for writing letters and sending communications. Doc. Nos 697, 708, 756 are records on silk²³.

(x) *As objects of votive offering —*

Some *Kharoshthī* inscriptions on finely woven buff silk streamers from Mirān refer to the use of such objects for offering in temples. At the end of each of these is the phrase *arugha dachhinae bhovadu* [Serindia, p. 495, 542]. Even a fourth century A. D. Chinese document on paper [Serindia, p. 379] records a tribute of various pieces of silk offered by a certain barbarian.

(xi) *As objects of Export and Import*

The documents refer to Chinese goods [i. e. *china chimara*, *chinaveḍa*] and Khotanese rugs [i. e. *khotani bojawa*, *khotanni bojawa*, *khotanni bojawa*, *alena*] being used by people in the region of *Kharoshthī* records. Not only that the early visit of Indian merchants on the borders of Western China is attested by the discovery of a first century B. C. inscription in *Brāhmī* script on a silk piece [Stein, A. Asia Major, Birth Anniversary Volume, 1923, p. 367-72]. Indeed records on silk, both in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshthī* came from ruined watch stations along the ancient trade route connecting Central Asia with China, Persia, India etc.

²³ cf. For the use of silk for writing in early centuries of B. C., consult, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, [Lxi, 1941, p. 73]; also Chinese documents on silk, *Serindia*, p. 700, 763, 681 cf. *ibid.*, p. 677.

The documents under survey thus throw a good deal of light on the dress and garments of slaves and servants, monks and laymen etc. It is interesting to note that slaves, who could own land and all sorts of movable property are no where referred to in the documents as wearing gala dresses either made of *prigbo* or *chitrigo* cloth. It is equally interesting to see the monks being fined up to 15 *poṣas*^{23(a)} (doc No 489) and prohibited from joining the *poṣolha* ceremony in a householder's dress. Is it that the monks were not used to putting monkish robes all the twenty four hours a day and that they were expected to be in the prescribed dress only on special ceremonial functions? It is very sad that the existing documents fail to refer to strictly royal articles of dress and decoration. It is only from doc 448 that we know that a king showed great anxiety for the purchase of a *kojova* for royal corn. Also a certain queen accepted a carpet 13 cubits long (doc 431-2). Beyond this there seems to be nothing noteworthy to be referred to in this connection.

This is in nutshell the account of textiles and garments as depicted in the *Kharoshthi* documents from Chinese Turkestan. Foreign influences, both Indian and Iranian were rapidly working in the heart of Central Asia, in the field of textiles as is attested by the use of various technical terms denoting fabrics and goods. Nay, even Indian patterns²⁴ of *svastika* and *siṃpo* have actually been found on textile pieces recovered from ancient sites of Niya, Eudere and Loulan. In the words of A. Stein [*Ancient Khotan*, p 334], "not only the sculptured and pictorial arts of Khotan, but also the more decorative branches of its textiles industry had from an early date received their models from India".

23(a) cf *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Itsing, translated by J. Takakusu Oxford, 1896, p 218-9, 67 ff about the dress of Buddhist monks in seventh century A. D.

24 Also tapestry type carpet pieces resemble modern Indian *dors* [Andrews, *op cit*, p 19, *Ancient Khotan*, p 334]. Indians also on their part began to make use of *prigbo* of Central Asia cf. Agrawala, *op.cit*, p 16.

ABBREVIATIONS USED —

- 1 Language=T Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshthī Documents From Chinese Turkestan*, (1937), Cambridge
- 2 Trans=T Burrow, *A translation of the Kharoshthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London
- 3 PBVB=Motichand, *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Vesa Bhūṣā*, (Hindi), Prayaga
- 4 LAI=Jagdish Chand Jaina, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons*, (1947), Bombay
- 5 BSOS=*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*
- 6 IHQ=*Indian Historical Quarterly*
- 7 Act Or — *Acta Orientalia*
- 8 KI I, II, III—*Kharoshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols I, II, III (Text only)
- 9 Only No of the documents of KI will be referred to

(48) INDIAN MUSIC

by

PRINCIPAL SHRI KRISHNA RATANJANKAR

It is a happy augury that music has come in for discussion in the sessions of the Oriental conference as a part of culture. In spite of the fact that music forms not only an important but a necessary part of culture, that it is a part of the mental equipment of man it had been neglected by us in India so many years. May be, there were reasons for this unkind attitude towards the art. But now that we are recasting our culture once more and looking forward to some sort of cultural Unity among us Orientals, a cultural brotherhood between nations and between races, inclusion of music in our discussions is a very hopeful index of our success in our efforts. Is not music after all a universal language? Music deals with the prime medium of communication between man and man, I mean the human voice and its sweet movements up and down, which touch the very soul of the listener, just as the sweet smell and sweet look of a flower, the soft touch of a spring time breeze. The sweet flower, the soft breeze, the sweet passage of music have all their own language which is understood everywhere. These do not need word of language to carry on their conversation, and as such, are of universal appeal. A good passage of music, a good painting, is a forceful and ever memorable dialogue on goodness between man and man. After all the aim, the effect of culture is a sympathetic understanding and adjustment of thought and action, getting into tune, so to say. Touching the senses, the sense of hearing, the sense of vision, the sense of touch with their respective sweet media will go a long way in bringing us together into an unbreakable brotherhood.

What is music then? This is one of the words such as 'ART', 'RELIGION', 'POETRY' that defy definition. The word music is derived from the Greek *mousikē* which is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *Saṅgīta* expressing the corporate idea of musical recital, playing of musical instrument and dancing, either taken singly or in group. These arts considered individually are called *gīta* or *gāyana*, *vādyo* or *vādāna* and *nṛtto* or *nartana* respectively. *Gīta* stands for singing, *vādyo* or *vādāna* for instrumental music and *nartana* for dancing. But taken together, all these arts are called *Saṅgīta*.

Thus song forms the basis of the art of music in India. The word music, however, technically refers more to expression of sweet sounds on instruments than vocal music, if I mistake not. This difference in the root idea of the art makes all the difference between the music of the West and *Sāṅgīta* of India. This is a fundamental distinction between the two. The emphasis on instrumental music has led westerners to invent a large variety of correctly tuned musical instruments of various sizes and shapes qualities and strengths of tone, utilizing all kinds of material capable of producing musical tones. It has also led them to develop the possibilities of polyphonic music, i.e. music in which several tones of different degrees are sounded together, simultaneously on instruments. The simultaneous sounding of a number of different tones is technically known as harmonisation and the effect of the music is called Harmony. This Harmony is a basis of all music in the West.

In India and all over the East, the human voice being the basis of all Music no harmonisation was thought of. It is not possible physically to produce more than one tone at a time by one single human voice, unless it is cracked. Even in group singing the human voice cannot be expected to express pin-point degrees of correctness in pitch, necessary to fulfil the conditions of harmonisation. Instrumental music in the East is a reproduction of musical passages occurring in a song. In the case of instruments in which the strings are plucked by a plectrum and musical solids such as metal tubes, bells, China cups, and wooden plates which are struck by a striker, rhythmic patterns of various lengths and shapes set to music more or less to the composition of tones of a song are played. All bow and blow instruments reproduce vocal music. All these instruments have a song as their basis. Thus melody alone remains the basic principle of all Oriental music. Melody as against harmony is a musical passage in which the tones are expressed one after another in succession and not simultaneously as an harmony. The Orientals have developed melody almost to perfection. *Varṇa*, *Rāga*, *Dhruva*, *Jāti*, *Naḍa*, whatever you may call a musical passage, is a melodic pattern in which a number of musical tones occur in succession, one after another. Arrangement of the order of succession of these tones so as to make them musically effective demands a musical sense of high order. This gives the passage all the musical value it has. Reproduction of these by voice or on an instrument in an effective manner is another condition of the musical value of a melodic pattern. A passage of tones must be musical in itself and it must be rendered well enough so as to produce the desired effect. These two points refer to the 'what' and 'how', the matter and manner of music. Let us examine a few examples here.

The melodies, *Jayaivanti*, *Jauupuri* and *Bhairavi* are known to every listener of Hindustani Music. They are all intrinsically musical. But it is their correct rendering which makes them living, turns them into appealing passages of an Universal language. A composition of

musical tones can by itself be a thoroughly disgusting specimen. For instance a passage like this (illustrate S, M N R DH G DHS). Each and every one of these is a musical tone recognised as *Svara* of which music is made and yet however much we may attempt to render this strange passage musical it will succeed in defeating our purpose. Weeping, moaning, crying are done in musical tones, but it is not music. A musical passage, on the other hand may be by itself highly musical. But the rendering thereof is at times so poor that it fails to make its desired effect and falls flat on the ears of the listeners. Melody alone if studied and practised well gives enough scope for musical expression. It is melody which leaves the musician free to express his own personality. He can make adjustments and readjustments in the manner of interpretation and even at times the intonations of his melody on the basis of the general outline thereof.

Whatever the nature or provenance of ancient civilizations this much is certain that the oldest books of knowledge now available are the Vedas. We get our earliest information about the beginnings of our music from the Vedas. Whatever may be the age of the Vedas the knowledge they contain refers to things most ancient, almost going back to the beginning of civilization.

Music, for us, is supposed to have been created out of the *Sāma Veda*. This Veda is most of it *RgVeda* itself when chanted in more or less musical intonations. The human soul, wishing to speak out awakens the mind, which, on its part awakens the fire, i.e. the energy in the body. The energy in the body sends the life breath stored in the *Brahma Granthi*, the breath thereafter rises up by degrees through the wind pipe and expresses the higher and higher degrees of pitch.

A musical tone is called 'Nāda'. Our musicologists explain this word as follows —

NAKĀRAM PRĀNA NAMANAM DAKĀRAM ANALAM VIDUḤ
TENA PRĀNĀGNISAMYOGĀN NĀDA ITYABHIDHIYATE

"The letter 'Na' stands for life breath, and 'Da' for the heat of the body. Thus by the co-operation of physical energy and life breath i.e. air, a musical tone is produced." Considering the ancient times when the above śloka was written it seems a rational explanation of production of sound. After explaining the causes of production of *Nāda*, the ancient Pandits proceed to analyse the primitive attempts at musical expression. *Ārcik Gāna* or monotonic chanting, *Gāthik* or bytonic, *Sāmik Gāna* Tritonic and *Svarāntara* or quadratonic. *Ārcik Gāna* is chanting in one single tone, *Gāthik* is chanting in two tones of high and low degrees of pitch, *Sāmik* is chanting in three tones of

different degrees of pitch and *Svarāṇṇa* is a fourtoned chant. It is not possible to define the actual intonations recognised in those ancient days which these four types of chantings refer to. We, however, find in some books on music an attempt at illustrating these in terms of modern intonations. It is true that we do even today hear such chantings in the course of religious recitals. Let me demonstrate these one by one in their order:

S

MANGALAM BHAGAVAN VIṢNUR-MANGALAM
MADHUSŪDANAḤ

S

MANGALAM PUNḌARIKĀKSO MANGALAM
GARUḌA-DHVAJAḤ

All this is chanted in one single tone. There is no transition low or high in this.

A *Gāthik* or two-toned chanting will be like this —

N S

PŪRNASYA CA-ĀVĀHANAM KUTRA SARVĀDHĀRA-
SYA CA-ĀSANAM

N S

SVACCHHASYA PADYAM-ARGHYAṆCA
ŚUDDHASYA CA-ACAMANAM KUTAḤ

In this there are only two degrees of pitch between which the voice moves up and down, namely N and S.

Sāmik Chanting is of three tones and is done something like this,

RRR—R R S R R R G R RS

MANO BUDDHI—AHANKĀRA CITTĀNI NĀHAM

R R R R S R R R G R R S

NA CA ŚROTRA JIHVE NA CA—ĀGHRĀNA NETRE

R R R R S R R R G R R S

1 NA CA VYOMA BIJŪMIR—NA TEJO NA VĀYUḤ

R R R R S R R R G R R S

CIDĀNANDA RŪPAḤ ŚIVOSHAM ŚIVOSHAM

Here there are three degrees of pitch, namely R, S and G. Let us now take the Svarāntara or four toned chant. The śloka concerned is a benediction uttered by the wedding priest wishing well to the bride and bridegroom.

M M M G R R G R R S S M M M G R R G
R R S S

11 Vighneśa No Vighna Vidūra Kāṁ NīrVighnaKāṁye Sakalāṁ Iha
Siddhiḥ

M M M G R R G R R S S M M M G R R G R
D S S

Vighneśvaro Vighna Naṁśa Pūjyo Vadhī—Varābhyaṁ Śubha-
mā Dadātu

Whatever value these chants may have as regards their historical authenticity they are good enough to give us some idea regarding the primitive attempts at musical expression. The main object in setting words, time measure and some sort of musical murmur was memorisation of the subject matter of the verse. The Vedas, Purāṇas, Darśanas are all written in verses. They were to be learnt by heart and hence the necessity of their versification. Even a child learning his numbers or rules of grammar chants his lessons in musical chants punctuated in time beats.

The recitation of the Vedic Hymns was done in three movements of the voice 'Udātta', Raised, 'Anudātta' the lowered and 'Svarita' the circumflex. These movements were probably not meant to be in any definite musical intervals as such. An 'Udātta' syllable was to be pronounced in a high pitch, without reference to any definite degrees of pitch in comparison to the other movements. The syllable in 'Anudātta' was to be pronounced in a low pitch and a 'Svarita' syllable was to be pronounced with a slur roughly covering the high and low tones. Thus it seems that in the Vedic hymns other than those of the Sāma-Veda there was no conscious attempt at a musical chant. It was just recitation and no musical chant.

The Sāma Veda which is avowedly a Geyā Veda, on the other hand, is a book of hymns most of which were from the RgVeda itself, which were chanted with a definitely musical expression. In fact, in order to make room for musical strains the ending vowels of the words of the hymns were prolonged and even twisted into other vowels. I have already observed that our music is supposed to have originated from the Sāma Veda. In Sāma Samhitā we find references to seven degrees of pitch in the descending order, namely *Kṛṣṭa*, *Prathama*, *Dvitiya*, *Trītiya*, *Chaturtha*, *Mandra* and *Atisvara*. *Kṛṣṭa* was the high strung, *Prathama* was the first below the *Kṛṣṭa*, *Dvitiya*, the second below, *Trītiya* the third below, the *Chaturtha* the fourth below, *Mandra* the lowest and *Atisvara* the extra tonal below the *Mandra*. There is some reference to some degrees intervening between these seven. Thus it seems we had already evolved a complete scale of music for the Sāmik Chants. It is hardly possible to demonstrate this scale. The actual intervals are not known, nor is there anything on record which may help us to establish these intervals. The Śaṭra Vinā or the corporal lute referred to in the Sāma Samhitā gives the places of these notes on the fingers of the hand where respectively the thumb is to touch them for each degree of pitch, during the chanting. But there are no directions as to the sounds to be produced in the voice.

These degrees of pitch were called *Yamas*. The notes of music on the other hand were called *Svaras* and these were in the ascending order and called respectively *Sadja*, *Rṣabha*, *Gandhāra*, *Madhyama*, *Pañcamā*, *Dharvata* and *Niṣāda*. There are interesting explanations of these names.

In the *Nārada Śikṣā* which is technically a book on phonetics, containing rules of pronunciation of the syllables occurring in the Vedic Hymns, we find reference to the *svaras*. I have just now enumerated. Nārada tells us that *Gandhāra* and *Niṣāda* are *Udātta*, *Rṣabha*, and *Dharvata* are *Anudātta* and *Sadja*, *Madhyama* and *Pañcamā* are *Svarita*. Just this bare statement and no explanation of it. Nārada also tells us that the *Yama* known as *Prathama* in the Sāmik Chant is the equivalent of the *Madhyama* of the *Venu*, i.e. flute, *Dvitiya* of the Sāmik Chant is the *Gandhāra* of the *Venu*, *Trītiya* the equivalent of the *Rṣabha* of the flute and so forth. But what was this flute like? What was its size? How many holes it had and their spacing one from the other? These are questions which are yet to be settled.

The *Nārada Śikṣā* is considered by some of our scholars as the oldest work which bears a reference to music. Here is an interesting topic which demands the attention of our scholars and musicologists. Which Nārada wrote the *Nārada Śikṣā* and when? The mythological personalities of this name, the famous wandering minstrel of the

Heaven, the son of God Brahman can hardly have written a work in the comparatively modern Sanskrit. Then again the work is properly on phonetics. There are at least a dozen and a half works known as *Śikṣā*, all on phonetics. Hardly any three of these refer to music and its tonality so emphatically as this mysterious *Nārada Śikṣā*. All or most of the other *Śikṣa Granthas* have not gone beyond the *Udatta*, *Anudatto* and *Svarita*. But the author of the *Nārada Śikṣā* refers to *Grāmas* and *Murchhanas*. What was the purpose? Were the *Sāman* Hymns to be sung in modes and melodies? Bharata the oldest author on the science of music refers to Nārada as one of the musicologists. Which Nārada was this? Was it the author of the famous *Nārada Śikṣā* or was it the great mythological Nārada? Going through the Nārada *Śikṣa* one is almost tempted to feel that the chapter on music in the *Śikṣā* at least if not the entire work might have been written by a later Pandit, even one posterior to Bharata and added to the *Śikṣā*. If at all the *Sāman* Chants were to be elaborated in a musical strain why is there no further explanation regarding the melodies or modes in which the Hymns were to be sung. Why has Nārada stopped at just the mention of *Grāmas* and *Murchhanas* without explaining their application? Fortunately some of our modern scholars are making efforts to trace the history of our music back to Kāśyapa Nārada and other ancient musicologists. Let us await their researches.

Until we get reliable information regarding works that might have been written before the *Bharata Nṛtya Śāstro* we have to look upon this work as our first book of knowledge on music. The *Nṛtya Śāstra* is an encyclopaedic work on the art of stage craft, or Dramaturgy. The exact date of this work is not known but it is supposed to have been written in the beginning of the Christian era. Bharata devotes one or two chapters to music the singing and its accompaniments, as a necessary and important part of the dramatic representation, and, only in this way he has dealt with *saṅgīta*. He calls his chapter on music *Ātodya Vidhiḥ*, i.e. instrumental accompaniment.

Bharata in his chapter on music refers to even *Suddha swaras* and two *Viśruti* ones. The musical intervals are measured in terms of microtonal intervals known as *Śrutis*. Unfortunately Bharata and all the later musicologists who have propounded the *Grāma-Murchhanā* and *Jāti* theory seem to take it for granted that the exact measure of a *Śruti* was a matter of common knowledge and needed no explanation beyond pointing it out as then being equal to the difference between the *Pañcamas* of the two *Grāmas* the *Saḍja Grāma* and *Madhyama Grāma*. These two *Grāmas* were the basic music scales of the ancient system of Music. These were almost equivalents of each other, the only difference between them being that the *Pañcama* the 5th of the *Madhyama Grāma* was slightly lower, i.e. lower by just one *Śruti* than the *Pañcama* the 5th of the *Saḍja Grāma*. These two scales

were very common among the people and known to everybody and so was the interval between the higher *Pañcama* of the *Sadja Grāma* and the lower one of the *Madhyama-Grāma* were and hence it was thought unnecessary to give any explanation. Bharata asks a question saying 'Nanu Śruteḥ Kim Pramāṇam?' and proceeds to explain the process by which it is to be found. He asks us to take two *Vīṇas* or lutes and tune them in the *Sadja Grāma* as it was understood in his time. The intervals of the *Sadja Grāma* were known to people and they could therefore tune the *Vīṇā* i.e. by its frets so as to produce the *Sadja Grāma*. Having tuned both the *Vīṇas* in the *Sadja-Grāma* we are further asked to put one of the *Vīṇas* so tuned aside and make changes in the other one according to his directions. The other *Vīṇā* in which these changes were to be effected was to be tuned to *Madhyama Grāma* by lowering the *Pañcama* to the pitch required for it in the *Madhyama Grāma*. Having done this we have to convert the whole *Vīṇā* into *Sadja Grāma* again, but without touching the new *Pañcama* which we had tuned in it for changing it previously to *Madhyama Grāma*. The second *Sadja Grāma* could be obtained by changing all the other frets i.e. by lowering every one of them. Thus the whole *Vīṇā* would come down by one *Śruti* below the *Sadja-Grāma* of the first *Vīṇā* which was put aside just for reference. Then the next step is to turn the new *Sadja Grāma* again into *Madhyama-Grāma* by lowering as before, the *Pañcama* by one *Śruti* and then again this *Madhyama Grāma* was to be converted into *Sadja Grāma*, by keeping the new *Pañcama* intact, i.e. by lowering all the other frets except *Pañcama* by one *Śruti*. Now in this third *Sadja Grāma* we will find that the *Gandhāra* and *Nisāda* of the changeable *Vīṇā* have come down by two *Śrutis* and have coincided with the *Rāṣbha* and *Dharmata* respectively because these are two *Śrutis* lower from their next higher neighbours. The coincidence of the *Rāṣbha* of the *Vīṇā* kept for reference with the *Gandhāra* on the Changeable One and the coincidence of the *Dharmata* of the reference *Vīṇā* with *Nisāda* on the Changing *Vīṇā* could happen only if *Śruti* is a definite unit of musical interval, not otherwise.

Taking thus the *Śruti* as the standard unit for measuring the degrees of his scale Bharata gives the following *Śloka* locating the seven *Svaras* of his *Sadja Grāma* in terms of *Śrutis*.

'CATUṢ CATUṢ CATUṢ-CAIVA SADJA MADHYAMA-
PAÑCAMAH DVE DVE NISĀDA-GANDHĀRAU TRĪSTRĪ
RSHABHA-DHĀIVATAU'

Literally this means that *Sadja*, *Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are each of four *Śrutis*, *Gandhāra* and *Nisāda* of two *Śrutis* each and *Rāṣbha* and *Dharmata* of three *Śrutis* each. Actually it means that *Sadja*, *Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are each at an interval of four *Śrutis* from their lower neighbours i.e. *Nisāda*, *Gandhāra* and

Madhyama respectively, than *Gandhāra* and *Niṣāda* are each at an interval of two *śrutis* from their lower neighbours, i.e. from *Rṣabha* and *Dharmata* respectively and *Rṣabha* and *Dharmata* are each at three *śrutis* from their lower neighbours, i.e. from *Sadja* and *Pañcama* respectively. Thus in terms of the numbers of *śrutis* these intervals are, counting them from *Sadja* upwards 3+2+4+4+3+2+4. The *Madhyama* *Grāma* has all these intervals except the 5th & 6th as the *Pāñcama* of this *Grāma* is lower by one *śruti*, and *Dharmata* will therefore be at four *śrutis* from *Pañcama*. Thus the *Madhyama* *Grāma* will be counting the scale from *Madhyama* itself upwards, 3+4+2+4+3+2+4

These two scales were the basis of the ancient system of music. The melodies of the ancient music in India were called *Jātis*. The *Jātis* seem to have been certain tunes or airs which were commonly known all over through popular songs. Even today we have in popular music certain types of songs such as the Baul and Bhatiyāl in Bengal, Bana-Git, Bihu-Git and Bora Git in Assam, Rasiyā, Sohāi, Birhā, Gath Sāwan, Hindola in U P, Mānd Mewada, Ālhā in Rājasthān, Rawanmuniya in Bihar, Dadaria in C P, Garbin Gujath, Lāwani, Powadā, Abhangā in Mahārāshtra. Quite a lot of these songs are sung in tunes which are common. All together there may be about couple of dozen such common airs of *Dhuns* as they are called in the common parlance all over the country. Did the *Jātis* refer to these *Dhuns*? It is an interesting question worth investigating. Technically, the *Jātis* were the music, the *Dhwani-Svarūp*, of the popular songs, of those days. The music was analysed independently without reference to words and classified according to the *Svaras* occurring in them and their treatment. Their scales, starting and closing cadences characteristic phrases and their keynotes were determined. Most of these *Jātis* were named after their key notes, for example *Sadja* from *Sadja*, *Ārsabha* from *Rṣabha*, *Gāndhārī* from *Gandhāra* etc. We have already seen the two basic scales of *Sadja* *Grāma* and *Madhyama* *Grāma*. Some of the *Jātis* were supposed to have been composed out of the *Sadja* *Grāma* and others from the *Madhyama* *Grāma*. But the *Jātis* were not produced directly from the *Grāma*. The *Grāmas* did not give a sufficient variety of musical intervals for the *Jātis* to fit into them. These intervals were obtained by a process of key-modulations, i.e. by shifting the *Sadja* from its place to the successive and lower degrees of the scale and this actually meant that the names of the successive *Svaras*, Sa, Ni, D, MA etc. were to be allotted to the successive lower degrees of the scale. Let me illustrate this point. Supposing the Bilāval scale, the basic scale of the present system of Hindustani Music, were considered as the *Sadja* *Grāma*. This scale is almost an equivalent of the C Major scale of the Western Music. It runs thus —(S R G M P DH N S). These notes sung in succession make a certain musical effect. I shall now sing this very scale starting from the second note and ending it on the

octave of the second higher mode. R G M P DH N Ś R This very scale sung in open voice now — A A A A A A A A

This second flight of notes creates an effect totally different and distinct from the one created by singing the scale from the first note to its octave. Let me sing these one after another now

S R G M P DH N Ś R G M P DH N Ś R
A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A

Thus by such key modulations a number of modes were obtained. These modes were known as *Murchanas*. These *Murchanas* are actually so many scales of music from which the *Jātis* were obtained with one *Murchanā* starting from each of the seven *Svaras* of the *Grāma* there were seven *Murchanas* in each *Grāma*. Thus all together fourteen *Murchanas* were recognised for practical purposes. There was a third *Grāma* called the *Gandhāra Grāma* and its seven *Murchanas*. But that *Grāma* seems to have gone out of vogue in the tunes of the ancient authors and they just make a mention of it. No melodies if any obtained from this *Grāma* and its *Murchanas* are referred to in the *Granthas*. The *Jātis* of the *Granthas* have all their origin in the two *Grāmas*, *Sādja* and *Madhyama* and the fourteen *Murchanas*. The *Murchanas* gave the flats and sharps of the *Jātis*.

The *Rāgas* which are today the basic idea of the comparatively modern music of India were supposed to be evolved out of the *Jātis*, by means of certain modifications considered necessary for developing the melodies extempore and independently from words.

Bharata does not describe *Rāgas* in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*. He gives all details of *Grāmas*, *Murchanās* and *Jātis*, but does not say a word about the *Rāgas*.

Mātanga who had flourished a few centuries after Bharata is the first author on music who has referred to the *Rāgas* in their technical sense and defined them. His work is known as *Brhat-Deśī*. It is impossible to say when exactly the 'Rāga' came into being. The word is a derivative of the root 'Rañja' to please. In literature we come across the words 'Anurāga' and 'Virāga' which are the derivatives of the same root 'Rañja' as independent words. But the word *Rāga* occurs in the context of something else, e.g. *Gita Rāga* and *Mukharāga* when it means pleasing effect. It seems the word *Rāga* was in vogue in this sense only before it acquired its technical sense in the context of music. Certain features of *Jātis* which made particularly pleasing effect were selected and developed musically and were called *Rāgas*. We find that names of the *Rāgas* were formed from the names of the *Jātis* themselves on the one hand, and, on the other, from the

style in which they were sung. There were distinct styles of singing which were known as *Gītis*, in which alone certain *Rāgas* could be sung. These *Gītis* were *Śuddha*, *Bhūma*, *Gaudī*, *Varāṇa* and *Sādhārāṇī*. The names of some of the early *Rāgas* were *Śuddha Koṭiśho*, referring to *Śuddha Gīti* and *Kauśikī Jāti*, *Bhūma Koṭiśho*, *Bhūma Gīti* and *Kauśikī Jāti*, *Gaudī Kautika*, *Bhūma Sādjo*, *Bhūma Pāṇama* etc.

Several authors after Mātanga such as Nānyadeva, Pārśva Deva Śārahga Deva followed Mātanga's system and classified their *Rāgas* under *Grāhas*, *Mūrchanas* and *Jātis*.

In the meanwhile the Muslim adventurers came into India and established kingdoms and settled themselves here. During the first few centuries of their rule they had little time for art and culture. They were totally engrossed in building up and consolidating their sway over several parts of the country. By the time, however, that *Saṅgīta Ratnākora* was written in the thirteenth century the Muslim empire was established at Delhi under Allāuddīn Khiljī. These Muslim rulers were most of them passionately fond of music and patronized the art though in their own way. Along with other indigenous things they also accepted the music of their adopted country. Amīr Khusrāw, a great scholar and poet at the court of Delhi, was also a great patron of music. His contribution to the modern culture has not so much in anything new and foreign to India that he is supposed to have introduced here as in the efforts he made to popularise the indigenous art and culture of India under state patronage, by modifying them so as to render them easily accessible to the common people. The great cities of those days were most of them military camps and what Amīr Khusrāw did was to introduce and popularise manners and customs, art and literature of India into the military camps. Thus the common Indian language mixed with Persian and Arabic words and phrases became the language of military camps of Delhi and other places. Manners, customs, fashions, music and art resulting from a fusion of Indian, Arabic and Persian life and thought became common.

The *Seltār* was made easy of the ancient *Vīṇa*, tobiā that of the *Mirdang*, *Qawwālī* was a Muslim adaptation of the *Bhajan* and *Kīrtana*. The *Prabandhas* of the ancient Indian Music were modified and took the forms of *Dhrupads*, *Khyāls*. The Amīr does not seem to have had time to look into the *Graṇthas* on music. He seems to have interested himself only in the practical aspect of music. He is, however, considered responsible for a good many innovations in our music in its practical form.

But a change also in the theory of music seems to have come in after Śārahga Deva. The system of key modulations seems to have given place to a new idea according to which all the flats and sharps and all the *Mūrchanas* or modes were brought within the range of just one Octave i. e. *Sa* to *octave sa*.

All the musical intervals, flats, sharps, natural, double flats and double sharps used in the melodies were collected and arranged one after another in an order of succession between the key note *Sadjo* and its octave. This was done even before *Śāraṅga Deva* and hence it is that we find in *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* itself all the intervals which he used in his *Rāgas* ranged in one single gamut. And yet *Śāraṅga Deva* does not seem to have got out of the *Murchanas*. He defines his *Rāgas* in terms of *Grāmas*, *Murchanas* and *Jātis*. Indeed, in some of his *Rāgas* he refers to the *Murchanā* just to give the starting note alone of the *Rāga*. The actual scale of the *Rāga* was obtained from the *Jāti* and the mere mention of a *Jāti* should have automatically determined the *Murchanā* because a *Jāti* was itself derived from a particular *Murchanā*. But *Śāraṅga Deva* makes a mention of the *Murchanā* also. Thus the *Murchanā* determines only the starting note. Some later *Grothakāras* have also followed him in this.

The *Grāma Murchanā* and *Jāti* system was abandoned and the *Rāga*, now began to be classified by some musicologists under parental scales of *Meṣas* which are known in common parlance as *Thōṭas* and by others under the *Rōga-Rāginī* system. The latter was prevalent in the north. *Thōṭa-Rāga* classification became more popular in the south. It is very interesting to note that while, on the one hand, the *Grāma Murchanas* gave us the idea of the *Meṣa-Rōga* classification, the process of producing *Rāgas* out of the *Jātis*, suggested, on the other the *Rōga-Rāginī* process, i.e., the process of producing *Rāgas* out of certain selected parts or *āṅgas* of a main broad *Rāga*.

Rāmamatya, the author of the *Svarameḷa Kalānidhi* who can be easily called the father of the modern system of South Indian Music seems to have been the first man who made a list of full heptatonic scales under which to classify the *Rāgas* in vogue at his time. All the subsequent authors of the South Indian system of music have followed Rāmamatya's idea of *Meḷa-Rāga* classification and explained their *Rāgas* under this classification.

In the north, however, opinion was divided. Some of our musicologists here created the idea of classifying a group of melodies as derivatives of, or related to a certain Principal *Rōga*. They selected six melodies and called them *Rāgas* and under the heading of each they put six other melodies more or less of a lighter type and called them *Rāginīs*. It is not possible to explain why a certain melody was allotted to a certain *Rōga* as its *Rāginī* because the actual musical renderings of these have gone out of vogue and are lost to us, there having been no notation system in vogue then and therefore no illustrations of the *Rōgas* and *Rāginīs* in terms of musical intervals are available. Even today some sort of *Rōgāṅga* classification does exist in the modern system of our music though we do not consider the melodies as *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs*. The *Kanhadās*, *Mālōrs*, *Sāraṅgs*, *Kalyāns*,

Bilṭvals, *Naṭas*, *Todis* are classes of *Rāgas* according to *Rāgāṅgas*. But the old *Graniho* classification of the *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* cannot be revived now for the reasons we have already discussed. The *Thāṭa-Rāgo* classification appears to be a fairly reasonable classification, and our *Rāgas* are grouped under this system today. Having once grouped the *Rāgas* under one common heading according to their musical intervals and calling that group a *Thāṭa* we may further divide them into smaller groups according to the *Rōgāṅgas*. Thus we have *Yaman*, *Bhūp*, *Suddha Kolyān*, *Hamīr*, *Jost*, *Hen* as varieties of *Kalyān* in the *Kalyān Thāṭo*, *Suddha*, *Alharyā*, *Yomanī*, *Deoguri*, *Śuklō*, *Kukuhho*, *Lochashkh*, *Noṭo*, *Sarpordā* as varieties of *Bilṭval* under the *Bilṭval* scale, the *Rogas* of *Khamō*, *Aṅgo* and *Deśa Aṅgo* under the *Khamō*, *Thōṭa* and so forth. The *Rāgas* of Hindustāni music of today are classified under ten scales. The scale gives roughly the intervals that are to be used in the *Rāga*. Among the notes of which a *Rāga* is formed one is called the governing note which has another note more or less concordant to it in the other tetrachord which supports the governing note. The governing note is known as *Vādī* and the supporting one called the *Somvādī*. All the rest of the notes are known as *Anuvādīs*. In a proper adjustment mutually of the *Vādī*, *Somvādī* and *Anuvādīs* with due emphasis and accents rests all the art of rendering a *Rāga*. Let me illustrate *Rāgo*. We shall take the famous *Darbārī Kāṇhadā*. This *Rāgo* has the *Svaras* of the *Āṣṭavarī* scale which runs as follows

S R G M P D H N Ś

All these intervals are used in *Darbārī Kāṇhadā*. The governing note of *Darbārī Kāṇhadā* is *Rṣabha* and it is supported by *Pañchama* which is the *Somvādī* *Svaro*. The note *Komal Dho* occurs only in the ascent, i.e. in going up the scale. It is omitted while coming down the scale. Thus it is always NP and never DH PM, or NDHPM. This *Rāgo* is sung in the midnight when there is a *Mahīl*. I am not this moment singing in a *Mahīl* and can be excused for singing it at this hour. There is one special feature of *Darbārī Kāṇhadā*. In fact it is a common and distinguishing feature of all the *Kāṇhadā* varieties. In all *Kāṇhadās* the *Komal Ga* is always oscillated.

It is never held up steady for instance $\overset{n}{G} \overset{m}{G} \overset{m}{G} \overset{n}{G}$. Similarly the *Dha* of *Darbārī Kāṇhadā* is also oscillated. The *Darbārī Kāṇhadā* is a favourite melody of classical musicians. It is certainly a very solemn and effective *Rāga*. Let me try it

S, R $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{n}{N}$ P, M P $\overset{n}{DH}$ N S N N S N
SR $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{n}{DH}$ R N S N R, R S

RR, $\overset{m}{G} \overset{r}{G} \overset{r}{G}$ RS R, G,
S N S M R S N S R $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{n}{DH}$ N P, M P $\overset{n}{DH}$ N

Bhairavī has all *Komal Svaras* besides S & P E G

S R G M P DH N S

Bhairava has R & DH *Komal*, all the rest *Suddha* E G

S R G MDR DH N S

Pūrvi has R & DH *Komal*, M *Tivra*, the rest *Suddha* E G

S R G M P DH N S

Māvā has R *Komal* and M *Tivra*, the rest *Suddha* E G

S R G MDR DH N S

Tadī has R, G & DH *Komal*, M & N *Tivra*, S & P E G

S R G M P DH N S

Rāgas are formed out of these scales by omitting some notes from the full scale or by suppressing some and emphasising others. I have referred to the *Vādī Samvādī*, and *Anuvādī Svaras* at a *Rāga*. Every *Rāga* has a distinguishing passage of tones peculiar to itself. In omitting notes totally from a scale to form a *Rāga* a general rule is observed and it is this that not more than two notes may be omitted up or down the scale. A *Rāga* must have at least five notes up or down the scale. We have therefore three kinds of *Rāgas* namely *Sampūrṇa*, Heptatonic, having the full scale, *Saḍja*, Hexatonic when they have six notes only up or down, and thirdly the *Odava*, pentatonic when they have five notes up or down. It is not necessary that a *Rāga* must have the same number of notes or the same notes up as well as down the scale. It may have the full scale upwards and omit one or two notes downwards. This gives us a very large number of melodic patterns.

One *Rāga* is interpreted in two ways, namely *Ambaddha* and *Niboddha Gāna*. In *Ambaddha Gāna* the melody is elaborated extempore according to its rules either in open vowels or certain syllables such as Te, Ne, Ri, Tom, Nom, in a more or less measured pace. This *Ambaddha Gāna* is called *Alāp*.

Rāgas are also composed in songs, closed forms as they are called which are set to a definite system of rhythm and definite composition of musical tones and which have words. The oldest musical compositions known to us are Jayadeva's *Gīta Govindam*. This a book of musical compositions on the lines of *Prabandhas* which were in vogue in the ancient system of music. *Prabandhas*, *Vastu*, *Rūpakam* were the compositions of music which were mostly in Sanskrit. Śārāṅgadeva devotes a whole chapter to these mentioning a very large variety of *Prabandhas*, *Vastu* and *Rūpakas*. The songs of Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* are still sung though it is hard to say whether they are sung

just as they were composed by the famous poet. The Rāgas of the songs which are known as *Aṣṭo Padīs* are not in vogue today and our musicians of today sing them in any modern Rāga they like. Thus we hear one and the same *Aṣṭo-Padī* sung in a number of different Rāgas.

The Prabandhas are not in vogue today in their correct forms as they have been described in the old Sanskrit works. Our modern musical composition are *Dhruṣad*, *Khayāl*, *Thumrī*, *Tappā*, *Tarānā*, *Chatarāṅgo* in Hindustānī music and *Kṛitanams*, *Kṛitis*, *Varnams*, *Tilānā*, *Pallavi*, *Javli*, in South Indian Music. If we closely study the forms of these compositions we shall find that these are just modelled and modified forms of the ancient musical compositions, the *Prabandhas*. A *Prabandha* had four or five parts namely *Udgraha*, the opening stanza, the *Dhruvo*, or refrain, the *Melōṣaka*, and *Ābhaga* and, in some, one more stanza called *Antarā*. Our modern compositions have four three or two parts, known as *Sthāyī*, *Antara*, *Saṁcārī*, *Maṅga* in some and *Ābhaga*. Compositions known as *Dhruṣad* have some of them all these four. Most of our modern Hindustānī musical compositions have two stanzas only, namely *Sthāyī* and *Antarā*. These stanzas are more or less of the same nature as those of the old *Prabandhas*.

A *Dhruṣad* is a serene type of song. It is a classical form of the *Kīrtanas* sung in our temples. The distinction between a *Kīrtano* sung in religious shrines and a *Dhruṣad* of *Rūḍāṛī* Music is that while the aim in singing the *Kīrtano* is to create a feeling of devotion for the deity of the shrine by repeating phrases of its praise occurring in the *Kīrtano* with a more or less constant cadences of music, the aim of singing a *Dhruṣad* is to create a musical effect by embellishing it with a rich variety of musical cadences and rhythmic forms extempore. The drumming in accompaniment to a *Dhruṣad* is done on the *Mṛdaṅga*. This instrument is played with open palms and with some vigour so that the whole atmosphere is filled with its deep and loud sound.

A *Khoyāl* is a sort of lyric in music. The very meaning of the word *Khoyāl* is a passing thought. This is a type of song which leaves the musician free to develop his melody with all possibilities of musical expression by human voice. It is full of *mīends*, *glāps*, *Behlavis*, *Khōḥās*, *Tānas*, *Zamzamās*, in fact all the graces of music are demonstrated to advantage in a *Khoyāl*. This type of songs was popularised by the Muslim musicians. The subject matter of *Khoyāl* is varied. Most of the *Khoyāls* have for their theme one or the other phase of the *Alaukhāra Śāstrī* particularly the *Nōyoko-Nōyikō*, *Prakarano*. There are two types of *Khoyāls* serene and light. The former are modelled on *Dhruṣods* and are rendered in a slow tempo. The light types of *Khoyāls* are said to have evolved out of the *Bhojan* and *Qawwāl*. They are sung in a comparatively medium or even fast

tempo and are elaborated with a lot of running *ṛāhas*. The drumming in accompaniment to a *Khyāl* is done on *Tobā*.

A *Ṭhumrī* is a purely amorous song. It is a very small couplet. The words are repeated with a variety of musical cadences, musical graces, so as to emphasize the word sense. A bit of gesture is also resorted to particularly by professional women when they sing a *Ṭhumrī*.

A *Toppō* is a type of song introduced by one Ghulām Nabī popularly known as Shorī Miyān. These are said to have evolved out of the Panjābī folk tunes. The language is Panjābī and the subject matter amorous.

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजसात श्रद्धा पत्नी एतद्धा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karmaṇ and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

ध्वान बरबस आकृष्ट हो जाता है। कभी-कभी एक ही जावनीबाज या जावनीकार अपनी रचना चग पर गा-गाकर सुनाता है, किन्तु पहले प्राय दो मञ्जिबों एकत्रित होती थीं और स्पर्धा में एक ही विषय पर अपनी रचनाएँ सुनाती थीं, या पहली और प्रशस्त के रूप में सवाल-जबाब होते थे। जनता हार जीत का निश्चय करती थी और जीतनेवाला दल पराजित दल का मिशान या मढा खटा दो जाता था। 'कलगी' और 'तुरी' दल की तनावत्री या सवाल-जबाब की बहुत दिनों तक धूम रही। इस प्रकार जावनी जनता के हृदय का सच्चा रूप-चित्र प्रस्तुत करती हुई हमारे सामने आई। उसमें जनता के बद्वार थे, उसे जनता के लोग ही कहते थे, और उस पर जनता का ही शासन था। इसलिए जावनी ही जनकान्य की सच्ची उपाधि से विभूषित की जा सकती है।

जावनी का साहित्य अस्थायी समुद्र और अनेक स्थायिक है। उसमें जनता के जीवन के प्रत्येक चेहरे और भूमिका की झलक मिलती है। जावनीनाओं ने जनता के जीवन को उसकी पूर्णता और समष्टि में देखकर उसके लौकिक और आध्यात्मिक पक्ष की अस्थायी मधुर और सगीतमय झलक प्रस्तुत की है। जावनी समन्वित है। ऐसा होना स्वाभाविक भी है क्योंकि जनता का हृदय क्रोध और कष्ट भावनाओं के प्रति सदा सवेदनशील रहा है। प्रेम और श्रृंगार का आकर्षण उसे सदा जुमाता रहा और सभी आध्यात्मिकता की ऊँचाई पर पहुँचने के लिए वह अपने को सदा न्योछावर करती रही। जनता कृत्रिमता से कुछ दूर है। और ये भाव भी मानव-हृदय के धारक अकृत्रिम अनुभूत भाव हैं, इसलिए इन दोनों का सम्बन्ध भी बहुत कुछ नैसर्गिक गति से जुड़ गया। जावनी की गीयता भी इसका कारण है। गीत का उद्देश्य तात्कालिक प्रभाव उत्पन्न करना होता है। इसलिए गानेवाले गूढ़ या मिलट भावों की उपेक्षा कर (क्योंकि उनके समावेश से ओंठा उसके गूढ़ अर्थ में उलझ कर संगीत का आनन्द भ्रम कर सकेगा) उन भावों या प्रतीकों को लेते हैं और उन कृत्तियों को उकसाते हैं जिन्होंने जनता के हृदय में बहुत काल से घर कर लिया है। श्रृंगार और भक्ति और कष्टना ऐसे ही भाव हैं, इसलिए इन भावों का बाहुल्य अस्वाभाविक नहीं है।

यद्यपि जावनी साहित्य के मुख्य भाव श्रृंगार और भक्ति हैं फिर भी जावनी-बाजों की प्रतिभा ने उसे जो विविधता और अनेकरूपता प्रदान की है, उससे हम चमत्कृत हो जाते हैं, भक्ति के क्षेत्र में सगुण और निगुण दोनों प्रकार की उपासना के लक्ष्य मिलते हैं। जहाँ सगुणक्षेत्र में उपास्य की मूर्ति का कथन और बीजा का घण्टन बंधे भण्डे बंग से हुआ है, वहाँ निगुणसाधना के समस्त प्रतीक भी मिलते हैं और ब्रह्मज्ञान और अद्वैतानुभूति की वज्रमूर्ति हुई है। निम्नलिखित उदाहरण में निगुण-साधना के उपलक्षणों का प्रयोग दृष्ट्य है,—

हैं, ऊपर कुआँ औ नीचे उसके छोरी
पानी भरती पनिहारिन चोरा चोरी ॥

मूँ धन्य कुएँ का है अस पानी वरसे, वो देखे जिसकी डोर लगी है हर से ।
जब पनिहारिन कुछ काम न राखे घर से, सब अमृत जल से झकें छुटे सब उर से ।
वो नित उठ गागरि मरें बनी रहे छोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥
जब उलटा डोल वो लाय तो पानी आये, फिर सीधे अयना बाग अमर फल पाये,
है काहे को वो बोख औ कीन बनारस, जो पूरा लोनी होय सो मोहि बताने
उस कुएँ के ऊपर नहीं चले बरखोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥
बस कुएँ पै गंगा समुना सरस्वती हैं, और महादेव अविनाशी पारवती हैं
नौ नाथ चौरासी सिद्ध औ बाछ जरी हैं, नामा प्रकार की उसमें बेज धनी हैं
है राह बहाँ की बहुत सोंकरी छोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥
लाखों पनिहारिन एक लहौं पनिहारा, उस पनिहारे ने सबको भर दी भारा
जिसने पाया वो नीर ता अम्भ सुधारा, कहै बनारसी उसकी गति अपरभारा,
वो न्हावे उसमें जिसका पथ अयोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥

हावनी के कथन और प्रबोचरपौकी का कुछ आभास देने के लिए ही इसे कुछ विस्तार के साथ उद्धृत किया गया है। इस हावनी में संयुक्त उलटा कुआँ, गंगा, समुना, सरस्वती आदि त्रिगुणात्मता के सर्वविदित प्रतीक हैं। सहजसज्ज कमल, हवा पिशाचा और सुयुक्ता के ही ये दूसरे नाम हैं। पनिहारिन जीवात्माएँ हैं और पनिहारा ईश्वर हैं। उस अपरिबर्तनीय अक्षर का हमारे शरीर में निवास है। 'साधुर्भाष' में ज्ञापित कर इसी तथ्य की प्रतीकात्मक व्यक्तता निम्नलिखित उदाहरण में यकी सुन्दर हुई है—

“चलो आख जिसमिल के सोवें पीतम प्यारे के अब लग
सात द्वीप नवक्षय के ऊपर उलस जिसका बिछा पलग
पंचतन्त्र से आख्य है वो औ तीनों गुण से न्यारा है
दिव्य रूप सुन्दर से सुन्दर अपना पीतम प्यादा
वरवाजे पर चौकी देता जिसके कुतुब सितारा है,
बहाँ न चन्दा सूर्य अरनी और पवन का सनिक गुजारा है
सो मेरे इस शरीर में है उसी से अपना पल्लव ॥ चलो आन ॥

इसी प्रकार चौसर के निम्नलिखित लेख में भाव्यात्मिक भावना की प्रतीकात्मक या रूपात्मक अभिव्यक्ति मिलती है—

यहुत दिनों पर बिछी है चौसर समूह के लेखों के आल कथा है
जो फेकूँ पीसे तो छूटे छूके नखो दमन की मजाल बथा है ॥

मैं हूँ जुदाही सुघर लिखाही हमेशा जीतूँ कभी न हारूँ ।
 सदा पक्षे पौ दुई दूर हो औरासियों घर घर की बरह माकूँ
 पक्षे अघरखे जो तीन काने तो अपने दिल में मैं बह बिचारूँ
 ये तीन गुण हैं समी रहन में उनसे बलके अलग सिधारूँ ।
 है बार काये वो चौथा पक्ष है भिजा अब हमको मजाक क्या है । जो फेंकूँ ०
 है इसमें पजबी लो पोंच तरब मैं इनसे गोरी बजा बचा के
 और फेंकूँ झकड़ी लो आऊँ सत को मद्गुर के पास आके ॥
 है पाँच अट्टा सो आठ लिखी नव रिखी मैं रखूँ मना के ।
 पक्षे अगर छः बहाव दस ती प्यो हार देखूँ दिल लगा के
 न रग अपना मरे किसी से मैं अब समझता हूँ काज क्या है ॥ जो फेंकूँ ०

अब 'निगु'ण के बाजार' में खरीदार और खरीदनेवाले की सत्ता के अनेक को देखिए । साधक और साध्य में कोई अन्तर नहीं । उदासक उस परम सत्ता का सेवक भी है और साधक भी । दास्य भाव और सत्ताभाव दोनों की बसे अनुभूति होती है ।

“यह बाजार निगु'ण का है मैं खरीदार साधक का हूँ ।
 साधक भी हूँ और मैं दास्यदा साधक का हूँ ॥
 वह मेरा है दोस्त और मैं भी तो यार साधक का हूँ ।
 जो चाहे सो करूँ मैं मुक्तिद्वार साधक का हूँ ॥”

यही एक अलग अनेक रूपों में व्यक्त हो रहा है, यही ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और महेश है । सभी में उस पूर्ण ब्रह्म की उपोत्ति लग रही है । ब्रह्म की अद्वैतानुभूति की व्यञ्जना निम्नलिखित पक्तियों में हुई है:—

“जो आपी-भाप है एक और नहीं कोई, कह कलगी तुराँ कहाँ से आप कोई ।
 यही ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेश यही है राज्ञी, निरवय करि मानो करो प्रेस से भग्नी ॥
 सुन किसी की निन्दा सोई नहीं जगती, है सबमें पूरण ब्रह्म उपोत्ति सी जगती ।
 क्यों झूठ भाव कर करके बुझि सोई ॥ कह कलगी ०” ॥

निगु'णभक्ति के समान सगुणभक्ति के उद्धार भी ज्ञानकी साहित्य में बहुत मिलते हैं, इनमें अधिक का समग्र गंगा से है या जीहृण्य की शृ गारमयी प्रेस-क्रीड़ा से है । गंगा के तट पर बसे हुए भिजापुर के ज्ञानकी केन्द्र से शिव और गंगा की स्तुति का प्रादुर्भाव स्वाभाविक है । गंगा की सहिमा, जलकी चारा की पतितपावनी शक्ति का वर्णन बड़ी सम्मयता और उत्साह से किया गया है । छद् की गतिबिज्ञता भी देखने योग्य है ।

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cunio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

जब तन की सुधि कहु नहीं रही तब सूचन कौन सुधार चले ।
 मन तो अटका इस बँसुरी में राग से अंतुनव की धार चले ॥
 तुम राग बजावो राग करी ऐसा कोज न विहार करे ।
 मँकधार में नाच पड़ी हमरी तुम बिन को बेड़ा पार करे ॥
 तुम पति हमरे मैं दासी सब ये दिया क्या हूँ छिपारी ने ॥ धुनि सुनत० ॥

श्रीकृष्णदर्शन की छाकसार निम्नलिखित पद में व्यक्त हुई है। इसका शब्द-
 चयन ध्यान देने योग्य है —

“भजन चलो सखी करो दर्शन नगरनट के ।
 हैं जीने के फल यही मिटें सब अटक के ॥
 अधरन पर बली धरे सँवरे भटक के ।
 जो घूँघरबासे बाल असक खाट खटक के ॥
 कभी पकड़ के बैयाँ झुंघर उधर से भटक के ।
 रँगिया के दूटे बन्ध और चूड़ी चटक के ॥
 बिन श्यामसुन्दर के बजुल (मेरा !) मन भटक के ॥ हैं जीने के० ॥

शब्दचयन और शैलीकौशल की दृष्टि से भुरगीवादन पर आती हुई गोपिकाआ
 आ यह वर्णन बड़ा रमणीक है —

“हरि बसुरी की धुनि सुनि भजन जुबली चलीं कुंठ के कुंठ सगन मन कर ।
 धन धन्य हरी धन धन्य हरी, धन धन बसुरी तन मन जियो हर ॥
 मन प्रेम प्रबल अति तन सुन्दर सब वेद सुरति अस गुण गावैं ।
 तब काज सकल गृह काज छोड़ चलीं हरिपद पकस मन भावैं ॥
 हरि जानन भग्न बकोर सखी छवि निरखि कर सकुचावैं ।
 कुछ कहि न सकैं हित की बतियाँ अति खजित मन में सुसुकावैं ॥
 अति व्याकुल गात भजन मद कर सखि चाहत मिले भक्तोहर घर ॥ हरि० ॥

यह समुदाय भक्ति किस प्रकार दिगुण भावना को खूर रही है यह भी ध्यान देने
 योग्य है, निम्न लिखित शब्द में इसी का उदाहरण है। गोपी, कृष्ण और रासक्रीड़ा
 की रूपात्मक और आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या के संकेत चिन्ह भी वर्तमान हैं।

“मन जोके सा रहा कूमकों की ओकों में, दिव दिवा कृष्ण तेरी बाकी की नोकों में ।
 तुम पारमका हो निराकार अनिनासी, फिर वेद धार क्यों हुए श्याम जनबासी ॥
 ओ प्रेम प्रीत की बाज गले में फाँसी, सब मोहिल की प्रमदनिता कर लई दासी ।

हुम तो कहते, हम बाक यही सम्पादी, फिर हमरे लग क्यों बने हो मोग बिखासी ॥
नहीं खगला मन पीसा के खोको में ॥ दिल बिखा ॥

X

X

X

हम सब मनबनिता गी लोक ते आई, सब हैं वेदों की भुली बेद ने आई ।
हुम आवि अत से कृष्ण हमारे साई, हैं अन्य हमारे भाग्य जो कंड खवाई ॥
कहे देवीसिंह श्री काशी गिरि गोसाई, हम बार (बार ?) श्रीकृष्ण तेरे बस नाई ।
कोई ऐसा हुआ अवतार न जैसोहों में, दिख बिबा कृष्ण तेरी वाली की नोहों में ॥

सगुण कृष्ण किस प्रकार त्रिगुण साधन के माध्य बन जाते हैं यह देखने के योग्य है । कवि बलीबट का वीदार अपने दिल में पार रहा है । वह न जाने कितनी बार इस भ्रम में खिर कड़ा चुका है और मसूर की तरह सूखी पर नाचा है । सगुण और त्रिगुण साधना का एक दूसरे में पर्यावसान या अन्तर्भाव और सूखी साधना का भारतीय साधना में अवसरण ध्यान देने के योग्य है ।

“हम तेरे इशक में बार बहुत दिन भटके, अब भिझा हमें तू बार खुले पठ घट के ।
कई बार गया सर तेरे इशक में कटके, फिर पाया हमने नाम तुम्हारा रट के ॥
किये रंज भलम मजूर जरा नहीं हटके, दिल की बहमत सब निकल गई छूट छूट के ।
कई बाज बने के दिमे हैं तुमने कटके, अब भिझा सनम तू ॥

X

X

X

जब खुले फिवाड़े बार कपट के पठ के, दिल में पामे वीदार वोह बलीबट के ।
सिर मोर मुकुट कटि कले जरी के पठ के, कई बनारसी हम आशिक नागरनट के ॥
अब भिझा हमें तू सनम खुले पठ घट के, सूखी पर चढ़ा मंसूर उसी पर भटके ॥”

॥

इसी सगुण भक्ति से सम्बन्धित लावनी काव्य का यह प्रकार है जिसे आख्याना आध्य कह सकते हैं । इन्हें लीलाकाव्य भी कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि अधिकांश क धर्म्य विषय कृष्ण की लीला है । दान लीला, नाग लीला, वीरहरण लीला, रासलीला, गौड़ लीला, श्रौपदी रचा लीला, सुशमाधरिन, हुकोक्ति कथा आदि कथाएँ इन लंघि आख्यानों के मुख्य विषय हैं । इन आख्यानों के बीच जनता की भक्ति संवेदना, अवज्ञा और आत्मन्द की साधना पूरे अतिरेक के साथ व्यक्त हुई है । ये भाव जनता की अवस्था बखारी हुई भारी बोझों में व्यक्त हुए हैं । इनमें बैली का प्रवाह वर्तनीय है, स्थानाभा से पहल पर केवल दो एक आख्यानों का एक साथ संवृत्ति उद्धृत किया जा सकेगा निम्नलिखित उदाहरण श्रौपदी वीरहरण की क्रमा का अर्थ है—

“मिन काज आज महराज काज गई मेरी, तुक हरो द्वारिकामाव शरण मैं तेरी ।
हुःशासब बस बुझा सदा दुखदाई, कर पकरत मेरो वीर लाज नहीं आई ॥

जब भयो भारत को भाग थाप रही झाई, खसि अधम सभा की ओर नारि बिलखाई ॥
 शकुनी दुर्बोधन कर्ण खड़े सल पैरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥
 सुम दीनन की सुधि जेत देवकीनन्दन, महिमा अनन्त भगवत भक्त दुख भजन ।
 सुम किया सिया दुख दूर शत्रु धनुषबन, अति भारत सदनगोपाल सुनिन मन रंजन ॥
 करुणातीतान भगवान करी क्या दैरा ॥ दुख हरो० ॥

X

X

X

सैठे सब राज समाज नीति जिन खोई, नहिं करत धरम की बात सभा में कोई ।
 पाँचो पति सैठे मौन मौन गति होई, जे नर नरन को नाम झीपरी रोई ॥
 करि करि बिछाप मठाप सभा में टेरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥
 सुनि दीनबन्धु भगवान भक्त हितकारी, हरि भये भीर में प्रापु दश दुख भारी ।
 लैवत हारो मलिनव भीर बलकारी, रसि खई वीर की छाज आप बनबारी ॥
 हरखत भरखत सुप सुमन बजानत भेरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥

दूसरा उवाहरण सुदामापरित्र से प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है ।

“श्रीकृष्ण ने देखा आये भिन्न सुदामा, कर जोड़ खड़े हो गये वसुधा अभिरामा ।
 नरो पैरों तन दुर्बल बल मलीना, कुछ खोज न कियो जागध कठ से जीना ॥
 असुवन जल से प्रभु लीचत चरन प्रवीणा, चितती करके प्रभु बोले वचन अधीना ।
 इसने बिन सुम कहाँ रहे कहा क्या कीना, दुख को सुख मनमें वन्ध तुम्हारा जाना ॥
 तुमने पवित्र यह कियो मेरो सब ग्रामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥
 उबटन करके गंगाजल से नहलाया, फिर रत्नसिंहासन पर उनको बिठाया ।
 बटरस भोजन अति प्रेम से उन्हें लिताया, फिर कहा मुझे भावज ने क्या मिजवाया ॥
 जिये खोल बो वदुख खसि खसि सोरा लगाया, दो फेंके भारे दिखाई अपनी माया ।
 तीसरी बार कस्मिन्दी ने कर को धामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥
 फिर खजे सुवाना घर को नरो पैरों, वह भयो सागुन भिज गई राह में गैरों ।
 पानी भी बरसा और वादल की छैरों, करें पाद कृष्ण की और अपनी जड़कैरों ॥
 जो मुझे कृष्ण कुछ देते मेरे सैया, नो बड़ी गर्म मुझे होती मेरे गुसैया ।
 मुझे सब कुछ दियो कियो मुझे परनामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥”

जांजाबी को सुनने के साथ-साथ जनता की खिन्न उपदेश सुनने और उसे ग्रहण करने की ओर भी बराबर रही है । जादवीवालों ने सत्ता की जगह-अगुरुता का लट के भीतर व्यापक ईश्वर का सत्यप्रेम वानमहिमा का, कछिपुत्र का, याचना की निन्दा आदि नैतिकतापूर्ण का उपदेश दिया है । तीर्थ के जन्म में किसी के द्वार पर जाकर माँगने की निन्दा की गई है—

“इस जग में जब जग आपसी पार बसावे, मत कोई किसी के द्वार माँगने जावे ।
इस जग में माँगना पार पाप की पोटे, माँगन गये बल के द्वार राम भये छोटे ॥
सुनना व माँगना बुझते हो गये सोटे, माँगन के बराबर और कर्म नहीं छोटे ।
इस तर को माँगना जो चाहे कहलावे ॥ मत कोई० ॥”

जीने के उद्धृत उदाहरण में कलियुग की विशेषता बताई गई और सम्कर्ष का उपदेश दिया गया है ।

“इस कलियुग में कल देगा कल पावेगा, कलपावेगा तो क्यों कर कल पावेगा ।
नर देही पाकर ध्यान साह का करना, दो दिव का जीना देख अत समय करना ॥
तज बुरे काम सागर के पार बतरना, दुख देगा तो मुक्तो भी दुख भरना ।
मेकी का मजा मेकी का मेकी करना, मत करे बरी की बात बरी से करना ॥”

इन आवनीबाजों का ध्यान बराबर अधिकतर प्रेमीतों की ही ओर अधिक रहा फिर भी दो बार सामाजिक उद्गार भिख ही जाते हैं जिनसे परकासीन सामाजिक स्थिति और व्यापक विचारों का पता लगता है, पहले गोरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में शिखी आवनी का उदाहरण दिया जा रहा है ।

“गोपाल हो तो सब गौवों को पात्रो, दुष्टों को सारो ललित न देखो भात्रो ।
पह टुपा चुग खेवं अमृत दूध की देवं, ये सब कुछ देवं कोई से कुछ नहीं खेवं ।
हैं धन्य वह उनके मलय जो इसको सेवं, उनकी नैया मजसागर में हरि खेवं ।
सारे कसाइयों के घर को अब धात्रो ॥ दुष्टों को० ॥”

दूसरा उदाहरण अनमेक विवाह की विवशता का है —

“जाती जो हूँ मैं लग सखिन के तो वह पीछे चलते हैं ।
मना जो करती हूँ तो वह रो-रो खूब मचकते हैं ॥
देखके हावत दीदी मेरे पीछे आप उबलते हैं ।
पाछे पड़ी हूँ मैं जिनके असी वो आपी पलते हैं ॥
मेक से उनको न मतलब और न बद से काम है ।
खेजना और कूदना उनको बस देश आराम है ॥
मैं सतकती हूँ सखी मुक्त से खफा कुछ राम है ।
मुहर बोतल पर लगी है और खाली जाम है ॥
हुई है जो गल कुपत मेरी मैं इससे हूँ हैरानी मैं ।
मिसे जो छोटे बाजम (मुक्तो) इस मदमरी जबानी मैं ॥”

सावनी की पूर्ण सम्पन्नता उसके प्रेम काव्य की समृद्धि में दिखाई पड़ती है। इस 'रसराज' का वर्णन अनेक प्रकार के चमत्कारी ढंग से किया गया है। प्रेम के समस्त वर्णनों पर सूफियाणा खयाल की रसत दिखाई पड़ती है, फारसी का प्रभाव इस क्षेत्र में अच्छी तरह से लक्षित होता है। फारसी प्रेम काव्य के प्रतीकों का खूब उपयोग किया गया है। प्रेम की सहिमा, प्रेम का प्रभाव, प्रेम की महिरा, मये वदहत, हरक की वदहात, हरक हकीसी रियों आदि का वर्णन खूब बढ़ा-चढ़ा के किया गया है। फारसी प्रेमकाव्य के नायक मजबू का भी स्वागत हुआ है। तसव्वुफ का अच्छा खासा रंग है। इन सावनीवालों को इस बात का पूरा ज्ञेय दिया जाना चाहिये कि उन्होंने फारसी और भारतीय साहित्य पद्धतियों का स्वागत कर उनके बीच से अपना शास्ता निकाला। सभिमिश्रित संस्कृति या मिती-जुती तहजीब का रूप हमें सावनी साहित्य में देखने को मिलता है।

सबसे पहले हमी रस का प्रेम व्याख्या पीछे और उसमें आये हुए 'आबो हवा' आदिश शिक्ष पर ध्यान दीजिये जो फारसी प्रभाव का सूचक है। भारतीय विचारधारा 'पाँच तत्वों' को मानती है।

“पी को प्यारे हो मतवाला प्याला प्रेम हमी रस का,
पाप पुण्य दो भुगवन आये कौन ठेरा है सू किसका ।
अब तक जीने हर गुन गा दो धन जोबन सय सजना है ॥
करि विचार देखो मन मूरक, कोई नहीं यों अपना है ॥
आबोहवा आदिस शिक्ष का तन बना इन्हीं में अपना है ॥
अरे मूढ़ अज्ञान चेतकर राम नाम बस अपना है ।
बाक अवस्था खेख गँवाया, तदन भये नारी बस का ॥ पाप पुण्य० ॥

अब 'मये वदहत' को पढ़िये, और सुनिये कि यह किस प्रकार व्यथार होती है। फारसी काव्य में प्रचलित जाहिर और रिन्द की जोक-झोंक भी यहाँ है। अन्त में 'मुहत्तसिब' भी उसी के रंग में रँग गय।

बिन पिये जहाँ के बीच किजों में कैसे, मर दे प्याला खबरेज साक्रिया मय से ।
मय वदहत का मुनसाक हूँ यक मुहत से, बाकिफ हूँ मैं कुछ मस्तानों की आदत से ।
जिस वज्र गया सरगार हुआ शिष्ट से, चेहोम हुआ इस पुनिषा की विदत से ।
हर वक्त जहाँ से कहा कहें मैं ऐसे ॥ मर दे० ॥
शोकधे नूर दिव में मेरे जमके है, अशरत की मय उसमें हरवम उपके है ।
हो खगी और दिव बस हो मैं खपके है, इस मनो से कब अब भाँष मेरी भरके है ।
आली है यही आलाक हर जगह मैं से ॥ मर दे० ॥

x

x

x

एक रोज सामने मेरे मुहत्तिसब आये, बोले सै पीना कौन तुम्हें लिखवाये ।
और देख कशने मर के वो बहराए, बोला मैं बे क्या खुदा ने नहीं बनाये ।
फिर कहने लगे मुहत्तिसब भी मुकते ऐसे ॥ भर दे० ॥

इस प्रेममदिरा का यह प्रभाव हुआ कि प्रेमी की आँखों से गंगा-यमुना बहने लगीं । इस प्रेम की गंगा का थाह खगाना कठिन है । प्रेमी की आँहों से बाढ़ काफ़ी हो गये । एक ओर वर्षा में प्रकृति बरस रही है और दूसरी ओर प्रेमी की आँखों से बही लगी है और उसके दिख पर विजलियाँ दूढ़ रही हैं । निम्नलिखित उद्धरण में मनोदशा और प्राकृतिक ब्यापार का सांध्य देखिये और इसमें उर्दू-हिंदी की सम्मिश्रित वाक्यव्ययन की शैली पर भी ध्यान दीजिये । दोनों भाषाओं के मेल का यह बड़ा सुन्दर उदाहरण है—

बरसात के मौसम में बे मुई हैरानी, हर बह मेरे बरसों से बरसे पानी ।
आँसू से मेरे भर आये नदिया औ नाले, क्या ताकत कोई इस दरिया के धा ले ।
उठते हैं हिज़ में मेरे ज़िगर में स्वाले, और आद से मेरे दुःख हैं बाढ़ का ले ।
ये बरखा मेरी आँखों में आन समानी ॥ हर वक्त० ॥
आँखों से कहीं खगी बरसे पानी थमके, गम की है घटा रस खलस की विजली थमके ।
कबके बाढ़त दिख तपे दामिनि तमके, पड़ गये हैं खाले जान के भारे गम के ॥
मैंने बबली गिराह तो बदली मुझे खिलानी ॥ हर वक्त० ॥

ये प्रेमी 'भरीज़े होश' थे, प्रेम की मस्ती ने सारे रोग छुड़ा दिये, अब तो इनके लिए दुनिया का सारा नक़्शा ही बदल गया । इस मदिरा में उन्हें 'आवे हवात' का मज़ा मिला । उसमें अमर जीवन था । प्रेमी मौन हो गया । दुनिया छूट गई और प्रेमी बन्दे से खुदा बन गया । इस प्रकार सूक्तियों का प्राप्य प्राप्त हो गया—

वो है मज़ा मिला इस मौनोपी में, छुट गई यह दुनिया आपसे बेहोशी में ।
मैंने कुछ इरादा किया न मैं पीने का, वो है काम वो देखा सोने में पीने का ।
या नक़्शा उसमें लिखा सदा जीने का, और रस भी उसमें भरा था रंगीने का ।
पीते ही जहाँ आई खुद खामोशी में ॥ छुट गई यह० ॥
जिस वक्त नशा वो मेरी आँखों में आया, बंदे से खुदा ने मुझको खुदा बनाया ।

इस 'इश्क की बीमारी' में भी प्रिय की निरन्तरता का ही रोग है । प्रिय बेवफ़ा है, वह सदा नहीं होता ।

“इन माशूकों को कभी वरद नहीं आये, चाहे कोई सर पटक पटक मर जाये ।
चाहे कोई शौके चाहे ज़हर को खाके, चाहे कोई ज़ोपी हो जंगल को जाये ।
इनके भिजने में नहीं बकावारी है, मुक्त आशिक को इस इश्क की बीमारी है ।”

इस प्रेम ने 'दीन दुनिया' सभी कुछ छुड़ा दिया। प्रेमियों के मानव्यव और आचरण सांसारिक दृष्टिमानना से निकट हो गये। वे ला इत्तहास और ला ईमाँ हो गये। तुल को ईश्वर समझकर उससे प्रेम किया और कुल को ईमान साना, प्रेमी ने विश्व क छत्री को कंद समझकर ला लिया।

“इत्तहास समझ के दीनो मजन को छोड़ा, और ईमाँ समझके कुल से नाता तोड़ा।
समझे थे जिसको बहुत धो निकला थोड़ा, इसलिए थे मुँह को कुछ जहान से मोड़ा।
है मेरे हृदय की अरवा सलक रँगरकियाँ, ला गया समझ के कद जहर की बलियाँ।
बस खुदा समझ के नजर तुतों पर बाझी, और खता समझ के दिख ने भाइ निकाली।
की समझे थे जिसको भरा वो निकला आकी, बाहिर करने को हुआ तो बात छिपा ली।
साजूम हुआ जो हृदय में थी छलबलियाँ ॥ ला गया ० ॥”

संसारवाले इन प्रेमियों को 'वेपथु' और धर्मविहीन कहते हैं किन्तु प्रेमियों की इसकी परवाह नहीं है। प्रेमी जानते हैं कि ईश्वर धर्म के बन्धनों के ऊपर है। वह न मंदिर में है, न मस्जिद में, न गिरजे में, वह अपने अन्तःकरण में है। सांसारिक भटक रहे हैं किन्तु निर्मल दृष्टिवाला साधक उसे अपने हृदय में देखता है। और खोप बोले से है, केवल प्रेमी हीक रास्ते पर चल रहा है—

“जितने दीन हैं इस दुनिया में किसी का नहीं मज़हब है वो।
सबमें है और अलग है सबसे देखा मैंने अलग है वो ॥
तुलकाना बनवाया किसी ने मस्जिद को भी चुनवाया।
अपने अपने दीन का देहरा सबने सबको दिखलाया ॥
उस साधक को भूल गये जिससे थे नर नामा पाया।
इसमें उसको नहीं देखा है जिसकी थे कचन काया ॥
मैं अपने तन में देखूँ हर खरी कि मेरा रब है वो ॥ सबमें ० ॥
हिन्दू तो तुलकाने में परवर से डकराते सर को।
मुसलमान मस्जिद में गिर के, सिख्द कहते हैं दर को ॥
और सुनो अंगरेज़ बड़ा कहते अपने गिरजाघर को।
मुझे इसी में भिन्ना और जा मिले किसी को कब है वो ॥ सबमें ० ॥”

साधवी साहिरप की भावसङ्कटि का सचित्र आभास देने के बाद उसके जन्म और बीबी के सम्बन्ध में दो-चार शब्द अप्रामाणिक न होंगे। साधवी के जन्मों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ भी निर्णय देने के पक्षिजे लोगों को यह न भुला देना चाहिए कि साधवी सुबगत गीतकाव्य है, इसकी रचना गाने के लिए और गीत सुनकर आनन्द प्राप्त के हेतु हुई है। वे साधनियाँ इसलिए नहीं लिखी गई कि जहाँ बखदकर

इसको पढ़कर रख दिया जाय। गाने में स्वरों का उतार-चढ़ाव और विस्तार होता ही है, इसलिए पढ़ने में इनकी मात्राएँ बाधुरी या अधिक भले ही प्रतीत हों किन्तु गाने में ये पूरी कतरती हैं, इसलिए सावनीबाजों की कृतिदों में ध्वन्यशास्त्र के नियमों की पूर्णता की खोज निरर्थक ही होगी।

जिस प्रकार भावपूर्ण में सावनीबाजों में सर्वप्राप्ति दिखाई है उसी प्रकार छन्दों में भी उन्होंने फारसी की बहुरों को भरनाया है। छन्द की जगह उन खोंगों ने 'बहेर' शब्द का ही (और कहीं-कहीं यमाक्ष) प्रयोग किया है जैसे बहेर छोटी, बहेर लौंगवी, बहेर बेवदी बहेर तवीर, बहेर शिकस्ता, बहेर मस्तवी, बहेर जी की। 'बहेर जी की' से उनका मतलब है स्वनिर्मित। वास्तव में यदि ऐसा जाय तो इनकी अधिकता बहुरों 'जी की' ही है। इन्होंने केवल आषाढ़ या लौंगी हिंदी या फारसी का शिवा है फिर उसमें अपने मन से घटाया-बढ़ाया है। सावनीबाजों का एक दोहा उदाहरणस्वरूप उद्धृत किया जाता है। आप देखेंगे कि इसकी मात्राएँ बन्धोच्छूक नहीं हैं—

“तेरा नाग क्या काख है बल में जुँगा मैं नाथ ।
कमलफूल लयबाज के, लौ बजुँगा पल में साथ ॥”

फारसी के छन्दों का भी यही हाल हुआ है। यद्यपि बहेर छोटी, 'बहेर कफीफ' का नामान्तर और इनका 'बहेर तवीर' 'बहेर तवील' की भाव दिखाता है फिर भी 'कवन' नियमानुसूल न मिलेंगे। यही बात और बहुरों के सम्बन्ध में भी लागू होती है। निम्नलिखित छन्द का (केवल) आधार 'बहेर मुकारा' है, (मफूल फाहलातुन मफूल फाहलातुन)

“अब बिष्णु से जाकर जम ने पही पुकारा, गंगा ने बड़ कर दिया नर्क का द्वारा”

“हरि प्रथम बलाई जब बैसुरी रावापर कु लविहारी ने।

धुनि सुनत आवाजक सकल जु बाई सजे सकल काज प्रजनारी ने”

(बहेर मुन्तकारिक)

“फकीरी खुश को ध्यारी है, अमीरी कीन बिचारी है”

[सावनीबाजों ने इसे बहेर बेवदी कहा है, बहेर कफीफ (फाहलातुन मुफापलुन फेबुल) इसका आधार है]

“तू सुवाचत खुदा है वह मेरा खुदा मुझे ध्यान रहे तेरी आठ पहर।

मेरी 'अल' तुमसे बल बही सदा, मेरे हाथ पे रखिये मेहेर की नजर”

[इसे 'यमाक्ष बहेर तवीर' नाम दिया गया है, इसका आधार बहेर 'कामिख' है ।]

“यह कुछ फीज पहुँची अटक के जो पास, वहाँ उड़ गए सबके होशों हवास।”

“मह दूरिया कहर और पानी का शोर, बड़े इस कदर जो खले कुछ न जोर।”

(मसनवी फजलुन फजलुन, फजलुन फजल)

“जासहा अरमों मेरे दिल में भरे रह लावेंगे।

एक दिन जो ही पिया के सोच में मर लावेंगे ॥” (बदेर रमज)

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है ये रचनाएँ गाई जाती थीं, इसीलिए इन कव्यों के साथ कहीं-कहीं “बवाज” शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया गया है।

कव्यों के इस सखिस विवरण के बाद इन सावभियों की भाषाशैली पर भी दो एक शब्द कह दिये जायें यद्यपि इतने अधिक उद्धरणों के बाद इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। सावभियों में उसी सर्वसाधारण के दर्शन होते हैं। ये सावभियाज भाषा-मिश्रण के लिए हिंदी फारसी सभी के शब्दों का स्वागत करते थे, उन्हें किसी से परहेज न था। जहाँ फारसी काव्य प्रशिकों का प्रयोग हुआ है वहाँ फारसी के शब्दों का बाहुल्य स्वाभाविक ही है, फिर भी इसकी भाषा चलती हुई, बामुहाविरा और बड़ी प्यारी है। कहीं कहीं पर थोड़े-थोड़े शब्दों का भी प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दी और उर्दू के शब्दों का मेल इस प्रकार हुआ है कि गीत के प्रवाह में वे खटकते नहीं हैं। “बरसात के मौसम में ये हुर्दू हैरानी” वाले गीत में दोनों की मनोदर छटा देखी जा सकती है। एक ही गीत में कहीं-कहीं पर एक कव्ज में हिन्दी है और दूसरे फारसी की यदावली। प्रसिद्ध जावनी-फार काशीगिर ने रनजीतसिंह की बहादुरी पर मसनवी भी लिखी है। इन्हीं के कारमीर-मर्णव से कुछ पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत की जाती हैं। आरम्भिक मंगलाचरण हिन्दी का है, बाद में फारसी के शब्दों की बहुतायत है—

“जरा मैं प्रथम आरदाशी का ब्याम, हुआ उससे मेरे मन में मज्जा ज्ञान।

उपासक हूँ मैं तो सदा शक्ति का, भिजा उससे बतवा मुझे भक्ति का।

निराकार में देखो आकार है, चराचर उसी का यह बिस्तार है।

बनाया खुदा ने असब कारमीर, बहिरते कहीं है न तिसका नज़ीर।

जहाँ के नखूबों में देखी फबन, हैं जो सादरुयों के बाँका चलन।

यह मैजे से कपड़ों में बजला सा लम, गोया जम में मार चरखे कोहल।

हैं जहाँ वहाँ के तो सब आफताब, चक़ोरो पे मायक सदा माहताब।”

जावनीसाहित्य अत्यन्त विस्तृत है और प्रस्तुत विवरण अत्यन्त संक्षिप्त। फिर भी इससे हमें इसकी कनेकस्यता और विविधता का कुछ-न-कुछ आभास मिल ही जाता है। इस कह सकते हैं कि जावनीसाहित्य निश्चय ही जन-जीवन का द्यप्य है,

इसकी रसात्मकता, स्वच्छन्दता, आभ्यासिकता, गेयता और गतिशीलता हमारे साहित्यकारों के लिए आनन्द और सन्त की वस्तु है। इसका लोकप्रमुख रूप और इसके प्रयोग हमें आज के साहित्य को अधिक भावप्रवण और लोकप्रिय बनाने का मार्ग बता सकते हैं।

जावनीसाहित्य का सबसे अधिक महत्व इस दृष्टि से है कि इसने सम्पूर्ण जीवन को अपना विषय बनाया और जीवन के किसी अंग को अछूता न छोड़ा, सर्वग्राहिता और सारग्राहिता उसका सिद्धांत रहा। मानव-हृदय की अज्ञात दिशाने के साथ ही इसकी आवाहाविक परम्परा ने भेदभाव को छोड़कर सबका स्वागत किया (जावनीकारों की गुह-शिष्य-परम्परा में हिंदू और मुसलमान दोनों मिलते हैं) और इसकी भाषा, इसके भाव और इसके छन्द मिली-जुली भारतीय संस्कृति की घोषणा की।

“यह कुछ फीस पहुँची सटक के ओ पास, वहाँ अब गए सबके होशों हवास।”

“यह शरिया कहर और शमी का शोर, बड़े इस कदर वों चले कुछ न जोर।”

(मसनवी फजलुन फजलुन, फजलुन फजल)

“लाखवा अरमों मेरे विल में भरे रह जायेंगे।

एक दिन वों ही पिया के सोच में मर जायेंगे ॥” (बहेर रमल)

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है ये रचनाएँ गाई जाती थीं, इसीलिए इन कव्यों के साथ कहीं-कहीं “तयाज” शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया गया है।

कव्यों के इस संक्षिप्त विवरण के बाद इन छावनीयों की भाषाशैली पर भी वो एक शब्द कह दिये जायें यद्यपि इतने अधिक उद्धरणों के बाद इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। भाषाशैली में उसी सर्वप्राप्तिता के दर्शन होते हैं। ये जावनीबाज भाषा-भिव्यक्ति के लिए हिंदी फारसी अमी के शब्दों का स्वागत करते थे, उन्हें किसी से परहेज न था। जहाँ फारसी काव्य प्रतीकों का प्रयोग हुआ है वहाँ फारसी के शब्दों का यावुषय स्वाभाविक ही है, फिर भी इनकी भाषा चलती हुई, बामुहाविश और बड़ी प्यारी है। कहीं कहीं थर थरेजु शब्दों का भी प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दी और उर्दू के शब्दों का मेल इस प्रकार हुआ है कि गीत के प्रवाह में वे खटकते नहीं हैं। “थरसात के मौसम में ये हुई हैरानी” वाले गीत में दोनों की मनोहर छटा देखी जा सकती है। एक ही गीत में कहीं-कहीं थर एक क्षण में हिंदी है और दूसरे फारसी की पवावजी। प्रसिद्ध छावनी-कार काव्यीगिरि ने रत्नवीरसिंह की बहादुरी पर मसनवी भी लिखी है। इन्हीं के कारमीर-मर्गन से कुछ पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत की जाती हैं। आरम्भिक भगवावरण हिंदी का है, बाद में फारसी के शब्दों की बहुतायत है—

“थरा मैं प्रथम शारदाजी का ध्याम, हुआ उससे मेरे मन में ब्रह्म ज्ञान।

उपासक हूँ मैं तो सदा शक्ति का, भिजा उससे धनवा मुझे भक्ति का।

निराकार मैं देखो आकार है, थराचर उसी का यह विस्तार है।

बनाया खुदा ने अलख कारमीर, बहिरते कहीं है न जिसका नजीर।

जहाँ के नलूबों में ऐसी फबन, हैं जो साहसुबों के बाँका चलन।

यह सैजे से कपड़ों में उजळा सा तन, गोया अन्न में मार थरजे कोहन।

हैं जहाँ वहाँ के तो सब आकताब, अकरोँ पे माथज सदा माहताब।”

छावनीसाहित्य अत्यन्त विस्तृत है और प्रस्तुत विवरण अत्यन्त संक्षिप्त। फिर भी इससे हमें इसकी अनेकरूपता और विविधता का कुछ-न-कुछ आभास मिल ही जाता है। इस कह सकते हैं कि छावनीसाहित्य निदयय ही जन-जीवन का रूप है,

इसकी रसात्मकता, स्वच्छन्दता, आध्यात्मिकता, गेयता और गतिशीलता हमारे साहित्यकारों के लिए आनन्द और मनन की वस्तु है। इसका जोकोन्मुख रूप और इसके प्रयोग हमें आज के साहित्य को अधिक भावप्रवण और लोकप्रिय बनाने का मार्ग बता सकते हैं।

जावनीसाहित्य का सबसे अधिक महत्व इस दृष्टि से है कि इसने सम्पूर्ण जीवन को अपना विषय बनाया और जीवन के किसी अंग को अछूता न छोड़ा, सर्वग्राहिता और सारग्राहिता उसका सिद्धांत रहा। मानव-हृदय की झलक दिखाने के साथ ही इसकी व्यावहारिक परम्परा ने भेदभाव को छोड़कर सबका स्वागत किया (जावनीकारों की गुरु-शिष्य-परम्परा में हिंदू और मुसलमान दोनों मिलते हैं) और इसकी भाषा, इसके भाव और इसके छन्द भिखी-जुली भारतीय संस्कृति की घोषणा की।

(50) नागरी भाषा

धीचन्द्रबली पांडे

गाँव के लोग जिसको आज भी भाषा मानते हैं पर पढ़े-लिखे नागर भाषा नहीं समझते वही नागरी भाषा है। पश्चिम में इससे इतना कहा जा सकता है कि आज से प्रायः २२ वर्ष पहले सन् १८२८ में दिल्ली के प्रसिद्ध प्रचारक श्रीरुक्माजी हसन निजामी ने अपनी 'कुर्आन मजीद' की भूमिका में लिखा था—

“यह हिन्दी जवान ममालिक मुत्तहदा अयध और रुहेलखण्ड और सूवा सी० पी० और बिन्दुओं की अक्सर देशी रियासतों में मुरब्ज है। गोया बंगाली और बर्मी और गुजराती और मराठी वगैरा सब हिन्दुस्तानी जवानों से ज्यादा रिवाज हिन्दी यानी नागरी जवान का है। करोड़ों हिन्दू औरत-मर्द अब भी यही जवान लिखते हैं। यहाँ तक कि तकारीबन एक करोड़ मुसलमान भी जो सूवा यू० पी० और सी० पी० और सूवा बिहार के देहात में रहते हैं या हिन्दुओं की रियासतों में बतौर रियावा के आबाद हैं और उनको हिन्दू रियासतों के खास हुक्म के सबब से हिन्दी जवान बाजिमी तौर से हासिल करनी पड़ती है, हिन्दी के सिवा और कोई जवान नहीं जानते।”

ध्यान देने की बात है कि ख्वाजा साहब ने ‘हिन्दी यानी नागरी जवान’ का व्यवहार उसी भाषा के लिये किया है जिसे हिन्दी के लोग ‘खड़ी बोली’ और भाषाविज्ञानी लोग ‘हिन्दुस्तानी’ कहते हैं। आज यह समझना बहुतों के लिये अत्यन्त कठिन हो गया है कि भाषाविज्ञान के लोग इस ‘नागरी’ को भाषा क्यों नहीं मानते और क्यों इसे लिपि मात्र समझते हैं। स्मरण रहे उनकी इस उपेक्षा के कारण भाषा के क्षेत्र में अनेक विवाद उठे हैं और आगे तब तक उठते रहेंगे जब तक इस नागरी की स्थापना ‘भाषा’ के रूप में फिर नहीं हो जाती। सौ लीजिये, आज से प्रायः सवा सौ वर्ष पहले की बात है। श्रीरामपुर के मिशनरी लोगों के ‘समाचारदर्पण’ में छपा था—

“नागरी का समाचारपत्र—हाल में इस कलकत्ता नगर से ‘उदन्त मार्तण्ड’

नामक एक नागरी की नूतन समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित हुआ है। इससे हमारे आह्वाद की सीमा नहीं है। क्योंकि समाचारपत्र द्वारा सम्पत्ति-सम्बन्धीय और नाना दिशाओं के देशों के राज-सम्पर्कीय घुत्तान्त प्रकाशित हुआ करते हैं जिनके जानने से अवश्य ही उपकार होता है। यूरोप के देशों में प्रायः दो सौ वर्षों से अधिक समय से समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित होते हैं, उनके द्वारा सामान्य समाचार और नाना विषयों के दोष-गुण आदि के सम्बन्ध में प्रेरित पत्रों के उत्तर-प्रत्युत्तर के प्रकाशित होने से अनेक विषयों का निर्यास और सशोधन हुआ है। अंग्रेजी प्रभृति समाचारपत्रों के दृष्टान्त पर इस देश में पहले बगला भाषा के समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित हुए, बाद में फ़ारसी भाषा के हुए, अब बीच में कुछ दिन हुए उर्दू भाषा के सवादपत्रों में प्रेरित-पत्र प्रकाशित नहीं होते। जो हो, इस समय नागरी भाषा में एक ही समाचारपत्र होने से काशी प्रभृति स्थानों के लोग, जो अंग्रेजी प्रभृति भाषा से अज्ञान होने के कारण किंवदन्तिपों में विश्वास करके प्रगल्भतापूर्वक समय बिताते हैं, यदि इसे नई रीति कहकर तुच्छ न समझें और आलस्य-त्यागपूर्वक इसे ग्रहण करके पाठ करें तो उनके लिये ऐसा फलोद्भय होगा जिसे वे धीरे धीरे जान सकेंगे।”

(१७ जून १८२६ के अंक में विशाल भारत सन् १८३१ के फरवरी अंक में पृष्ठ १८२ पर अवतरित)।

इस लम्बे अवतरण में जानकारी की बातें अनेक हैं, पर जो बात सदा के लिये झट टॉक लेने की है वह है ‘नागरी भाषा’ का स्पष्ट प्रयोग। ‘इस समय नागरी भाषा में एक ही समाचारपत्र होने से काशी प्रभृति स्थानों के लोग’ में कितना व्यापक स्वप्न देखा गया है। ‘नागरी भाषा’ की व्यापकता आप ही बोल रही है। देखिए न, एक आइन भी है जिससे सिद्ध हो जाता है कि अंगरेजी सरकार भी ‘नागरी भाषा’ को जानती थी। उसकी एक दफा में कहा गया है—

“किसी को इस बात का अनुमति नहीं होये के ऊपर दफे का लिखा हुआ हुकुम समी से बाकिफ नहीं है हर एक जिले के कलक्टर साहिब को लाजिम है कि इस आइन के पावने पर एक एक केला इसतद्दारनामा नीचे के सरह फारसी वों नागरी माखा वो अद्वर में लिखिये कै अपने मोहर वो दस्तखत से अपने जिला के मालिकान जमीन वो ईजारदार जो हज़ूर में मालगुजारी करता

उन सभी के कचहरि में वो अमानि महाल के देसि तहसीलदार लोग के कच-
हरी में लटकावही ।”

(अंग्रेजी सन् १८०३ साल ३१ अर्गिन २० दफा)

‘फारसी वो नागरी भाखा वो अक्षर’ को किसी साखी की आवश्यकता नहीं । ‘फारसी’ उस समय की ‘राजभाषा’ है तो ‘नागरी’ उस समय की ‘लोक-भाषा’, यदि बीच में भेदनीति न आ जाती और सहज वृत्ति से काम लिया जाता तो यही ‘नागरी’ हमारी ‘राष्ट्रभाषा’ होती और अपने आप ही इस पद पर ‘संस्कृत’ और प्राकृत की भाँति आरुढ़ होती, जी हाँ, है भी तो यह वास्तव में ‘नागर’ अपभ्रंश का ही वर्तमान विकसित रूप, ‘नागर अपभ्रंश’ ने किस प्रकार मुसलमानी शासन में एक ओर तो नागरी का रूप धारण कर अपनी परम्परा का पालन किया और दूसरी ओर फारसी के प्रभाव में आ शाही शासन से द्वाप मिला ‘रेखता’ का बाना लिया इसका विचार अभी न हो सकेगा । अभी इतना निवेदन ही पर्याप्त होगा कि ‘नागरी’ ‘नागर’ का ही रूप है तो रेखता ‘अपभ्रंश’ का पर्याय अथवा फारसी रूप । फारसी बूकने का प्रचार बढ़ा तो ‘रेखता’ का नाम भी अधिक जगह पर ठेठ जनता में ‘नागरी’ का नाम बना रहा जो आज भी किसी न किसी प्रकार चला जा रहा है । ‘ब्रजभाषा’ और ‘अवधी’ में काव्य-रचना होने के कारण इसका महत्त्व कुछ घट गया किन्तु काव्य से कभी इसका सर्वथा लोप नहीं हुआ । सन्त-समाज में इसका सत्कार होता रहा और यह ‘मध्य देश’ की बानी समझी जाती रही, इसका बोध भी उसी ‘उदन्त मार्तण्ड’ से हो जाता है । ‘उदन्त मार्तण्ड’ का अन्त किस वेदना के साथ हुआ, इसे भी देख लें । उसी का कहना है ।

“जब तें या कलकत्ता नगरी में उदन्त मार्तण्ड को प्रकाश भयो तब लै आज दिवस तौं काहू प्रकार तैं ढाढस बाँध बिधा के बीज बैसे को हिन्दुस्तानिअन के जङ्गल के खेन को बहुविध जोरयो पहिले तो जैसी कठोर भूमि काहे कौ जुतै ताहू पै काया कष्ट कर जैसो तैसौ हर चलाय वा क्षेत्र में गाँठ को व्यु बखेर बड़े यतन तें सींच फल बुन्यौ चाहौ ता समय लोभ रूपी टीढ़ी परि वा खेत के फल फूल पाती सिंगरी चरि गई अथ जो फिरि फिरि या नशे क्षेत्र को गोविन्दे तो अम ही कौ फल फलैगौ ।

यहाँ मुख की नाम ज्ञान चर्चा को बूझै ।
 ईसी तु अपनी रोक जगत अधिवारोहि सुझै ॥
 जड़ता जर नशि चढ्यौ गात को होगयो पतकर ।
 काको है प्रतीत बहुरि चलि है सुख बैहर ॥

प्रथमहि या काज की जा कारण कखौ ताको विस्तार समनि को जना-
 वनौ उचित है तातैं अब कछु मध्यदेशीय भाषा लिखतु हौं ।

मध्यदेशीय भाषा

इस उदन्त मार्तण्ड के नांव पढ़ने के पहिले पछाहियों के चित्त को इस
 कागज के होने से हमारे मनोर्य सफल होने का बड़ा उत्साह या इसलिये लोग
 हमारे बिन कहे भी इस कागज की सही की बही पर सही करते गये

(विशालभारत, अपरेल सन् १९३१ ई० पृ० ५३१)

४ दिसम्बर सन् १८२७ ई० की स्थिति आपके सामने है और
 साथ ही 'वज्रभाषा' और 'मध्यदेशीय भाषा' की स्थिति भी । इस अवतरण
 में ध्यान देने की बात है—

“ताकी विस्तार समनि को जनावनौ उचित है ताते अब कछु मध्यदेशीय
 भाषा लिखतु हौं ।”

अर्थात् 'मध्यदेशीय भाषा' का प्रयोग होता है 'विस्तार-जनावन' के
 हेतु । और यही हेतु कारण होता है स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वतीजी महाराज के
 इस कथन में—

“इस लिये जहाँ तक बन पड़े वहाँ शीघ्र संस्कृत और मध्यप्रदेशीय भाषा
 के प्रचार के वास्ते बहुत प्रधान पुरुषों को सही कराके, कलकत्ते की सभा में
 भेज दीजिये और भिजवा दीजिये ।” (ऋषि दयानन्द सरस्वती के पत्र और
 विज्ञापन, पृष्ठ ३२४)

साथ ही यह भी स्मरण रखे कि स्वामीजी महाराज की 'मध्यदेश की
 भाषा' के साथ ही 'नागरी भाषा' का भी ध्यान है । अपने २४ मार्च १८७८
 के पत्र में लिखते हैं—

“एक काम यह आवश्यक है कि इस मुशी से यह काम ठीक ठीक नहीं हो
 सकता । इसलिए एक मुशी अंग्रेजी, फारसी और नागरी भाषा का पढ़ा हुआ,

हिसाब नकशा निकालना भी जानता हो, जो ऐसा न मिल सके तो अंग्रेजी, फारसी, उर्दू तो ठीक जानता हो कि चिट्ठी पत्र ठीक-ठीक पढ़ लिख सके, वह आलसी न हो और जिसका स्वभाव किसी प्रकार बुरा न हो, उसका मासिक २५) से अधिक न होना चाहिये।”

(वही, पृष्ठ १७)

अस्तु, पाया जाता है कि हमारे पूर्वज 'नागरी भाषा' को जानते, मानते और पहचानते भी थे। पता नहीं यह दोहा कितना पुराना है, किन्तु इसका उल्लेख राजा शिवप्रसाद सितारहिन्द ने सन् १८५४ ई० में किया है जिससे जाना जाता है कि यह उससे पहले का है। जो हो, उक्त दोहा है—

अन्तरवेदी नागरी गौड़ी पारस देस,
अरु अरबी जामें मिलैं मिश्रित भाषा बेस।

निरचय ही यहाँ 'नागरी' 'नागरी भाषा' ही है, न भी हो, तो भी श्री श्रीधर पाठक के इस सूप्य पर ध्यान तो दीजिये। किस भाव से भारतेन्दु बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र का स्मरण करते हैं—

जब लौं भारत भूमि मध्य आरज कुल बासा,
जब लौं आरज धर्म माहि आरज बिस्वासा,
जब लौं गुन आगरी नागरी आरज बानी,
जब लौं आरज बानी के आरज अभिमानी,
तब लौं यह तुम्हरी नाम धिर, चिरजीवी रहि है अटल।
नित चन्द सूर सग सुमिरिहैं, हरिचन्द हू सज्जन सकल ॥

कहिये न 'जब लौं गुन आगरी नागरी आरज बानी' में 'नागरी' है न 'बानी' का नाम ? फिर उसे निरी लिपि ही क्यों मानते हैं और क्यों उसके लिये 'खड़ी बोली' वा 'हिन्दुस्तानी' का प्रयोग कर अपनी दासता का विज्ञापन बाँटते हैं ? स्मरण रहे, यह शुद्ध राजनीति की देन है जो देश में अँगरेजी-स्थापना के हेतु रची गई है। भाषा-विज्ञान के परम पंडित श्री जार्ज ब्राह्मी ग्रियर्सन ही इसके आचार्य हैं। क्या स्वतन्त्र भारत के भाषाशास्त्री समय से इसको समझ सकेंगे कि वास्तव में ग्रियर्सन का यह कार्य ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की धिरता के हेतु हुआ था और फलतः उनकी 'भारत की भाषा पड़ताल' भी उसी का फल

हे ? कहीं तक कहें, अभी उस दिन किसी 'तरुण' की भावना जगी तो उसने भी रच दिया—

जयति नागरी, जयति नागरी ।
सुधा-कलश-मय वर्षा वर्षा वर, भाषा भाव भरी ।
जयति नागरी ॥

अब इस 'भाषा भाव भरी' की उपेक्षा कर कौन 'नागरी' को निरी खिपि कहने का साहस कर सकता है ? और यदि करे भी तो उसे 'प्रेमघन' का सामना कर ना होगा। सुनिये न, उनकी गोहार है 'हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन' के मंच से कहते हैं—

“कितने कहते हैं कि नागरी तो वर्णमाला का नाम है, भाषा का नहीं ! किन्तु उन्हें जानना चाहिये कि भाषा और अक्षर का निकट सम्बन्ध है। संस्कृत वा पारसी, उर्दू वा अँगरेजी में लिखो, कहने से उसी अक्षर का बोध होता है जिसमें वह भाषा लिखी जाती है। जैसे उर्दू वा अँगरेजी अँगरेजी के अक्षर अपने दूसरे नाम रखते हुए भी इन भाषाओं के साथ इन्हीं के अक्षर का अर्थ देते हैं वैसे ही नागरी वर्णमाला का सम्बन्ध नागर वा नागरी भाषा के साथ दोनों प्रकार से अटल है। जैसे कि पाली के अक्षर और भाषा दोनों का एक शब्द से बोध होता है।”

(तृतीय हिन्दी-साहित्य-सम्मेलन के समापति का भाषण, पृ० २७)

श्री 'प्रेमघन' की पुकार प्रिय न हुई। होती भी कैसे ? 'सम्मेलन' में अँग्रेजी शिक्षित लोगों का जमाव बढ़ता जा रहा था, और अँगरेज किसी भी दशा में नागरी को भाषा मानना ठीक नहीं समझते थे। उनकी भेद-नीति नागरी को भाषा मान लेने से डर जाती थी निवान उनके अगुआ प्रियर्सन ने इसका निषेध किया और उनका फतवा तथा 'सम्मेलन' तथा 'सभा' को भी मान्य हो गया। स्मरण रहे कभी 'सभा' का उद्देश्य था 'नागरी भाषा' का सीखना। हाँ, सीखना; सिखाना तथा 'नागरी भाषा' का व्यवहार करना भी। कारण, उसकी दृष्टि में 'नागरी' भाषा भी जो थी। देखिये, 'काशी-नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा' के उद्देशों में है—

“इस सभा के संसिद्धों का मुख्य कर्तव्य नागरी भाषा का सीखना और उसी भाषा में वार्तालाप तथा पत्र-व्यवहार और अपने मित्रवर्गों को उसी भाषा की उन्नति में प्रस्तुत करना होगा।”

जी हों, 'नागरी भाषा' पर उस समय दोहरी चढ़ाई थी। अंग्रेजी की चढ़ाई का तो आपको पूरा पता होगा पर 'ठेठ' अथवा 'देशभाषा' की चढ़ाई का प्रायः नहीं ! परन्तु पुराने लोग भली भाँति जानते हैं कि ग्रियर्सन साहब नहीं चाहते थे कि बिहार में 'नागरी' में शिक्षा दी जाय। 'काशी' की गणना भी भाषा दृष्टि से 'बिहार' के साथ होती है। इसी से आप स्थगन सम्मिलित कर सकते हैं कि समा के उक्त संकल्प का कारण क्या है, अधिक कहने से लाभ क्या ? आज 'काशी-नागरी-प्रचारिणी समा' 'नागरी' को 'भाषा' कहने में भले ही खज्जा का अनुभव करे पर कल मख मार कर उसे फिर इस सत्य को मानना होगा और 'समा' के साथ ही 'सम्मेलन' को भी इसका संस्कार करना होगा। कारण यह कि भाषा के क्षेत्र में ग्रियर्सन की यह धौंधली अधिक दिन तक नहीं चल सकती कि नागरी भाषा का नाम नहीं लिपि का नाम है। भाषा तो लोग उसे भ्रमवश कह देते हैं। भ्रम ही सही, पर इस भ्रम के शिकार कैसे प्राणी हैं, इसे किससे कहें ? तो भी इस कांग्रेसी शासन में अपनी सरकार से एक कांग्रेसी नेता की बात क्यों न कहें जब कि वह 'असारी' और 'डाक्टर' था। रोग का निदान और इलाज जानता था। लीमिये, उसी डा० सुल्तान अहमद असारी का कथन है—

“इस किताब के नेक, जोशीले, सबे और जानदार, खयालों को हर जवान में तजुमा करना चाहिए। खासकर नागरी और अंग्रेजी में इसका एक एडीशन जल्द से जल्द छपना चाहिए, जिसको देख कर हिन्दू भाई एक मुसलमान शायर के जानदार देशप्रेम को समझ जायें, जो पठान होने और देशभक्ति के लिहाज से परतो जवान के सरहदी शायर खुशहाल हों 'खुठक' और बायरन की तरह है।”

(रस-सागर; अदबी सरफज मेरठ, पृष्ठ १६)

श्री 'असारी' का यह कथन अप्रैल सन् ३६ का है। उस समय कांग्रेसी मन्त्री अंग्रेजी छाया में काम कर रहे थे। किन्तु आज जो कुछ कर रहे हैं अपनी माया और अपनी प्रेरणा से निदान उनसे अनुरोध कर कहा जाता है कि कुछ सोच समझ कर अपनी सी करें और रुपा कर उस 'भाषा पञ्चाल' का संशोधन करा लें जिसका सम्पादन 'भारत' के वैसे से उसकी राष्ट्रभाषा 'नागरी' के अहित के लिये किया गया है। क्योंकि इसके अभाव में सभी राष्ट्र-भावना का उदय नहीं हो सकता और न हिन्दी, उर्दू और हिन्दुस्तानी का धर्म

ही मिल सकता है। भाषा के पंडितों से भी हमारा नम्र निवेदन है कि समय पर अपनी ओर से काम लेना सीख लें, और प्रत्येक शब्द की शक्ति तथा इतिहास को जान कर ही कुछ आगे बढ़ने का स कल्प करें। हमारा निश्चय ही नहीं दृढ़ विश्वास है कि हमारे शोधक यदि चेत गये और 'नागरी' का सच्चा इतिहास भी यदि सबके सामने उनके उद्योग से आ गया तो राष्ट्र का बहुत सा कल्याण आप ही जाता रहा और हमारा हृदय भी बहुत कुछ स्वच्छ तथा निर्मल हो गया। कारण, उसी को दूषित करने के लिये तो 'नागरी' को भाषा के क्षेत्र से जानबूझ कर खदेड़ा गया था। सन् १८८० ई० से जो उद्योग चला उसका अन्त अब हो जाना चाहिए अन्यथा भारत का होनहार ठीक नहीं। कुछ भी हो, अन्त में किसी आस्तिक की भाँति हमारी प्रार्थना तो यह है—

गुनि यह न बिलस लगाय हिय हरखाय सब कोऊ अहो ।
निज जननि भाषा जननि हित हित चेति चित साहस गहो ।
करि अथारथ उद्योग पूरन फल अमल जस अग लहो ।
लहिकै कृपा जगदीस जय जय नागरी नागर कहो ॥

हाँ, 'नागर'। 'नागर ब्राह्मण' नहीं 'नागर लोग'। कारण, अपभ्रंश के जो 'नागर', उपनागर और 'ग्राम्य' मेव कहे गये हैं उनसे यही तो स्फुट है : 'ग्राम्य' के साथ 'नागर' को यदि श्री ग्रिप्सर्न देख पाते तो वास्तव में हमारा कितना कल्याण होता। किन्तु क्या सब कुछ देखते हुए भी इसे आज हम देख पाते हैं : उत्तर भाषाविदों और हिन्दी के अभिमानियों को देना है। जो हो—

जय नागरी नागर कहो। कहो

जय नागरी। जय नागरी।

(51) प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की लोकदृष्टि

प्रो० डा० विश्वनाथप्रसाद मिश्र, काशी

‘लोकदृष्टि’ का अर्थ है लोकसंबंधी दृष्टि। लोक के संबध में हमारी दृष्टि दो प्रकार की हो सकती है। एक तो लोक क्या है सत् है या असत् अथवा सदसत्, सत् है तो इसका कोई निर्माता भी है, असत् है तो सत् क्यों दिखाई देता है आदि आदि—दार्शनिक चिंतन की दृष्टि। दूसरे लोकव्यवहार की दृष्टि अपात् लोकगत राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक आदि जीवन की विभिन्न अवस्थितियों के संबध की दृष्टि। ‘कवि’ शब्द का अर्थ हमारे व्यावहारिक जीवन में अब भी—साहित्यिक और सांस्कृतिक चेतना के अत्यधिक जागरूक होने पर भी—प्रायः यही लिया जाता है कि जो कल्पना-लोक में विचरण करनेवाला हो। अंगरेजी साहित्य में कविता के संबध में कल्पना और स्वप्न की इधर कितनी उज्जरणी हुई और उसकी प्रतिध्वनि और भावुकता के आधिक्य के कारण भारत में उन्माद या पागलपन का अभिनय करने की कैसी परिपाटी कविता के क्षेत्र में कहीं कहीं चली यह सब विवरण उपस्थित करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। हमें तो कहना इतना ही है कि जनता कवि को क्रांतदर्शी न समझ कर वैसा समझने लगी थी और अब भी समझती है कि ये वास्तविक जीवन से या जीवन की वास्तविकता से दूर रहनेवाले प्राणी हैं। राजनीतिज्ञ प्रायः यह कह दिया करते हैं कि ये जीवन के समुपस्थित सभाम में सक्रिय योग न देने के कारण उसकी विभीषिका से भाग खड़े होनेवाले पलायनवादी हैं। यदि सब नहीं तो इनमें से अधिकांश ऐसे ही जीव हुआ करते हैं—हमें यहाँ विचार यह करना है कि प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की क्या यही पलायनवादी दृष्टि रही है या वे लोक की सर्वसामान्य भावना में भी योग देते आए हैं। यदि उन्होंने योग दिया है तो क्या परोक्षरूप में ही या प्रत्यक्ष भी। कवि लोक की भावना किस रूप में ग्रहण करते हैं या काव्य में लोक की वृत्ति किस प्रकार गृहीत होती है—आदि आदि। और अधिक विस्तार में न जाकर यहाँ थोड़े में इसी का विचार कर लेना है कि कवि जीवन या लोक का रूप कैसा ग्रहण करता है। काव्य या साहित्य जीवन की व्याख्या है यह तो

कहने को कह दिया जाता है, पर यह देखने का प्रयास नहीं किया जाता कि काव्य में जीवन की व्याख्या होती कैसे है। काव्य न तो दर्शनशास्त्र का सिद्धांत निरूपक वाक्यसमूह या सूत्रग्रन्थ होता है न समाजशास्त्र का विवेचन। वह होता है लोक की छुनी हुई शुद्ध भावात्मक सत्ता की अनुभूति-भूमि। उसमें धर्म, राजनीति, समाजशास्त्र, अर्थनीति, तत्त्वचिंतन आदि सब छुने हुए रूप में ही गृहीत होते हैं और कवि का छुना होता है भाव का विस्तृत पट। इसलिए जो लोग यह समझते हैं कि उक्त शास्त्रों या नीमासाओं का काव्य में ज्यों का त्यों निरूपण मिलेगा वे हताश हो जाते हैं और काव्य का अनुशीलन वर्जित करने लगते हैं। पुराणों में भी कहा जा चुका है कि 'काव्यालापार्श्व वर्जयेत्'।

अब इस मानदंड के अनुसार परखिए प्राचीन हिंदी साहित्य को। हिंदी का आदिकाल 'रासा' की रचना से भरा है। ये रासे किसी वीर के चरितकाव्य होते थे। इनमें उसके शौर्य का वर्णन होता था और बड़े ही रोचक ढंग से होता था। यद्यपि रासा-काव्य हमें अपने प्राचीन रूप में नहीं मिलता, उसमें परवर्ती कविमधुनों की बहुत सी बाद में जोड़ी हुई कृतियाँ सनिविष्ट हो गई हैं, फिर भी चदवरदाई को ही यदि प्रतिनिधि कवि मान लें तो उनके नाम पर मिलनेवाली कृति और उनके संबंध में प्रचलित जनश्रुति ही यह बता देती है कि चद ब्रह्मभट्ट ही नहीं 'भट' भी थे। वे तलवार और कलम दोनों का चलाना जानते थे। जिस युग के वीरों का चरित्र इन काव्यों में गृहीत है वह युग शौर्य का युग था, वास्तविक जीवन युद्धमय था। अतः उनके युद्धों का उनके शौर्य का वर्णन किसी प्रकार भी उनकी लोक से हटी दृष्टि का आभास नहीं देता। और लोग चाहे पलायनवादी कहे जायें पर रासा-काव्य के कवि पलायनवादी नहीं कहे जा सकते। वे रणांगण में डटे रहते थे। वीरों को उत्साहित तो करते ही थे समय पड़ने पर उनका स्थान भी ग्रहण कर लेते थे। कहा जाता है कि चद का अस्तित्व सदिग्ध है, पृथ्वीराजरासा का वर्तमान स्वरूप और उसकी यथार्थता का प्रमाण देने या उसकी अयथार्थता का समर्थन करने का न अवसर है न आवश्यकता। हमें इतना ही बता देना है कि पृथ्वीराजरासा में जो क्या मुहम्मद गोरी और पृथ्वीराज के युद्ध की बताई गई है उसमें भारतीय सस्कृति का पक्का स्वरूप अवश्य मिलता है। मुहम्मद गोरी के अत्याचार से सत्तत शरणागत की रक्षा करने के कारण पृथ्वीराज के साथ उसका युद्ध हुआ और वे किसी प्रकार पकड़कर गजनी भेजे गए जहाँ शब्दबेधी बाण से उन्होंने गोरी को मारा और अंत में पृथ्वीराज और

चंद परस्पर एक दूसरे की तलवार से कटकर ढेर हो गए। यह अंतिम कथा चन्द के पुत्र जह्मन ने राते में जोड़ी है। राते की यह प्रवृत्ति हम्मीररासे क्या, हम्मीरहठ ऐसे परवर्ती काव्यों तक में दिखाई देती है जहाँ शरणागत की रक्षा के कारण ही हम्मीर का अलाउद्दीन से युद्ध कहा गया है। भारतीय कवि अपने चरितनायक को जिस उच्च भूमि पर दिखाना चाहते थे वह भारतीय संस्कृति की उच्चता की दृष्टि से। तुलसीदास या अन्य रामकाव्य के रचयिताओं ने रावण के साथ राम के युद्ध का कारण सीताहरण मात्र ही नहीं माना है। उन्होंने रावण को राम-शत्रु के रूप में नहीं, लोकशत्रु के रूप में ही दिखाया है। विभीषण राम के शरणागत दिखाए गए हैं। शरणागत की रक्षा उच्च भारतीय लोकदृष्टि है। शरणागत की रक्षा करनेवाले के विरुद्ध सनद्ध होनेवाले को लोक सर्वसामान्य और नैतिक भावना का शत्रु अर्थात् लोकशत्रु के रूप में देखता है। भारतीय कवि प्रबंध के क्षेत्र में लोक-शत्रु और लोकमित्र की दृष्टि बराबर रखते आए हैं।

आदिकाल या रासाकाल का काव्य केवल वीरत्व की प्रशंसा में लिखे लोकबाह्य काव्य नहीं था। उसमें लोक की प्रचलित भावना वीरत्व के उन्नास का प्रतिपादन किया जाता था। कहीं उसके लिए लोक-शत्रु का नाश होता था। कहीं केवल वीर्य का प्रदर्शन। अहाँ कोई लोकरक्षामूक हेतु न हो यहाँ कल्पित और लोकरक्षण के स्थान पर लोकजन को ही लक्ष्य करते कवि चलाता है तो यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि यह पलायनवादी है। रासा-प्रयोगों में अनेक युद्धों का वर्णन ही लक्ष्य है, प्रतिपक्ष में चाहे कोई लोकशत्रु हो यदि कोई कविकल्पित प्रतिद्वंद्वी। वह युग युद्ध का युग था। उसके लिए कवि भी अपने काव्य के द्वारा लोगों को युद्ध करने को प्रेरित रूप में उत्साहित करते रहते थे। काव्य लोक से बद्ध था। यदि उन काव्यों में प्रत्यक्ष यह नहीं मिलता कि अमुक विदेशी शत्रु से हमें लड़ना चाहिए तो उन्हें हम लोक-विमुख कैसे कह सकते हैं। राजनीति हमारी दुखि को उद्वृद्ध करती है, काव्य हमारे हृदय को उत्तेजित करता है। हृदय को प्रभावित करने के लिए प्रेरक और गहरी अनुभूति चाहिए। काव्य की मार प्रत्यक्ष नहीं होती, उसका मार्ग वक्र होता है। राजनीति में कुटिलता भीतर होती है, बाहर मजबूत रहती है। काव्य में बाहर वक्रता होती है भीतर सरलता रहती है। इसलिए यदि सीधे सीधे कोई तथ्यमात्र काव्य में कहा जाय तो यह काव्य न रह जायगा। भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र ने वाच्य और अव्यय में जो भेद किया

है और एक को अवर और दूसरे को उत्तम कहा है वह केवल शब्द में ही नहीं। यह काव्य या साहित्य मात्र के लिए है। इसी से काव्य में सीधे सीधे कहना बहुतों की दृष्टि में अपराध है। भारतीय साहित्य या हिंदी में अनुकृत इस पद्धति को चाहे कोई ठीक न माने, पर वह यह नहीं कह सकता कि इस पद्धति पर यदि कोई लोकवृत्तिमूलक रचना करे तो उसे हम इसीलिए अग्राह्य कर देंगे कि उसमें सीधे सीधे कोई बात नहीं कही गई है।

अब भक्तिकाल की रचनाओं का आलोचन और आलोचन कीजिए। निगुण और सगुण धारा में से निगुण धारा को तो बहुत से लोग लोकोन्मुख मानते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि कबीर ने परस्पर लोगों को मिलाने का प्रयास किया। जो साधारण श्रेणी के समझे जाते थे उन्हें समता की भूमि पर स्थित किया। हिंदुओं और मुसलमानों दोनों को फटकारा। इसी प्रकार की बातें अन्य सतों न भी कीं। सबका लक्ष्य साक्षात्कृत सुधार था, वैषम्य दूर करना था। सूफी सत भी मानवता की सर्व सामान्य भूमि पर, प्रेम की सर्वनिष्ठ पद्धति पर चल रहे थे इसलिए इनकी रचनाओं में विकासोन्मुख या समयानुरूप लोकवृत्ति को दूँद लेना कठिन नहीं है। सबसे अधिक कठिनाई कुछ लोगों को पड़ती है सगुण शाखा के कवियों में बिकसित लोकनिष्ठ दृष्टि खोजने में। सूरदास और तुलसीदास दोनों ने निगुण पथ का खडन भी किया है इसलिए किसी किसी को इन्हें प्रतिगामी कहना ही ठीक प्रतीत होता है। सूरदासजी ने लोकमर्यादा का ध्यान नहीं रखा है। सांप्रदायिक दृष्टि से श्रीवल्लभाचार्यजी के मत के अनुसार 'मर्यादा' और 'पुष्टि' में अंतर है। 'पुष्टि' ही भगवदनुग्रह ही ठीक है। शाखादि की मर्यादा का अनुशासन अनिवार्य नहीं। पर इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि मर्यादा का उल्लंघन किया ही जाय। प्रवाह से उत्कृष्ट मर्यादा और मर्यादा से उत्कृष्ट पुष्टि। लोकप्रवाह को सबसे नीचे मानने के कारण सूरदास आदि के काव्यों में लोकवृत्ति न होगी ऐसा मानना बहुत बड़ी भ्रंति है। सूरदासजी ने लोकवृत्ति को तो ग्रहण किया है, पर लोकप्रवाह को नहीं। काव्य का बही भ्रमा काम देगा। लोक का वर्णन कैसा हो यह मूलरूप में कबीर, जायसी, सूर और तुलसीदास सबमें एकसा ही है। अंतर उसके मार्गोपदेश में है। कबीर निवृत्तिमार्ग का उपदेश देते हैं इसलिए कोई यह बेखटक कह सकता है उनकी कृति से तात्कालिक समाज में चाहे वैषम्य मिटा हो, पर उसका उद्देश्य ठीक नहीं, ससार के त्याग की शिक्षा देना लोकवृत्ति की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर उतनी अच्छी नहीं। पर कबीर आदि के द्वारा

कुछ अभीष्टित सुधार हुए हैं इसी से उनकी प्रशंसा के पुल बाँधे जाते हैं। सूरदास का भक्तिमार्ग तो प्रवृत्तिमूलक था, लोक में लगाए रहनेवाला। भला उसमें लोगों को लोकवृत्ति का विरोध कैसे मिलता है। सूर ने निवृत्ति-मार्गोपदेश के ही कारण निगुणपथ का विरोध किया। लोक में पुरुषों को चाहे ज्ञान का उपदेश दीजिए, चाहे प्रेम का या योग का। पर भारतीय दृष्टि से नारियों को ज्ञान का अर्थात् निवृत्तिमार्ग या योग की अतः साधना का उपदेश देना सारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था का नाश कर देना था। इसी से सूरदासजी ने निगुणपथ के प्रतिनिधि उद्धव के प्रतिपक्ष में गोपियों को खड़ा किया है। उनके द्वारा सूर ने दो प्रमुख बातें कहलाई हैं—एक तो निगुणपथ सामाजिक दृष्टि से घातक है, दूसरे वह कठिन भी है। यदि कोई यह कहे कि इसमें कबीर की भाँति सब सुधारों और समन्वय के लिए स्थान कहाँ था तो यही कह सकते हैं कि 'भक्ति-संप्रदाय' में जातिभेद नहीं माना जाता, रसखानि, अलीखान, ताज आदि की समझ यहाँ भी थी। कबीर का निगुणपथ स्फीमत को पचाने और मुसलमानों की पैगम्बरी कटहरता को दूर करने में समर्थ नहीं था, पर सगुण भक्तिमार्ग ने बहुतांश में कन्हैया बनने की लालसा उत्पन्न कर दी थी और बहुतांश को कन्हैया के लिए 'हिन्दुयानी' हो के रहना पड़ा था। कबीर ने चाहे एकता की भूमि बना दी हो, पर उसमें अभेद का प्रासाद खड़ा न हो सका। कबीर की डाटफटकार से मन मिल न सके। भक्ति की शरणागति ने, अहता के त्याग ने, हृदय की सर्वसामान्य भूमि प्रस्तुत की।

काव्य की सर्वसामान्य भूमि है प्रकृत और भूलभावों पर राजनीति, सम्यता आदि के कारण पड़े हुए आवरणों को हटाकर उनकी सहज अनूभूति का अवसर देना। समाज-सुधार के आंदोलन, राजनीतिक दौलपेच हमें कृत्रिमता की ओर ले जाते हैं। अतः काव्य जब स्वच्छदता का सहारा लेता है तो उसे पलायनवादी कह दिया जाता है। वस्तुतः वह पलायनवाद नहीं है। मानव को भूल भावों तक पहुँचाने का उपक्रम है। सूरदास के काव्य की स्वच्छदता का स्वागत इसीलिए जनता ने किया। कबीर के सुधारवादी आंदोलन से प्रसन्न मानव का प्राण सूर की स्वच्छदवृत्ति में लीन होने से ही हो सकता था। जो लोग यह समझते हैं कि भारत अपनी पराजय से निराश होकर भक्ति में लीन हुआ उनसे निवेदन है कि भक्ति का आंदोलन प्राचीन है। वस्तुतः वह शक्ति-संचय के लिए उधर गया था और उसने शक्ति-संचय किया। सूरदासजी की रचना का काव्यगत सूर्य चाहे जो आँका जाय, पर

यह निश्चित है कि तुलसीदासजी की अपेक्षा उसमें काव्यगत तत्त्वों का विधान अधिक है, उसमें अनुभूति की गहराई प्रकृतरूप को बारबार सामने करने के कारण विशेष है। यह कह सकते हैं कि सूर की अपेक्षा तुलसीदास में सामाजिकता अधिक है। वस्तुतः जायसी आदि सूफी कवियों की कमी सूर आदि कृष्णभक्तों से दूर हुई और कबीर की त्रुटियों का परिमार्जन तुलसीदास ने किया। जायसी आदि जगत् के कणकण में ब्रह्म का आभास पाने का एक प्रकार से उपदेश ही देते रहे, पर सूर आदि कृष्णभक्तों ने पुरुषोत्तम—लीलापुरुषोत्तम की अवतारणा को लेकर जगत् के कणकण को आकर्षक बना दिया। सूर ने गोपियों के द्वारा इसकी अभिव्यजना स्थान स्थान पर की है। अतः इस दृष्टि से सूरदासजी ने लोकवृत्ति की अनुकूलता प्रदर्शित की। सांप्रदायिक साधना दूसरी बात है और किसी कवि के द्वारा हुआ सामाजिक कार्य दूसरी बात। सूरदास ने रीतिकाल के सारे साहित्य को प्रभावित किया। बाहरी साहित्य की प्रतिबद्धता के लिए सूर का प्रभाव पड़ना अभिवार्य था। हिंदी के भक्तिकाल के कृष्णकाव्य ने ऐसी प्रवृत्तियाँ उत्पन्न कीं जिनसे हमारे जीवन की सामयिक आकांक्षाओं की भी तृप्ति हुई और अनीप्सित बाहरी प्रभाव से भी हमारा साहित्य बच सका। जीवन में जिस सामाजिक स्वच्छंदता का परोक्ष प्रतिपादन कृष्णकाव्य के द्वारा हुआ, वह जीवन की मर्यादा बाँधने के लिए था। सारा कामवासनात्मक बाह्यमय राधाकृष्ण को आलंबन के रूप में पाकर बाजारू और नीचे स्तर से ऊपर उठ गया। राधा-कृष्ण की पौराणिकता या ऐतिहासिकता के सहारे प्राप्त देवत्व ने उनके प्रेम के निर्मल प्रवाह में ही लोगों को स्नान करने को विवश किया। सूरदासजी की मनोदृष्टि गोपियों के प्रेमयोग के सात्त्विक स्वरूप की ओर बार बार गई है। गोपिकाएँ स्पष्ट कहती हैं,—

पीत ध्वजा उनके पीतांबर लाव ध्वजा कुब्जका व्यभिचारी ।

सत, की ध्वजा खेत ब्रज ऊपर अजसन्देत ऊधो पै प्यारी ॥

श्रीकृष्ण का प्रेम राजस भाव का है, कुब्जका का प्रेम तामस भाव का, पर गोपिकाओं का प्रेम सात्त्विक भाव का। अब यह सात्त्विक प्रेम यदि अयश का कारण हो तो क्या कोई अपने सात्त्विक प्रेम को अयश के भय से त्याग देगा। गोपिकाओं का यही सात्त्विक प्रेम था जिसे साहित्य ने स्वीकार किया। क्योंकि साहित्य भी 'सत्त्वोद्देश' से ही माना गया है। जीवन में इसा सात्त्विक

प्रेम के कारण राधाकृष्ण की पूजा जन-जनव्यापिनी हुई। उसमें सामाजिक मर्यादा का सत्स्वरूप दिखाई पड़ा। सूक्तियों का रहस्यमूलक प्रेम उसमें समा गया। कृष्णभक्ति शाखा ने सांख्यिक प्रेम की महत्ता का प्रतिपादन वारक जीवन में फैले या फैलनेवाले बाजारू प्रेम या लोभ की व्यभिचारी वृत्ति का उन्मूलन किया। इस भक्ति के प्रचार ने हमारे जीवन के व्यक्तिबद्ध प्रेम में निर्मलता त्याग-तपस्या का भाव पुष्टि को प्राप्त हुआ। हम जीवन को तिरस्कार के योग्य न मान कर उसे ग्राह्य-भाग्य मानने लगे। मगुणोपासक भक्त जीवन या ससार से मुक्ति नहीं चाहता। वह जगद्व्यापार को अपने भगवान् की लीला मानता है और लीला को देखना उसमें याग देना अर्चना परम सौभाग्य समझता है। यह केवल सिद्धांत नहीं है। व्यवहार में इसका अतिना और जैसा भी पावन होता है उसमें यदि अनुपात जगाकर देखा जाय तो इन मगुणोपासक भक्तों ने भारतीय जीवन में जो कुछ सुधार संस्कार किए हैं या जो उस भक्ति में बद्ध होने से हो गए हैं वे किसी प्रकार वर्तमान 'प्रगति' के पीछे नहीं हैं। पुष्ट भूमि पर होने के कारण उनका स्थायित्व स्पष्टणीय और अनुकरणीय है।

तुलसीदास आदि रामभक्त कवियों ने तो हमारे जीवन के बाह्य और आन्तरिक दोनों पक्षों को मज्जी मौँति और स्पष्ट रूप से जोकोन्मुख बनाया। कृष्ण-भक्तिशाखा में व्यष्टि-दृष्टि से जोक देखा जाता था और रामभक्तिशाखा में समष्टि-दृष्टि से। धर्म की स्थापना कर्मेवाले और बन्दुर्बर के रूप में जोक-विरोधियों का विकास करनेवाले राम की ओर जनता की दृष्टि खे जाकर तथा मर्यादा-पावन की वृत्ति ढालकर रामभक्त कवियों, मुख्यतया तुलसीदास जी ने इसके आगे भी कुछ किया है। कृष्णभक्ति का प्रसार रामभक्तियों के द्वारा हुआ तो तुलसी ने रामजीजा के द्वारा दुहरा काम किया। 'मानस' काव्य के भेद की दृष्टि से श्रव्य काव्य है। पर दृश्यकार्थ में श्रव्य की अपेक्षा सामाजिकता अधिक है। रामजीजा के कारण वह दृश्य भी हो गया। कथा के रूप में सचमुच श्रव्यत्व की सिद्धि होती रही। इस प्रकार पठ्य, श्रव्य और दृश्य तीनों रूपों में उसके प्रसार से तात्कालीन युग के साहित्य में नाटकीयता के अभाव की पूर्ति भी होती रही और समाज में रजन और परिष्कार भी शक्लता रहा।

तुलसीदासजी ने इतना ही किया होता तो क्या काम था। हमारा जीवन

इतने से ही सघटित, प्रबुद्ध और परिमार्जित हो गया होता। पर उन्होंने इसके आगे भी कुछ किया। उन्होंने हनुमान् की पूजा और उनकी मूर्ति-स्थापना तथा उसके साथ अखाड़ों के खोलने का ऐसा प्रचलन किया कि हमारा समाज सबल भी हुआ। देश के उद्धार का उन्होंने ऐसा विलक्षण और महत्त्वशाली कार्य किया जिसका जोड़ हमारे इतिहास में नहीं। महाराणा प्रताप की स्वदेशोद्धार की नीति जहाँ शक्तिशाली न बन सकी वहाँ तुलसी की नीति ने देश का सबमुक्त उद्धार कर दिया। तुलसी के 'मानस' को पहचाना समर्थ गुरु रामदास ने जिन्होंने दक्षिण में सारुति-पूजा का प्रसार इनकी देखादेखी किया और प्रत्येक गाँव में सारुति-मंदिर की स्थापना उसके साथ कथा-वार्ता का नियम और शरीर-संवर्धन का साधन लगाया। रामदास तुलसी की मानो समर्थ गुरु रामदास हो गये और उसे माना। छत्रपति शिवाजी ने जिनके सघटन ने दिल्ली का गला दबोच लिया था और सन् सत्तावन के विद्रोह में जिस संघटन का ही बीजमंत्र काम कर रहा था जिसे आजकल राजनीतिक अपने स्वातंत्र्य-आंदोलन का मूल मानता है।

रही सांप्रदायिकता की बात। सो भारतवासियों की आज आँगरेजों के प्रति जो नीति रही, क्या स्थितिबल उस समय के आगंतियों की वही नीति विदेशी जाति के प्रति अनुचित थी? शिवाजी के ऐतिहासिक कार्यों की उद्धारणी करने का परामर्श मात्र देकर और केवल साहित्य में ही परिमित होकर कहना है कि भूषण ने स्पष्ट और गजेब की दुर्नीति का विरोध किया है उसके पूर्वजों तक की उस राष्ट्रीय कवि ने प्रशंसा की है—

१. बब्बर के तब्बर हिमायूँ हूँ बाँधि गए
हिंदुओं तुरुक की कुरान वेद ढव की।
२. बब्बर अकब्बर हिमायूँ साह सासन सों
नेहते सुधारी हेम हीरन ते सगरी।
३. दौलति दिली की पाय कहाए आलमगीर,
बब्बर अकब्बर के बिरद बिसारे हैं।

शिवाजी के न होने से 'मथुरा' तो 'मसीति' हो जाती, पर यह तो बताएँ कि शिवाजी के होने से कितनी मसीतियाँ मंदिर हो गईं। एक भी नहीं। तुलसीदास के हनुमन्मंदिरों के सामने धनुर्धारी राम के मंदिर स्थापित होते हैं

और यह सकेत करते हैं कि इन हनुमन्मंदिरों की प्रतिष्ठा का लक्ष्य धनुर्धरत्व की ओर है। इतने पर भी जो यह कहता है कि 'तुलसी ने हमारे जीवन को पीछे की ओर घसीटा। वे प्रतिगामी थे, पलायनवादी थे आदि आदि' उसका बुद्धि के फिर जाने में कितने सदेह होगा। जिन तुलसीदास को ब्राह्मणों का पिछू कहते कुछ अर्थवादियों की जीभ सकुचित नहीं होती वे ही ब्राह्मणों को सावधान और उनके पतन का व्याख्यान यों करते हैं —

प्रभु के वचन बेद-बुध-समत मम मूर्ति महिदेव मई है।
तिन्ह की मति रिस राग मोह मद लोभ लालची लील लई

जिन तुलसी को सामंतवादी कहते किसी की 'जीभ' नहीं 'गिरती' वे ही सामंतों के दोषों का दर्शन और प्रदर्शन यों करते हैं—

राज समाज कुसाज कोटि कटु कलपत कलुष कुचाल नई है।
नीति प्रतीति प्रीति परभिति पति हेतुवाद हठि हेरि धई है।
धोया हेतुवाद आज भी है।

शोषक वर्ग का साथ देनेवाले जो अनेक बार कहे गए और जिनके आर्थिक आघात की भी जाँच हो चुकी हैं वे ही तुलसीदास शोषित कष्ट से कराह रहे हैं —

खेती न किसान को भिखारी को न भीख बलि,
बनिक को बनिज न चाकर को चाकरी।
जीविका-बिहीन लोग सीधमात सोचबस
कहैं एक एकन सों कहैं जाई का करी।
बेदहूँ पुरान कही शोकहूँ बिलोकियत
साकर सबै पै राम रावरे कृपा करी।
दारिद दसानन दवाई दुनी दीनबधु
दुरित दहन देखि तुलसी हहा करी ॥

'आर्यसमाजी सुधार' का डंका स्वामी दयानंदजी के उद्भव से पहले ही तुलसीदासजी पीट चुके थे। गाजी मियाँ के मेले में होनेवाले उत्पात और विश्वासपूर्वक वहाँ जानेवालों का नेत्रोन्मीलन करते हुए वे कहते हैं—

लही आँखि कब आँधरे बौझ पूत कब पाय ।
कब कोढ़ी काया लही जग बहराइच जाय ॥

कहाँ तक कहें । तुलसीदास के बाङ्गमय की खोज अभी हुई ही कहाँ है । अभी तो लोग अपने अपने गाँव में तुलसी का जन्मस्थान खोज निकालने में लगे हैं । तुलसी का आर्थिक आधार खोजा जा रहा है, मिलता वह भी नहीं । पर जो अंधे को भी मिल सकता है तुलसी के उस सामाजिक आधार को कोई फूटी आँख भी नहीं देखता । हम तो दूसरों की दृष्टि से देखने और दूसरों के कानों से सुनने के अभ्यासी हो गए हैं फिर भला प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की लोकदृष्टि हमें सूझे भी तो कैसे ।

(52) भाषा का रागात्मक तत्त्व

डा० विश्वनाथप्रसाद, पटना

यदि हम बहुत दूर से दो या दो से अधिक व्यक्तियों को बातचीत करते हुए सुनें तो उनके शब्द अथवा स्वर या व्यंजन हमें स्पष्ट नहीं सुनाई पड़ते, सुनाई पड़ता है उनके वाक्यों का व्यापक रागमात्र । माला के सूत्र में पिरोई हुई मणियों के समान भाषा के विविध अवयवपद, शब्द तथा स्वर-व्यंजन वाक्य के राग-सूत्र में ही आवद्ध रहते हैं । भाषा का यह रागात्मक तत्त्व, उसकी आत्मा, उसका प्रारम्भ, उसकी जीवन्ती शक्ति है । निस्संदेह वाणी के इस रागात्मक तत्त्व को ही ध्यान में रखकर वाक्यपदीय के प्रणेता भट्टहरि ने कहा था—

पदेन वर्णा विशन्ते यण्यवयवा न च ।

वाक्यास्पदानागत्यन्तम्रविवेको न करचन ॥

पद में वर्ण नहीं होते और वर्णों में पृथक्-पृथक् अवयव नहीं होते । वाक्य से पृथक् पदों की कोई सत्ता नहीं है ।

(वाक्यपदीय १ ७३)

हम जब बोलने लगते हैं तब हमारे पद, हमारे वर्ण एक-दूसरे में अन्तःप्रविष्ट होकर ध्वनि के अगणित रंगों में व्यक्त होने लगते हैं । ओसिलोमाफ तथा फिल्लम-स्टिपों के चित्रों से भी यह बात सिद्ध होती है कि बोलते समय वक्ता की वागिन्द्रिया पूर्ववर्ती और परवर्ती ध्वनियों के समष्टिगत स्वरूप के अनुसार ही संचालित होती हैं । मानो समस्त वाक्य का राग-चित्र उसमें एक ही साथ उतर आता हो ।

वस्तुतः किसी भाषा के ध्वनि-समूह का विश्लेषण करने से हमें उसकी व्यवस्था के दो पक्ष मिलते हैं—

(१) उसका स्वनिक (Phonematic) पक्ष, उसके स्वर-व्यंजन ।

(२) उसका छान्दिक या रागात्मक पक्ष ।

इनमें स्वनिक पक्ष की जो ध्वनियाँ हैं, वे दीवार की ईंटों के समान आनुक्रमिक रूप में आती हैं और रागात्मक पक्ष की जो ध्वनियाँ समकालिक या योगपदिक रूप में आती हैं, कई पृथक्-पृथक् ईंटों के समान पृथक् पृथक् स्वनिक ध्वनिखंडों का अपने भीतर परिमाणित या अगंकृत कर लेती हैं। ये उनके ऊपर छा-मी जाती हैं। इसीलिए कुछ अमेरिकन ध्वनिशास्त्रियों ने एक को खंडात्मक (Segmental) और दूसरे को उप-खंडात्मक (Super Segmental) कहा है। प्रायः एक ही स्वनिक खंड में दो-दो, तीन-तीन रागात्मक तत्त्व व्याप्त रहते हैं।

सुर या स्वरों के आरोह-अवरोह, बलाघात, ह्रस्व दीर्घ आदि मात्रायें, विराम आदि में सभी भाषा के रागात्मक तत्त्व के अंग हैं।

इन रागों के द्वारा ही हम उन भाषाओं में भी जो सुरात्मक (fonal) नहीं हैं अर्थात् जिनमें सुरों की भेदक सार्थकता (distinctive significance) नहीं है, उनमें भी विभिन्न अर्थों की व्याख्या कर सकते हैं। हिन्दी के इस लिखित पदसमूह का क्या अर्थ होगा जब तक उसमें राग भर कर हम किसी विशिष्ट अर्थ को न व्यक्त करें।

आप यह बात जानते हैं।

इस वाक्य के स्थूलाक्षर अक्षरों पर जोर देकर उच्चारण कीजिए और देखिए कि किस प्रकार राग-भेद से अर्थानिव्यक्ति में भेद पड़ जाता है—

(१) आप यह बात जानते हैं।

(२) आप यह बात जानते हैं।

(३) आप यह बात जानते हैं।

(४) आप यह बात जानते हैं।

इसी वाक्य के अन्त में उच्चारणहीन सुर का प्रयोग कीजिए तो उसके द्वारा प्रश्न की सूचना होती जो अन्यथा असंभव है।

एक ही भाषा में प्रादेशिक राग-भेद भी अनेक पाए जाते हैं। हिन्दी के उक्त वाक्य का प्रयोग प्रश्नवाचक अर्थ में लखनऊ में जिस सुर-विधान में होगा,

उससे दिल्ली का सुर-विधान सर्वथा भिन्न होगा। हमारे प्रान्त के विरहृत प्रदेश में इस वाक्य का प्रश्नवाचिक निम्न स्वर में यों होगा।

आप यह बात जानते हैं ?

यह राग-भेद प्रायः स्थानीय बोलियों के अनुसार बदलता है। इसलिए त्रिस्तीर्ण क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित भाषाओं में भी रागों का कोई निश्चित आदर्श न ग्रहण किया जाय तो उनमें हास्यास्पद अव्यवस्था की ही नहीं वरन् अर्थ के अनर्थ की भी समावना है।

वैदिक 'इन्द्र शत्रु' शब्द के उच्चारण में स्वर-भेद के कारण कैसा उत्पात खड़ा हो गया था, यह कहानी प्रसिद्ध है। इसी कारण वैदिक ऋषि अपनी भाषा के रागात्मक तत्त्वों के संकेतन के सबध में बड़े सावधान थे। प्राचीन ग्रीकों ने भी मृदु और तीक्ष्ण नामों के लिए संकेत-चिह्नों का बड़ी सतर्कता के साथ प्रयोग किया है।

आज भी साहित्यिक भाषाओं के लिखित रूप में शब्दों के बीच रिक्त स्थान देने की जो परिपाटी है, उसे हम रागात्मक तत्त्व का ही निर्देशक मानते हैं। उनके द्वारा पदान्त तथा पदादि के ध्वनि-स्वरूप तथा सन्धियों की भी सूचना हमें मिलती है। हिन्दी में 'हट जाओ' इस वाक्य के स्वनात्मक रूप 'हट् जाओ' में ट् और जा का जो सन्धि-रूप है, वह 'पड्ज' आदि जैसे शुद्ध संस्कृत के तत्सम शब्दों को छोड़कर अन्यत्र नहीं पाया जाता। इस प्रकार हिन्दी में 'ड्ज' का सगम पदान्त और पदादि का एक सन्धि-चिह्न है।

सन्धियाँ वस्तुतः रागात्मक तत्त्व के ही अंग हैं। दो ध्वनियों के मिलने से एक तीसरी ध्वनि-तरंग उत्पन्न हो जाती है जिसमें उन दोनों ध्वनियों का पर्य-वसान हो जाता है। 'पाँच सौ रुपये हैं' इस वाक्य में च और स की सन्धि में च का स्पर्श बिलकुल गायब हो जाता है और स का ध्वनिरूप भी बदल जाता है। 'मत चलो' इस वाक्य में त और च का जो सयोग है वह बच्चा के संयुक्त 'च' के समान नहीं बल्कि उससे सर्वथा भिन्न है। तालु-प्राही रेखा-चिह्नों से यह बात स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो गयी है। वास्तव में सन्धियों के राग अंगणित

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

पहुँचना
बहिन
कहता है

पौहचना
बेहन
केहता है

पौचना
बैन
कैता है

यह बड़े मजे की बात है कि इन सभी रूपों में मात्राओं में कोई घट-बढ़ नहीं होती। मात्रिक राग अखण्ड बना रहता है।

हकार के रागात्मक स्वरूप के प्रयास में ऐसे वाक्यों के उदाहरण भी किये जा सकते हैं जिनमें महाप्राण यर्णों से ह की ध्वनि स्थानान्तरित हो जाती है जैसे देख के चलो इस वाक्य का स्वनात्मक रूप होता है दे ह वके चलो। बाध का बच्चा—स्वनात्मक रूप—बा ह का बच्चा। क्यामोप्राप्त या स्पन्दप्राप्त नामक ध्वनि-पन्त्र की चित्र-रेखाओं से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि इनमें द के एकार और वा के आकार से ही महाप्राणत्व का प्रारम्भ हो जाता और वह द और और ब के स्फोटन के बाद के ध्वन्यंश को अपने राग में रँग देता है।

मात्राओं के रागात्मक स्वरूप को ध्यान में रखकर ही पाणिनि ने ह्रस्व और दीर्घ के लिए विशिष्ट शब्द लघु और गुरु का प्रयोग किया है। ह्रस्व और दीर्घ मात्राएँ हमारी भाषा के राग-पङ्क्त के प्रधान आधार हैं। दिन और दीन जैसे शब्दों के उदाहरण हमारी भाषा में बहुत कम हैं, जिनमें ह्रस्व और दीर्घ मात्राएँ अर्थ-भेदक रूप में प्रयुक्त हों। इनका स्वनिर्णय महत्त्व नहीं, रागात्मक महत्त्व है। हमारे स्कूलों और कॉलेजों के विद्यार्थी ह्रस्व और दीर्घ की जो अशुद्धियाँ करते हैं उनका कारण यही है।

अपनी बोलचाल की भाषा या बोलियों के राग-भेद के कारण हिन्दी के रागात्मक ध्वनि-सूत्र को ठीक-ठीक पकड़ नहीं पाते। इस मर्ज को दूर करने का उचित उपाय यही है कि उनकी स्थानीय बोली के राग-तत्त्व के साथ हिन्दी के राग-तत्त्व के तुलनात्मक पहलू को ध्यान में रखकर, उसका विवेचन करके उन्हें हिन्दी के राग-तत्त्व का सम्यक् ज्ञान प्रदान किया जाय।

वास्तव में कोई भी जीवित भाषा एक बहुरागात्मक संगीत है जिसमें एक विस्तीर्ण तन्त्र के अन्तर्गत अनेक राग प्रवाहित होते रहते हैं। उनका अनुचयन आज के भाषाविज्ञानियों का प्रधान कर्तव्य है। विभिन्न भाषाओं में स्वर-व्यंजनों का प्रक्रिया का अध्ययन यथावत् किया जा चुका है, पर उनके रागा-

त्मक तत्त्वों का अध्ययन अभी बहुत ही पिछड़ी हुई दशा में है । भाषाओं के पठनपाठन की दृष्टि से रागात्मक तत्त्वों के ज्ञान का व्यावहारिक महत्त्व है । मुझे तो ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि किसी भी भाषा को सीखने के लिए पहले उसके रागों को ही सीखना आवश्यक है । बच्चे पहले यह राग ही सीखते हैं, उसके बाद स्वर-व्यंजन ।

अँगरेज या अमेरिकन शिक्षकों द्वारा संचालित St. Xavier, convent आदि अँगरेजी स्कूलों में हमारे बच्चे शीघ्र ही बढ़िया अँगरेजी बोलियाँ सीख लेते हैं, उसका प्रधान कारण यही है कि वहाँ उन्हें अँगरेजी भाषा के राग-सूत्र का साधन मिल जाता है । हिन्दी प्रान्तों में हिन्दी के स्वाभाविक समुचित रूप की शिक्षा और प्रचार के लिए भी अब यह आवश्यक है कि भिन्न-भिन्न हिन्दी प्रदेशों में प्रचलित वाक्य-सुरों तथा अन्य रागात्मक तत्त्वों का विश्लेषण किया जाय । और यथासम्भव उनके आदर्शिकरण का विचार किया जाय । सिनेमा और रेडियो में हिन्दी के उच्चारण-प्रयोग की दृष्टि से भी यह विषय महत्वपूर्ण है और इस ओर हमारे विद्वानों का ध्यान आकर्षित होना चाहिए ।

(53) कबीर की वाणी में विदेशी शब्द

डा० हरदेव बाहरी, प्रयाग

गुरु ग्रन्थ में संकलित कबीर के २२८ पदों और २४३ सजोंकों में लगभग ६००० कोश-शब्दों का उपयोग हुआ है। इनमें कोई १५० शब्द पंजाबी के हैं, १५० अहिंदी भारतीय भाषाओं से और २०० से कुछ ऊपर अरबी-फारसी से लिये गये हैं। शेष ५५०० शुद्ध हिंदी और प्रायः सभी तद्भव तथा अर्द्धतत्सम शब्द हैं। ६००० शब्दों में २०० अरबी-फारसी के शब्दों का अनुपात केवल सवा तीन प्रतिशत होता है। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि भाषा की दृष्टि से कबीर पके भारतीय तथा हिन्दी के कहर पोषक थे।

इन दो सौ शब्दों में ६० के लगभग ऐसे हैं जो एक से अधिक बार प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। ४४ शब्द दो-दो बार, सात शब्द (कतेब, जबाब, काबै, खबरि, बाकी, मसीत, दीवान) तीन-तीन बार, दोजक, बदे, साहब चार-चार बार, काजी, अलह, खुदाई पाँच-पाँच बार, मिसत छ. बार, तथा नियाज आठ बार आया है। शेष १४० शब्द केवल एक-एक बार प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।

ये विदेशी शब्द प्रायः जब भी आये हैं अपने प्रसंग के अनुकूल वातावरण में आये हैं। ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि इनके बिना कबीर को कोई चारा ही न था। वे जब मुसलमानों को सम्बोधित करके कोई बात कहते हैं, अथवा उनके दीन की (ईमान या मजहब शब्द कहीं नहीं आया) चर्चा करते हैं, अथवा सूफी कथियों की विचार-पद्धति को उद्धृत करते हैं, तो ऐसे शब्दों का प्रयोग करना नितान्त आवश्यक हो जाता है। खुदाई, अलह, बुत, कजमा, बांग, सलाम, सेख, मुलों, काजी, उजु, निमाज, मुसल्ला, रोजा, रमजान, पाक, पलीतह, हज, दरगह, काबा, मसिति, हलाल, बिसमिल, कतेब (कुरआन के लिए), मिसत, दोजक, मीर, पीर आदि बहुत से ऐसे शब्द हैं जिन पर धार्मिक छाप लग जाने के कारण इनका हिन्दी रूपान्तर भौंका हो जाता। तरीकत, तलब, रबाब, तूर, दमासा, खता, हाल, सउज, दीमाना, पिआला, तरीकति, बखसि आदि सूफी शब्दावली से उधार लिये हुए शब्द हैं। कुछ ऐसे शब्द

भी हैं जिन से कबीर को विशेष प्रेम है, जैसे साहिब, खसम, गरीब, हुकम, बदे, दरबार, गुमान, आदि। कुछ शब्द जन-साधारण की बोली में बहुत घुलमिल गये थे, ऐसा स्पष्ट जान पड़ता है, जैसे अउरत, मरद, चाबुक, लगाम, सवार, मुहार, लालच, खुसी, जोर, जबाब, साहिब, मुसफ, खजाना तीर, कमान, सराय, दुनिया, खेलखाना, दिल, कागज, कलम, जुलम, बेकाम, बेगाना, दरिया, बीबी, हवाई, गरीब आदि। हिंदी प्रदेश में ये आज भी इसी रूप में बोले जाते हैं। हिन्दीकृत शब्दों की यह शताब्दियों से बनी अवधारणा भाषा के इतिहास में अवश्य अचरज की बात है।

उपर्युक्त बातों को अधिक स्पष्ट करने के लिए उन पदों को लिया जाय जिनमें अधिकतम विदेशी शब्द हैं। रागु तिलग पद १ में ३=, रागु भैरव पद १७ में २३, रागु आसा पद १७ में २१, रागु सूही पद ३ में १५ तथा रागु विभास प्रभाती पद २४ में १४-१४ अरबी-फारसी शब्द प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। ये पद उद्धृत करना आवश्यक है ताकि यह समझा जा सके कि किस प्रसंग, किस विषय और भाव के अनुरूप तथा किस भाषा-मातावरण में कबीर ने विदेशी शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है।

- (१) वेद कतेब इफतरा भाई दिल का फिकर न जाह ।
 दुकु दम करारी जउ कहहु हाजिर हजर खुदाह ॥
 बदे खोज बिल हर रोज न फिर परेसानी माहि ।
 इह जो दुनीआ सिब्र मेला दशतगीरी नाहि ॥ १ ॥
 दरोगु पदि पदि खुसी होइ बेखबर बाहु बकाहि ।
 हकु सच्च खालकु खलक मिआने सिआम मूरति नाहि ॥ २ ॥
 असमान मियाने लहग दरिआ गुसल करदन बूद ।
 करि फकर दाइम लाइ चलमे जहा तहा मउजूद ॥ ३ ॥
 अलाह पाक पाक है सक करउ जे दूसर होइ ।
 कबीर करमु करीम का उहु करै जानै सोइ ॥ ४ ॥

हिन्दू की बात करते कबीर कैसे बदल गये—‘सिआम मूरति नाहि’।

- (२) हम मसकीन खुदाई बदे तुम राजसु मनि भावै ।
 अलह अवलि दीन को साहिबु जोर नही फुरमावै ॥
 काजी बोलिआ बनि नहीं आवै ॥ १ ॥

रोजा धरै निवाज गुजारै कलमा भिसति न होई ।
 सतरि काबा घट ही भीतरि जे करि जानै कोई ॥ २ ॥
 निवाज सोई जो निश्चाउ विचारै कलमा अकलहि जानै ।
 पाचहु मुसि मुसल्वा बिछावै तब तउ दीनु पछानै ॥ ३ ॥
 खसमु पछानि तरस करि जीभमहि मारि मणी करि फीकी ।
 आपु जनाइ अवर कउ कानै तब होइ भिसत सरीकी ॥ ४ ॥
 माटी एक मेख धरि नाना ता महि श्रद्धमु पछाना ।
 कहै कबीरा भिसति छोटि करि दोजक सिउ मनु माना ॥ ५ ॥

बात मुसलमान से हो रही है और उसकी पूजा-पद्धति की है, इसलिए उसी की शब्दावली का प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दू की पद्धति को उद्धृत करने के लिए भाषा भट से विदेशीपन से मुक्त हो गई—‘माटी एक मेख धरि नाना ता महि श्रद्धमु पछाना’। इस पद में २१ विदेशी शब्द हैं जिन सबका सम्बन्ध मुसलमानी दीन से है।

(३) सतरि सैइ सलार है जाके ।
 सवा लाख पैकावर ताके ॥
 सेख जो कहीअहि कोटि अठासी ।
 छपन कोटि जाके खेल खासी ॥
 सो गरीब की को गुजरवै ।
 मजलसि वूरि महुलु को पावै ॥ १ ॥
 तेतीस करोधी है खेलखाना ।
 चउरासी लख फिरै दिवाना ॥
 बाबा आदम कउ किछु नदरि दिखाई ।
 उन भी भिसति घनेरी पाई ॥ २ ॥
 दिल खलहलु जा कै जरदरु बानी ।
 छोटि कतेब करै सैतानी ॥
 दुनिआ दोसु रोसु है लोई ।
 अपन कीआ पावै सोई ॥ ३ ॥
 तुम दाते हम सदा मिहारी ।
 देस जबाब होइ बजगारी ॥
 दासु कबीर तेरी पनह समाना ।
 भिसतु नजीकि राखु रहमाना ॥ ४ ॥

हिन्दू-मुसलमान दोनों को एक साथ सम्बोधित करते हुए कैसी खिचड़ी भाषा का सयोजन करते हैं, यह इस पद से और अगले पद से स्पष्ट है।

(४) अमलु सिरानो लेखा देना ।
 आप कठिन दूत जम लेना ॥
 किआ तै खटिआ कहा गवाइआ ।
 चलहु सितार दीवानि बुलाइआ ॥
 चलु दरबालु दीवानि बुलाइआ ।
 हरि परमानि दरगह का आइआ ॥ १ ॥
 करउ अरदासि गान किछु बाकी ।
 लेउ निबेरि आजु की राती ॥
 किछु भी खरचु तुम्हारा सारउ ।
 सुबह निवाज सराइ गुजारउ ॥ २ ॥
 साध सगि जाको हरि रगु सागा ।
 धनु धनु सो जनु पुरखु सभागा ॥
 ईत ऊत जन सदा सुहेले ।
 जनमु पदारमु जीति अमोले ॥ ३ ॥
 जागत सोइआ जननु गवाइआ ।
 माखु धनु जोरिया भइआ पराइआ ॥
 कहु कबीर तेई नर सुले ।
 खसमु बिसारि माटी सग रुले ॥ ४ ॥

एक ही जीभ से हिन्दू-मुसलमान दोनों को सुनाये चले जा रहे हैं। भाषा की बदलती हुई शब्दावली भावों का कितना साध देती है यह देख लिया जाये।

(५) अलहु एकु मसीति बसतु है अबरु मुलखु कहु केरा ।
 हिन्दू मूरति नाम निवासी दुह महि ततु न हेरा ॥
 अलहु राम जीवउ तेरे नाई ।
 तू करि मिहरामति सार्हि ॥ १ ॥

दसम देस हरि का वांसा पड़िमि अलहु मुकामा ।
 दिल महि खोजि दिलै दिलि खोजहु एही ठउर मुकामा ॥ २ ॥

बहुसन गिआस करहि चउबीसा काजी सह रमजाना ।
 गिआरह मास पास कै राखे एकै माहि निधाना ॥ ३ ॥
 कहा उडीसे मजनु कीआ किआ मसीति सिरु नाए ।
 दिल महि कपटु निधाज गुजारे किआ हज काबै जाए ॥ ४ ॥
 एते अउरत मरदा साजे ए सम रूप तुमारे ।
 कबीर पू गरा राम अलह का सम गुरु पीर हमारै ॥ ५ ॥

- संलोक—१=४ कबीर मुला मुनारे किआ चढहि सार्हि न बहरा होई ।
 जा कारनि तू बांग देहि दिल ही भीतरि जोई ॥
 —१=५ सेख सखी बाहरा किआ हज काबै जाइ ।
 कबीर जाकी दिल साबति नहीं ताकउ कहा खुदाइ ॥
 —१=६ कबीर अलह की करि बढगी जिह सिमरत दुख जाइ ।
 दिख महि सार्हि परगटै बुझै बलती नाइ ॥
 —१=७ कबीर जोरी कीरा जुलमु है कहता नाउ हलालु ।
 दफतर सेखा मांगिअै तब होइगो कउन हषालु ॥

इस प्रकार कोई १४ पदों और ५-७ संलोकों में १२५ विदेशी शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है 'शेष ७५ शब्द ६० पदों और १५-२० संलोकों में बिखरे पड़े हैं। लगभग १२५ पद और १५० संलोक ऐसे हैं जिनमें एक भी अरबी-फारसी का शब्द नहीं मिलता।

x x x x x

कबीर ने इन विदेशी शब्दों को विदेशी रूप और वर्तनी में कभी नहीं लिया। इन्हें हिन्दी ध्वनियों और हिन्दी व्याकरण में ढाला, अथवा यों कहा जाये कि इन्हें बहुजनमान्य उच्चारण और व्यवहार के अनुसार प्रयुक्त किया। जान पड़ता है उस समय तक क, ख, ग, घ और फ ध्वनियों को न तो हिन्दी उच्चारण में स्थान मिला था और न ही नागरी बर्ण-माला में। कबीर में 'कसारि', 'अकलि', 'काइनु', 'जति', 'गज', 'जिमी', 'जजीर', 'फीलु', 'फुर-मान', 'फिकर', 'गाफिल', 'गुसल', 'गुलामु', 'दाग', 'खुसरा', 'खुदाई', 'खजानै', आदि शब्द-रूप मिलते हैं। इसी प्रकार कबीर ने 'श' के स्थान पर बराबर 'स' का प्रयोग किया है, जैसे सैतानी, सेख, नीसान, सरीकी, खुसी, परैसानी, चसमे, सक, बसिआर, सूस, इत्यादि में। 'जबाब' में तो 'ब' का भी 'ब' कर दिया है। ॐ और ॐ की जगह विकल्प से 'ज' और 'द' ध्वनि-शाब्द

की दृष्टि से बहुत ठीक रहा, जैसे हड़रि, हजूर, नदरि, नजर, तथा कागद में । काजी में 'ज' ही मिलता है । 'सुरतान' में 'ज' के स्थान पर 'र' पूर्वी हिन्दी का है । मुख्तार में 'क' की जगह 'ख', चराक तथा पैकावर में 'श' की जगह 'क', एव इकतिश्चार में 'ख' की जगह 'क' का ध्वनि परिवर्तन बहुत दिखचस्प है ।

भारतीय मापाओं ने सयुक्त अक्षरों की जगह द्वित्व व्यंजन और फिर एक व्यंजन रखने की चाल तो प्राकृत से ली है लेकिन इसकी अपनी एक विशिष्ट प्रवृत्ति सयुक्त अक्षरों में स्वरभक्ति खाने की है । विदेशी शब्दों में कम-से-कम यही होता रहा है । कबीर ने लोक-प्रचलित ऐसे शब्दों को बराबर लिया है । जैसे भिसत, तरस, गुसल, खरब, फिकर, दसतगिरी, रिजम, पुरजा, जुलूस, मरद, हसती, आदि में ।

बलाघात के प्रभाव से कुछ शब्दों के दीर्घ स्वर ह्रस्व हुए हैं जैसे दिवाना, बजार, असमान, सलार में ।

असवार और अजर्ह के आदि में अकार का आगम भी भाषा की, एक, अलग प्रवृत्ति का नमूना है ।

बरअक्स की जगह बरकस, अर्षदारत की जगह अरदासि, नखदीक की जगह नखीकि, परवर्दगार की जगह परविदगार शब्द-परिवर्तन आगम और लोप के सम्मिश्रण से तैयार हुए हैं । मुहां में अनुनासिकता और कुलक में शब्द-विपर्यय हुआ है । कुछ एक शब्द ऐसे हैं कि जिनके रूप अत्यन्त अस्पष्ट हो गये हैं, जैसे दिवाजा, सिकदारा, मुसीबत, ससकर, खलहल, बजगारी ।

इस प्रकार जब विदेशी शब्दों को देशी पहरावा पहना दिया गया और उनके ठेठ रूप को अपनाया गया तो कबीर के लिए उन्हें आहिदी कहने की गुजाइश ही नहीं थी । उन्होंने ऐसे शब्दों को हिन्दी मानकर ही हिन्दी व्याकरण-सम्मत ढंग से प्रयुक्त किया है ।

- मूल कर्ताकारक, पुष्पिग, एकवचन का अन्तिम उकार इन शब्दों में भी लगता है, जैसे कागड, दोजकु, गैड, करसु, अमलु, दरु, फीड, सलामु, जोरु, नापाकु, नूरु, इखलामु, इकु, खूबु, आदि में ।

सूक्त कर्ताकारक, खीलिग, एकवचन में इकार लगता है, जैसे बलाइ, नारि, रहअति, मजलसि, मिहरामति, सुनति, साबति, अरदासि, कुदरति आदि में ।

मुसीअत, तरीकति, सु नति, मिहरामति तथा इइअति, ये पाँच भावात्मक शब्द तो तकारान्त हैं, परन्तु कोई बीस-एक शब्द हिन्दी ढग के अनुकूल ईकारान्त हैं और यही कबीर की तथा लोकभाषा हिन्दी की सामान्य प्रवृत्ति है । उदाहरण—दलाली, बाजीगरी, गुमानी, दरबानी, बराबरी, सुरखी, सैतानी, सबूरी, कदूरी, साहिबी, खवासी, सरीकी, असवारी, जगाती, इत्यादि ।

लोकभाषा में जब विदेशी शब्दों का हिन्दीकरण हो जाता है तब उनके साथ कारक और क्रिया प्रत्यय बराबर हिन्दी के लगते रहते हैं । कबीर में इनका यही व्यवहार मिलता है, जैसे रमजाना, असवारा, बजारहि, बकाहि, दरमादे, खजानै, काबै, दरि, गुजारहु, फुरमावै इत्यादि ।

हम इतना कह सकते हैं कि कबीर के विदेशी शब्द-प्रयोग में भी ठेठ हिन्दी का ठाठ है । उनकी साहित्यिक भाषा लोकभाषा से भिन्न नहीं ।

* इस लेख में हमने शुरुआत में सकलित कबीर के सभी अरबी-फ़ारसी शब्दों की सूची, उदाहरणों के रूप में, दे दी है । जिन शब्दों को हम उद्धृत नहीं कर सके वे ये हैं—काबूल, कारगाह, मोर, जिन्न, नरका, पत्नीता, पेदार तथा सब ।

(54) MEER AS A MARSIYA WRITER

by

S MASIHUZZAMAN, M A

LECTURER DEPT OF URDU,

University of Allahabad

میر تقی میر کے حالات اور کلام کے بیان میں ہمیں لوگوں نے ان کے مرثیہ کا ذکر کیا ہے اور ان کی ہم انکھڑا طبیعت ' ان کے چوتھے کھائے عرصے دل ' اور ان کے بیان کی ادھر کی بنا پر ان کے ایک زبردست مرثیہ کو ہونے کا خیال ظاہر کیا ہے۔ اگرچہ اس میں کسی کو شبہ نہیں کہ میر نے مرثیہ کہہ نہیں لیکن ان کے کلیات کی بہت سی اشاعتوں کے باوجود ان کا کوئی مرثیہ ان کے کلیات کے کسی مطبوعہ مجموعہ میں نظر نہیں آتا۔ ایک عرصہ تک کلیات سودا کے رسالہ "سبیل ہدایت" میں جس مرثیہ پر اعتراضات کئے گئے ہیں اسے لوگ میر تقی میر کا سمجھتے رہے لیکن شہس چاند نے اہلے تحقیقاتی مطالعے "سودا" میں اس سلسلہ ہمیں کو دور کر کے یہ ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ وہ مرثیہ جس کا پہلا ہنر ہے

دلورن پر محبتوں کے حالت عجب ہے

مصیبت ہے ماتم ہے غم ہے تعب ہے

میر کا یہیں بلکہ اسی زمانے کے ایک اور مرثیہ کو میر محمد تقی عرف میر کھاسی المتخلص بہ تقی کا ہے۔

۱۹۲۸ع میں رسالہ لبرنگ رام پر نے میر نمبر نکالا تھا جس میں میر کے سب مرثیہ بھی شائع کئے تھے۔ ہمارے علم میں میر کے مرثیہ کی یہ سب سے پہلی اشاعت ہے۔ اس کے بعد اسی رسالہ لبرنگ کے جون ۱۹۲۹ع کی اشاعت میں ان کا ایک مرثیہ شائع ہوا جس کا مطلع یہ ہے

کرتا ہے یون بہان سخن زان کو

پھر اسی رسالہ پھرنگ کے ایڈیٹر حذاف عسرت رحمانی نے انہیں کے چھ مرنہوں اور ایک سلام کی نقل اسکاں ترقی اردو کو بھیجی جو اردو کے اپریل ۱۹۳۱ء کی اشاعت میں شایع ہوئی۔ اسی طرح مہر کے دہی مرنہ دوسری بار شایع ہوئے۔ ہمارے علم میں اس کے بعد مہر کے مرنہ کہیں اور شایع نہیں ہوئے

کلیات مہر کے قلمی مسعودوں میں بھی ہماری نظر سے صرف دو ایسے گزرے ہیں جن میں ان کے مرنہ شامل ہیں۔ ان میں سے ایک رما لاہوریؒ (رامپور میں ہے اور دوسرا معتز مئی پرنسپل مسعود حسن صاحب رضوی ام اے صدر شعبہ داری اردو لکھاؤ پرنسپل کی ذاتی کتب خانے میں رامپور کے نسقے میں دو مرنہ ہیں جو ”پہر لگ“ اور ”اردو“ میں شایع ہو چکے ہیں۔ پرنسپل مسعود حسن رضوی کے نسقے میں اکتالیس مرنہ اور سلام ہیں رام پور کے نسقے میں صرف دو ایسے مرنہ ہیں جو پرنسپل مسعود حسن رضوی کے نسقے میں نہیں ہیں۔ اسی طرح دونوں مسعودوں کو ملا کر مہر کے اکتالیس مرنہ اور سلام اس وقت ہمارے سامنے ہیں ۔

مہر نے مرنہ مسدس، مربع، ترحیح بلد، توکب بد اور مفرودہ لکھے ہیں جن میں مربع زیادہ ہیں۔ مرنہوں کے آچر میں انہوں نے اپنی عقید کا اظہار کیا ہے اور اپنے لئے دعاؤں مانگی ہیں۔ انہیں اس کا بھی پتہ ہے کہ ان کے مرنہ بہت موثر اور ایسے کامیاب ہیں کہ انہیں سن کر لوگوں پر دما طاری ہو جاتی ہے۔

کہوں یہ واقعہ آگے تو ہم ہر دنوں کو مہر مد گونہ ظلم ہو

حامی مہر اب نہ کہوں اس سخن سے ساز
چپ رہ حذا کو مان کہوں اے زبان دوا
ہر حزب ہرے ملے سے ملتا ہے نملہ رن
سیٹے میں دوستوں کے ہوا حاتمے دل گدا

بس اب تو مہر رکھ لے لگ زبان کو یہیں سے چہر دے اسی داستان کو
دلاوے گا۔ کہاں بکے مردماں کو توہں طاعت دہی موگن تری۔ کی

یہ خیال متعجب ہو یا نہ ہو لیکن اس میں شہ نہیں کہ مہر نے اپنے مرنہوں میں گرنہ کے بہار بہت پیدا کیے ہیں اور کرپا کے اظہار میں سے دوا

ابھڑا مناظر منقضب کر کے الہدیٰ باز، ہمارے نظم کہا ہے مڈا حشر پہ علی امین کے لئے
پاسی کا سوال، امام حسین کی شہادت، اور اس کے بعد کی لوث مار، حشر
عابد کی اسواری، اہل حرم کی بے چاندی، حشر ناسم کی شادی و عہدہ

ایک کہہ رہی ہوشہ قائم کیسے بھاہ رچایا تھا
کیا سامت تھی بحس وہ حس پہر، بھاہنے کو تو آیا تھا
لگ گئی چپ ہے اپنا اپنی اتنی ہی کیا لایا تھا
تہہ ہولے ہے اسدک تھوڑے ہانہ کی مہدی لگائی ہوئی

کوئی کسی ملت میں ہارو ایسا ستم بھی کرتا ہے
سہا رہی، برید، علی کا لچاری سے مرنا ہے
دل ہو چاہے حیلے کو پر موت پہ جی کو دھرتا ہے
کیا سمجھے تھے شامی کو فی حق سے اسی ہوائی ہوئی

بھئی بھائی بھتیخوں کا ٹھکانا مہسر سب کو آیا جی سے جانا
کسو کا بن ہے تیزوں کا نہانا کسو کا سر ہوا ہے چار پارا
فلک نولے عجب چوہر بچھائی سہجہ میں چال دھری کچھ نہ آئی
امام دیں لے خان ہاری لگائی مولا لیکن نہ اپنے جی کو ہارا

جہان تاریک ہے اپنے بھتیخے مر گئے سارے
زمین ایک ایک گس کر دشمنوں نے جان سے مارے
جفا نہیں سہتے سہتے باز ماندہ شاہ کے ہارے
چراغ اک لہم کشہ سا ہے باقی سو ہی مصطر ہے

بھائی بھتیخے آگئے تھیں ستم تلے حشر دکھا گیا شہ مظالم کے گلے
ہر چلک سر ہے لیڈہ پر، حشر شہد سا ولے تاریک ہے زمین درمیان و امصہدنا

رحصت امام کے متعلق ایک پورا موئید ہے جس میں بھائی کی ہون سے
جدائی کا مضمون بہت مؤثر انداز سے بالادھا ہے

سانہ والا نہ کوئی ہوئے رہوں مہر صد حیف
ہن حریفوں کے نہ حسانہ ہے سارا لے کھپ
پھر جو بارو ہے وہ سب میں عام حدت و سیف
قاسم اکبر کے نہیں کیا کئی دواہر ہیں

اپنی حالت بیان کرنے کے بعد بھائی ماددوں کے متعلق دیتے ہیں بھی رحصت
کا چر ہیں اور مہر کے یہاں ان کا بیان کافی دردناک ہے۔ احتصار کے حوالے سے ہم
یہاں صرف حضور عابد اور خطاب سکینہ کے متعلق حصوں کا ایک ایک بند نقل
کریے ہیں

ایک نو پ آبے دھتی ہے نہایت ہے حلیہ
دوسرے خانے رہے؟ سب خورد ر پھر
تیسرے مرگ پندر سہت کرے گی دلہن
مادر ہی قالے گا آزار پہ آزار ہیں

جس گہری خان مری ٹی سے جدا ہو رہی
دن کی ہو جائے گی شب، تیرہ ہوا ہو رہی
دوہمی اڑھی سے حشر بھا ہو وہ گی
اس نہایت میں سکینہ سے حیرت ہون

ایک روایت یوں نظم کی ہے کہ تمام رحصت کے لئے امام حسین نے یہ
صورت پیش کی کہ وہ عرب چور کر کسی اور عرب نکل جائیں۔ عذر اہل سعد
اس پر زلفی نہ ہوا۔ اُس جگہ ایک عیسائی بھی موجود تھا۔ اس نے ان لوگوں
کو قائل کیا کہ ان کا یہ عمل الہائی ظالمانہ ہے اور انہیں یہ کہہ کر شہر دلائی
کہ عیسائی دو حر عیسوی کی بھی اہانت نہ ہون گوارا کر سکتے۔ ہم آخر کیسے مسلمان
ہو کہ محمد کے نواسے کے ساتھ نہ بدسلوکی کر رہے ہو۔ اسی مضمون سے ملتا جلتا
سودا کا بھی ایک موئید ہے جو اس طرح شروع ہوتا ہے

میں ایک بصرائے سے یہ آزردہ بادا
پرچھا کہ مسلمان ہے یہ ہوا وہ بصرائی
عیسوی کے نواسے کو دن شین کے تڑپائی
کرتے ہو وہ ہیں پہنکا دعوائے مسلمان

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

سمجھتا ہے۔ مگر اگرچہ اپنے والد کے پہلے لوگ نہ تھے، لیکن اپنی والدہ کے پہلے
لوگ تھے۔ اس لئے شروع شروع میں ان کی سادہ سادہوں میں کوئی کمی نہیں ہوتی۔ پہلے
وہ بڑے بھائی کی موجودگی ایک طرف پایا اور دوسرے گھروالوں کو ان کی طرف
اپنا متوجہ ہونے کا موقع نہیں دیتی تھی دوسری طرف ماں کی محبت میں ایک
اور حصہ دار ان کا چھوٹا بھائی پیدا ہو گیا اور ماں کی محبت جو صرف ان کے
لئے مخصوص تھی وہ سوان کی طرف منسوب ہو گئی۔ ایسی حالت میں بہت
لدخل رہا کہ ان کے دماغ میں اپنی اہمیت کا جو احساس پیدا ہو گیا تھا وہ اس قسم
کے صدمہ بچوں کی طرح زیادہ بھگت رہتا اور کھل کود میں ملنا ہو جاتا لیکن
ان کے والد سے سقیمت رکھنے والے سید امل اللہ کے پاس انہیں اپنے اس جذبے کی
تسکین کا سامان ملا۔ ایک گھر میں رہتے ہی تھے وہ انہوں کے پاس رہنے لگے۔
سید امل اللہ ان کی سادہ سادہاں کو اپنے لوگ کی طرح عزیز رکھتے اور نہایت
دیکھ بھال دیکھ بھال میں لگاتے تھے۔

’احمد از خود حدایم نمی کرد و با باز و دم می پرورد‘

’اس حالت میں حق شعور کو پہنچے۔“ (ایمان اللہ کی) رحمت کے بعد ان
کی تاریک مزاحمتوں کا جو سہارا لولا اس کا چھٹکا وہ پوری فکر محسوس ابھی نہ
کر پائے تھے کہ ان کے والد کا بھی انتقال ہو گیا اور لاز پور وہ وہ عمر میں پر مصائب
اور پریشانیوں کا ریل ہو گیا۔ بڑے بھائی باپ کی کل حادثاتوں میں سو کتابیں لے کر
ایک ہو گئے اور انہوں کتابوں سے یہ واسطہ کھڑ کوئی حصہ نہیں دیا۔ ان میں جو روئے
جو دپ پر درص تھے ان کی ادائگی ہی اسی لائق پر عائد ہوئی۔ جو لوگ اب تک
میر سے بڑے تھاک یہ ملے تھے، ان کی ہر طرح عزت اور جامل کرتے تھے اس قدر
چراغے لگے۔ انہیں ایسا محسوس ہونے لگا جیسے ساری دنیا ان کی دشمن ہو گئی
تھی۔ ان کی جو قدر، ملولت تھی وہ ان کے وصف اضافی کی وجہ سے تھی۔ ان کی
کوئی قدر نہیں کرنا تھا۔ اس احساس سے ان کی چوٹ کھائی ہوئی شخصیت (جو
سید ایمان اللہ کے لڑ پڑ سے اپنی نظر میں پہلے ہی۔ سے بہت اہم ہو گئی تھی)
اہم ہو گئی۔ اہل وطن کی ناکدروی اور بدخلقی کے شامی ہو کر وہ دھلی آ گئے
وہاں سرپرستی بھی ہوئی، نذرانی بھی جس نے انہیں خود پسند بنادیا۔ چھوٹے
حسب سے ان کی مشق سکھن بڑی لوگوں کے دلوں میں ان کی جگہ ہوتی گئی۔ اس
انہیں اپنے مشوروں میں شریک رکھتے، سہلی گاہوں کے ساتھ انہیں ان کا حصہ
ہوتا، ان کی شاعری کی سب تعظیم کرتے لیکن ان کے دماغ میں اپنی ناکدروی کی چوٹ
اور اپنی اہمیت کا جو احساس تھا اس کی تسکین اس سے نہیں ہوتی تھی۔
اپنے کم از کم اور دوسروں کو سانس بچھو بنانا، آصف اللہ کو حاضر میں نہ لانا،
چوہدار کے درجے سے گھر پر حاکمیت پالنے سے بھر جانا، راستے میں ہاتھوں کر لے

انکار کو دہدا، حاکم و سنت کی مظلیم کے لئے کہتا کہ عوام! ایسے کئیے واقعات ہمیں جو واضح طور پر اسے دہن کا پتہ دیتے ہیں جو normal) ہمیں حسے ہو وقت یہ احساس کھائے جاتا ہے کہ لوگ اس کی توہیں کرتے، اس کی انکسب کہتا ہے اور اس کا مرتبہ گرائے کے درجے دہتے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے دہیا نہیں اس سے اہم اپنی شخصیت ہے سب سے بڑا ایسا ہم ہے۔ گہرے طور پر خود نگر (self centred) ہیں کر اہوں نے (ہر کے آخری حصے میں خصوصاً) ایسا ارد گرد ایسی تبدیلی دہیا ہائی جس میں سب کچھ ان کی دات تھی۔ اس لئے انہی مدہنی حدبات کے بارخود جب مہر امام حسوں کے عم میں آہ و نالہ کرتے ہیں تو ان کے بھان میں وہ لہزی، وہ کسک، وہ دشہریت نہیں پیدا ہوتی جو ان کی عرلوں میں ہے

اس کا نہ مطالب نکالنا صحیح نہیں ہوگا کہ مہر کے مرئیوں میں درد و اثر کا جقدان ہے۔ ان کے معاصرین کا کلام بظاہر میں دکھنے کے بعد بڑی آسانی سے یہ فیصلہ کیا جاسکتا ہے کہ ان کے مرئیہ ان کی غزلوں سے دشہریت اور عم انکیزی میں کم ہوں تو ہوں دوسروں کے مقابلے میں سمت یا کمتر نہیں۔ دیکھئے

مہان مسکین

جفا کے دشمن میں جس دم گیا حسین عرب
اور اسی کا نام ملک نے رکھا حسین عرب
چنگل میں ہا پسر و اثر با حسین عرب
شہید ہوئے کو اترا رہا حسین عرب

فضا نے اس سے کہا ناعلم کے ہاتھے آ
یہ دشمن سونا ہے تجھے بن اسے تو آ کے ہسا
زمین نے تجھے کو بلایا ہے اس میں آ کے ہسا
اور اپنا نام تو اس میں رکھا حسین عرب

اجل نے اس کو کہا ماضی کے درتہ دار
تمہارا مہرا ستاروں میں کا تھا انوار
فرار ہوچکا، اب کھاؤ حنجر و تلوار
کو اجل کے حوالے ہوا حسین عرب

جب آ کر بلا میں رہ گودش کی ماری بہر فاطمہ کی علی کی پواری
گلو بادشاہی ' لٹا شہر یاری چلی شام کو تھن ہوئے بچاری

ناک کو معاصیاب کیا گئے ستمگر نکتہ کچھ ہی ہے شرم اے ہیرہ احنو
نبوت کو دمرائ کیا ظلم سو کر اٹھ مہرے وارث کئی ایک ہاری

سناؤں سو کیا آگے غم کی کہانی کہ دل ہو گیا شرم سے پانی پانی
میں دکھ کی تو کچھ باب کہار دھانی زبان قلم بند لکھنے سے ہاری

ہاں ان کے معاصرین میں صرف سودا کے مرثیہ ایسے ہیں جو مجموعی حیثیت سے ان سے بہتر ہیں - ناظر کے علاوہ ان کے چہروں اور چانگ و مہرہ کے مناظر زمانہ کامیاب ہیں - ساتھ ہی ساتھ سودا اپنے مرثیوں میں ان کے ایسے گوشے نکالتے ہیں کہ مجموعی حیثیت سے انہیں مہر سے بہتر مرثیہ کو ماننا پڑے گا - ان دونوں استادوں کا ایک ایک مرثیہ ایک ہی زمین میں ہے

سودا ہن میں رحم ستم زن میں جب اتھامے حسن
مہر دو یہ قصہ چانکا کر بلاے حسن

دونوں کے اعتبار سے ان دونوں میں مہر کا مرثیہ سودا سے بہتر ہے - اس کی ایک وجہ تو یہ ہے کہ مہر نے سودا کا مرثیہ سامنے رکھ کر مرثیہ لکھا ہے اور خود ہی اس کا اعتراف بھی کیا ہے¹ - دوسرے یہ کہ مہر بھی قادر الکلام شاعر ہیں - مجموعی حیثیت سے سودا کے مرثیوں کے بہتر ہونے کے یہ معنی تو نہیں ہیں کہ ان کا ہر مرثیہ مہر کے ہر مرثیہ سے بہتر ہے -

مہر نے مرثیوں میں اپنے زمانے کے رسوم اور معاشرت کے عناصر بھی داخل کیے ہیں - ان کے مطالعہ سے اس زمانے کی تیز آوازی کے متعلق بہت سی ایسی باتیں معلوم ہوتی ہیں جو اب غالباً متروک ہو گئی ہیں مثلاً دوحہ و ماتم میں جس طرح آج کل حسین حسین، حسین امام حسین خلید، حسن حسین،

۱ رضا ڈیورہی، رام پور کے دستخط میں یہ عبارت ملتی ہے "یہ نظریہ مرزا رفیع گدھے"۔

ہا حسین شاہ حسود کی مدد انہیں لگائی جانی تھیں اسی طرح اُس وقت
 "ہے دوست" ہے دوست" کی مدد انہیں لگانے کا رواج ہی تھا - معصوم میں لوگ
 سیاہ کپڑے کی کٹلی پہنا کرتے تھے اور اظہارِ غم میں رمل اور لوہے کی دوسری
 چھڑوں کو گرم کر کے داغ لیا کرتے تھے - ان کا مرثیہ

معصوم کا دلا ہے پھر کر ہلالِ قیامت دھنیں گے دلوں پر ملال

دیہات سے اسل عہد کی عرا داری اور معصوم میں لوگوں کا شمعِ بہت کچھ
 نگاہوں میں اُٹاتا ہے -

ان کے بعض مرثیہ ایسے ہیں جن سے یہ پتہ چلتا ہے کہ وہ مام کے ساتھ
 پڑھنے کے لئے لکھے گئے ہیں۔ ان کی ہجڑوں پہ پڑائی طرح کی سیلہ زبی کے
 آہنگ اور اتار چڑھاؤ کا صاف انداز ہوتا ہے اور ان میں معصوم شاہی وضع کے
 ماموں کی صف آجانی ہے خوش عقیدت میں سیلہ کوئی میں مصروف ہیں

امت بھی بنی کی کہ یہ کلام حسنا

دیکھ سے نرے کلام یا امام ہا حسین

- چاروں طرف ہے شور و مغان وا مصیبتا

- کیا محسوس تھا اس دور سفر ہائے حسنا

چہلم ہے اے محبوبان اُسی شاہِ نور سرا کا

حضرت قاسم کی شادی اردو مرثیہ گوئیوں کا خاص موضوع رہی ہے۔
 مرزا اور سعدی کے بعد سوندا و مہ نے بھی اسی میں بہت سے پہلو دکا لے ہیں۔
 مہر نے اپنے مرثیوں میں کچھ اسی شادی یا شادی خورے کی طرف اشارے
 کئے ہیں اور ایک مرثیہ "قاسم کیا شادی اسی" میں "چائی" کو اسی سے
 شروع ہی کیا ہے جس میں سندھستانی شادی کے رسوم، برائے، لکھن دھراما
 اُسی مصحف، آتش باری، معجز، ٹیکہ دھیرے کے ذکر سے مرثیہ میں درد پیدا
 کیا ہے

مہر کی زبان اب سے تیار پڑے دو سو برس پہلے کی زبان ہے۔ آج اردو
 ارتقا کے بہت سے مدارج طے کر کے گہر گئی ہے۔ اظہار کے طریقے بدل گئے ہیں۔

لیکن اس وقت ایسے بہت سے لفظ اور متاورے مستعمل تھے جو اب ہندل گئے ہیں یا متروک ہو گئے ہیں اور ایک عام پڑھنے والے کو اس وقت کی عبارتوں یا مالنوس معلوم ہوتی ہیں۔ ان لسانی تعبیرات کے متعلق ہم یہاں مختصر سی پرمیٹرس سنہ مسعود حسن (شروی ام-اے کے دیوناچٹ حواہر ستن (جلد دوم) کا ایک اکتھاس پیش کرتے ہیں جو میر کے کلام پر یہی صافی آتا ہے

”اب جن حالتوں میں افعال متعدی کے لئے علامت فاعل نے کا لانا ضروری ہے اُس عہد میں ضمیر متکلم کے ساتھ ضروری نہ تھا مثلاً میں کہتا“ میں کہتا“ میں سنا وغیرہ نے تکلف لاتے تھے۔ فعل حال کے صوفے بنانے کے لئے اب ماضی تہائی کے صہوں پر ”ہے“ کا اضافہ کرتے ہیں۔ اُسی عہد میں اِس صوص کے لئے مدارع کے صہوں پر ’ہے‘ وغیرہ بڑھاتے تھے اور آتا ہے‘ کہتے ہیں‘ پوچھتے ہر‘ مارنا ہوں کی جگہ آئے ہے‘ کہیں ہوں‘ پوچھو ہو‘ ماروں ہوں بولتے تھے۔ اُسی طرح کہتا ہا‘ سلٹا دیا کی جگہ کہہ تھا‘ سنے دیا کہتے تھے۔ جمع کی حالت میں مؤنث نملوں کے ماضی کے صہوں میں آخری ہوں سے پہلے ایک الف بڑھاتے تھے اور حال کے صہوں میں فعل اصلی کی آخری ”ی“ کے بعد الف نون بڑھاتے تھے اور انہیں‘ چلنوں‘ دیکھنوں کی جگہ آٹھان‘ چلہان‘ دیکھان اور آتی ہیں‘ بستن ہیں‘ برستن ہیں کہ حکہ آٹھان ہیں‘ بستیان ہیں‘ برستیان ہیں بولتے تھے۔ جب مؤنث اسم جمع کی حالت میں موصوف ہوتا تھا تو اس کی صفت بھی کبھی کبھی جمع لاتے تھے اور صفت کی جمع بنانے کے لئے واحد کے آخر میں الف نون بڑھاتے تھے مثلاً کڑیاں ساتھیں‘ ہاریاں پیڑیاں۔“ ”کو“ کے مشکل پر ”کم نہیں“ دو اب تک لوگوں کی زبان پر ہے لیکن ’نک‘ کی جگہ ’نٹھن‘ کا استعمال اس دور کے لئے مخصوص تھا۔ مثلاً کب نہیں‘ یہاں نہیں۔ کبھی کبھی نک کی جگہ لگ بھی لاتے تھے مثلاً کب لگ۔ جن حروف معلوموں کے آخر میں اب ’و‘ یا ’ی‘ ہے ان کے آخر میں اکثر لہوں ملے

ایسے الفاظ کی تعداد اور زیادہ ہے - 'اُذر' 'اچڑح' 'بسرنا' 'بساونا' 'دوس' 'باسا' 'پاس' 'بھور' وغیرہ اس کی مثالیں ہیں

میر کے مرثیوں کا مطالعہ کرتے وقت انہیں یا ان کے معاصرین کا کلام سامنے رکھ کر ان سے موازنہ کرنا ویسی ہی غلطی ہوگی جیسے کسی بچے کی کسی حوالے سے درد آزمائی کرنا - ان کے مکتع مرثیہ کا اندازہ ان کے معاصرین اور پیش روؤں کے مرثیوں کے پس منظر ہی میں ہو سکتا ہے اور جب ان کے ماحول، حالات اور معاشرہ اختلافات کے ساتھ ہم لو کے مرثیہ دیکھتے ہیں تو وہ ہمیں اہلے عہد کے کامیاب مرثیہ گو نظر آتے ہیں - یہ مرثیہ ان کی منزلوں کے مقابلے میں کم درجہ سہی لیکن اردو مرثیہ کی تاریخ میں ان کا درجہ واضح 'اہم اور مستار' ہے اور اس کے ادعا میں ان کی خدمات فراموش نہیں کی جا سکتیں -

(55) غالب کی سہرت کے متعلق کچھ نیا مواد

اؤ

حوالہ احمد فاروقی

دہلی کالج

دہلی یونیورسٹی، دہلی

غالب کی سہرت کے متعلق بہت کچھ لکھا جا چکا ہے۔ ایک گروہ نے اس میں دلی کا درجہ اور ان میں وہ تمام صفات قدسی قہرۃ قہولۃ کو دکالی ہیں جو عام طور پر ایک معمولی گوشہ پوسٹ کے انسان میں نہیں پائی جاتیں۔ مولانا عبدالمجید کو بھی غالب اسی وجہ سے پسند ہے کہ وہ حمد و نعت لکھنے والا اور توحید و تصوف کے مسلک کو سو سو طرح سے نظام کرنے والا ہے۔ بعض نے اسے حدائی ایدل ترین معطوق قرار دیا ہے اور کوئی نرائی اسی میں ہے جو اس سے منسوب نہ کی ہو۔ ضرور ہے کہ غالب کی سہرت کے متعلق مطبوعہ اور غیر مطبوعہ مواد کو یکجا کر کے ایک مکمل تصویر سامنے آئی جائے جس میں عقیدت اور تعصب کی رنگ آمیزی نہ ہو۔

اس موقع پر تمام مطبوعہ مواد کا احاطہ کرنا ہمارے دائرہ بحث سے خارج ہے لیکن غالب کی سہرت کے بعض مباحثہ انگیز پہلوؤں کو واضح کرنے کے لئے جس کا تعلق نئے اور غیر مطبوعہ مواد سے ہے، ہم چند مطالب کی طرف چشم ستن سے اشارہ کریں گے تا کہ اس تمیز سے آئندہ بحث کے سہولت میں آسانی ہو جائے

غالب کے خطوط اور کلام کا مطالعہ کرنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ وہ مضبوط ہوش و خود کنی، دنیا دار آدمی اور شیعہ سنی کی طرح ان میں ایک قسم کی ہوشیاری اور دیوبند دہر کی بھی۔ مرزا کی شہادت میں جہیز فہر معمولی کٹھن اور دیوبندی دہر کی ہے، وہ ہی ان کی بہرہ اور اس پر نظر و ناز ہے۔ وہ خود کہتے ہیں

خبرم آدم دارم، آدم دارم

غالب نہایت متواضع، حلیق، منہ باز، یہ تعصب اور زندہ دل آدمی تھے لیکن ان کے حالات میں بعض ایسی باتیں پائی جاتی ہیں جو ان کے احق

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमखौर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful culling of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजसात श्रद्धा पत्नी एतद्धा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

عالم نے کھول کر یہ نہیں لکھا کہ اس وقت تک کچھ نقد نہیں ملا۔ لیکن
کلیاتاً وہ اس سے انکار کرتے ہیں حالانکہ ۳ اکتوبر کو ایک ہزار روپے مل چکے تھے
اور دفعہ کے نام یہ خط ۲۸ نومبر ۱۸۹۵ کا لکھا ہوا ہے۔ (مکالمہ غالب ص ۱۶۱)

اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ مرزا بعض مواقع پر دوسری جگہ پر بھی
دیہاداری کے نائل تھے اور اپنے اعراس کی حفاظت پوری شدت سے کرتے تھے۔

(۵) مرزا عالم اور قتیل کی دشمنی کی ابتدا یہ بھی ہے جس سے مرزا
قتیل کا نام سن پائے تھے۔ اس کے دشمن ہونے سے - ناسخ نے لکھا کہ آپ دکن
چلے جائے۔ وہاں چلتے لعل شعر و سخن کے بڑے دلدادہ ہیں۔ موحوالہ کر قتیل
کے شاگرد تھے اسلئے ناسخ کو لگتا ہے

”چلتے لعل زمرہ مارا چہ داند ر ہلکار مارا کے دربارتہ“ اُن کے دربار سے
قتیل را باستانی گویا۔ عالم را چہ می کند - و آندہ در اردو نصیر راستاید
ناسخ را چہ می کند - و خود عمرش از دشمنان مستحاضت - تا باو می رسم او بضم
می رسد“

متنوفات غالب ص ۱۰۲

عالم کو مولوی ملام امام شہید سے بھی یہ ہی پتہ تھا کہ وہ قتیل کے
شاگرد تھے۔ پھر اس سے بھی کچھ حوش نہ تھے کہ وہ ۳۰۰ روپے ماہوار کے نوکر
ہو گئے تھے۔ ایک خط میں لکھتے ہیں

”اب سلنا ہوں کہ مولوی ملام امام شہید“ شاگرد قتیل وہاں (یعنی دکن
میں) کوس ادا و لاغیری بکارتے ہیں اور سخن باشناسوں کو اپنا زور طبع دکھا رہے
ہیں۔۔۔۔۔ ایک شخص مجھے سے کہتا ہوا کہ مستکار الملک نے منہ لہ لگایا مگر
معتبی الدولہ نے چار سو روپے مہولہ سرکار حباب عالی سے کر دیا ہے“

(اردوے معلوف ص ۳۷۸)

ایک دوسرے خط میں لکھتے ہیں

”مولوی ملام صوف خان نے حیرت منکص حاصل الاصل ہیں۔ ہرگز اُن کو
مدعی سے اندک نہیں - البتہ اس کو حوش و حانتے ہیں۔ اور کبھی نہ ہوگا کہ وہ
میرا مقابلہ کریں۔۔۔۔۔۔ باطل است اُن چہ مدعی گویند - مدعی اپنے دَم میں
معتبہ کو اپنا دم نہیں مگر حسد کرتا ہے۔“

سب سے بہت پاکیزہ تھا - اسسوس ہے کہ اس کا منہ تو دیوان ملتا ہے اور منہ تذکرہ
شہرائے ریختہ - لیکن حالی نے جو اقوال اُس سے منسوب کئے ہیں - اُن سے اُن کی
لمحہ سلجی اور سب سے بھی کا پورا ثبوت ملتا ہے - عالمہ نے بھی ایک قلمیہ میں
اُن کی سب سے دوری کا اعتراف کیا ہے

ہاں را جوش بفساد سخن در کہ بود
بان در جلوب شان مشک بشان از دم شان
مومن و مہر و صہبائی و علوی و انکاء
حسوتی اشرب و آردہ بود اعظم شان

عالمہ نے آردہ کی مدح میں ایک قصیدہ بھی لکھا ہے جو کلیات فارسی
میں موجود ہے جلد اشعار یہ ہیں

ہا چہنیں اندہ کہ پر گفتوم و دل حالی شد
حواجہ گر اندہ گسار من مہرے زای من
آئکہ ہ یکتائی وے در من فرزانی
مہلق گر دید زای ہر علی ہا زای من
آئکہ چون حواہد ہمامش نامہ نامی ساختن
ہر نگار عقل محالہن کیم ہر مہای من
دل ہدین و صام دہا ساید سخن کوتہ کلید
آئکہ رنگ اوسست ہون در سخن ہستای من
صدر دین و دولت و صدر الصدور و روزگار
مہر و محضوم و مطاع و ولای و مولای من
گویم و از لکتہ چہنای در دلہ مہر ہراس
کہلداک و قہصر و کھسرو و دارای من
مہکش چون مرجع عامست ہافیم چہ ہکشت
پرستہ دارن از سطا مہرہن ہمای من
عاجز چون در نفاہ دوست ہا رشک چہ کار
مہرور از جویہن ناگیرد عطارن حالی من
ہاک گویش حوت ہند انک در جذب سخن
سعدہ از ہر حرم ہکراشت در سہمای من

شیفٹ نے گلشن بے حار کے مسودہ میں آرزو کا ترجمہ شامل نہیں کیا تھا ۔
اس کو دیکھ کر مالاب نے شیفٹ کو لکھا

”گھر نہ سنبھلنا حمام ۔ در دیرف انا ہنگارہ اشعار پرویں شمار
حضرت آرزو ارچہ دوست ہر چند ذکر خدام برجیس مقام درخوردہ این من نہ
سزاوار شان فضیلت باشد لیکن اگر ہیئتائے مرط محتجب حرائق بکار می رمت ۔
گناہے مہود ۔ و در تلافی آن بہ پوزش دیار می افتاد“

(کلیات نثر پنج آہنگ ص ۱۰۶)

اس تحریر کا ملاحظہ یہ ہوا کہ شیفٹ نے یہ کمی پوری کر دی۔

پنج آہنگ میں ایک خط ہی آرزو کے نام ہے جس کا لب و لہجہ بہت
لہجہ ملتانہ ہے قبلہ صاحب اگر این بندہ اندک شہو ہسار کو زون گستاخ
دیر پشیمان را حق بلذگی ہست از کتا کہ ہرین پرمہمتی متوان بخشود...
(ص ۱۲۳-۱۲۴)

پنج آہنگ ہی میں ایک خط شیفٹ کے نام ہے جس میں ایک مشاعرہ کی
شرکت کا حال لکھا ہے ۔ اس کے ضمن میں آرزو کا بڑی محبت اور عقیدت کے
ساتھ ذکر کیا ہے ۔

”دندار محذورم مقام و صدراعظم مولوی محمد عبداللہ خان بہادر تلامی
رنج راہ کرد“ شیفٹ ہی کو ایک دوسرے خط میں ایک اور مشاعرہ کا حال
لکھتے ہیں کہ حضرت آرزو اگرچہ دیر میں آئے لیکن انہوں نے آکر دل کو صفا اور
رباں کو دوا بخشی اور میں نے گریستن کی رمیں۔ میں قصیدہ پڑھا۔ (پنج آہنگ
ص ۲۰۲) اسی خط میں لکھتے ہیں

از آمدن حضرت آرزو دل بہبود بالید و زباں رسمہ دستوری یافت ۔ حالی
کا بیان ہے کہ یہ قصیدہ پسند کیا گیا ۔

قدر کے الزام میں آرزو کو قید و بند کے مصائب جھیلنا پڑے بہت دن حوالب
میں رہے ۔ آخر جان بخشی کا حکم ہوا ۔ مرزا مالاب ۱۸۶۲ء کے ایک خط میں
لکھتے ہیں

حضرت مولوی صدر الدین صاحب بہت دس حوالات میں رہے کورٹ میں مقدمہ پیش ہوا - رہنمائی ہوئی - آخر صاحبان کورٹ نے جان بخشی کا حکم دیا مرکزی مکتوب - خاندان فصحا - ماچار حسنه و بناء حال لاہور گئے - ملائش کمشنر اور لٹلٹ گورنر نے اور راجہ رحیم مصفا خاندان و اکاشٹ کی اب مصفا خاندان پر قابض ہیں۔ اپنی حوالی میں رہتے ہیں۔ اگرچہ یہ ہمدان ان کے گزارے کو کافی ہے۔ اس واسطے کہ ایک آپ اور ایک ہی ہی - تیس چالیس روپے مہلتے کی آمپلی - امام بخشی کی اولاد ان کی عورت ہے - اور وہ دس ہزار اسی ہیں - نزاع ہالی سے نہیں گذری - مصفا بیوی نے بہت گھٹ لیا ہے عشرہ لاکھ کے اواخر میں ہیں خدا سلامت رکھے بہت غلیظت تھیں -

اس سے بھی پہلے ۱۸۵۹ کے ایک خط میں معزج کو لکھتے ہیں

”اھل اسلام میں سے صرف میں آدمی ہائی تھیں میرا تھ میں مصطفیٰ جان سلطان خاں میں مولوی صدر الدین“ ہلی ماڑوں میں سگ دیا موسوم بہ اسد - دیوانہ فردوں و معزج معزج و معزج - (حفاظت غالب ص ۲۵۸)

ایک اور خط میں معزج ہی کو لکھتے تھیں

نظام الدین منلوں کہاں؟ ذوق کہاں؟ مومن خان کہاں - ایک اُردو سو خاموش - دوسرا غالب دہ لے خون و مدھوش - (حفاظت غالب ص ۲۶۸)

اُردو کا اہتمام ۲۴ ذی الحجہ ۱۲۸۵ ہجری یعنی ۱۶ جولائی ۱۸۶۸ء کو ہوا شمس الشہداء مولوی تلوار علی نے تاریخ و باب لکھی ہے

چو مولانا صدر الدین کہ در عہد	امام اعظم آخر زماں ہوں
رہے صدر الصدور بیک معزج	بدل و ناک چون نوشیرواں ہوں
روز پندشہد کرد رحمت	کہ اس عالم نہ حاکم خاندان ہوں
ذی الحجہ الاول و ہست و چہارم	دعای او سوے دارالتعلیٰ ہوں
ظہور انیسویں اُن استاد دی ندر	پدر و زار ہمیشہ مہربان ہوں
چراغش ہست تاریخ و ادب	کدوں گفتم چراغ دوحسان ہوں

(ذکرہ علمائے ہند ص ۹۴)

آوردہ نے انتقال سے ایک دن پہلے نواب کلب علی حلی والی رام پور کو ایک خط لکھا ہے - جس کو ہم نام و کمال نقل کرتے ہیں اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ یہ خط غیر مطبوعہ ہے اور آئندہ بحث کو سمجھنے کے لئے ضروری ہے -

جناب مستطاب نواب صاحب مولیٰ القاب حم الانصاف کثیر الانساب معدن نقد و نوازش یارِ داناں ، استظہار بہارِ منکشف ملاذ عقیدت کیشاں داماد عنایتکم شکر الطاف والا مہتری طالب سے اوردی ہے - حق یہ ہے کہ آپ نے مہتری آخری عمر میں مسکن سے ایسا سلوک کیا کہ اس کا عوض سوائے حدودِ کرم کے بشر سے ہوا۔ حاتمہ محال ہے - اللہ کرم آپ کو اپنی بارگاہ والا حاحہ سے دیں اور دنیا کے مزارع علیا عطا فرمائے - میں ایک عرصہ دُزار سے مرضِ فالج میں مبتلا تھا - چنانچہ جناب پر بھی تمام کھلمتِ روش ہے - اب چند روز سے سب اس شد سے ہونٹا ہے کہ مسکن کو زندگی سے دُلس ہے - ایک مہتری روحہ ۱ - ضمیمہ اور دوسرا حوالہ زادہ متعدد احسانِ الرحماں حاس نام جس کو میں نے مرزبانہ درویش کیا ہے اور بھایس لٹریں اور سعادتمند اور ملک چلن ہے - اس دونوں کو آپ کے سپرد کئے جا رہے ہیں - اگر ناگوار حائل خاطر نہ ہو تو میرے بعد انکی حتم گیری کسی دیر فرماتے رہیں - یہ ایک نوع کا حسن سلوک میرے بعد بھی ہوگا۔

سپر دم بہو مادہ حریفی را بودالی حساب کم و بیش را

شاید یہ مہترا آخری خط ہے - دواالتعال والا کرام آپ کو عمرِ حضری اور داناں اظطاولی اور اقبال سکندری عطا فرمائے - معروضہ پانزدہم جولائی ۱۸۶۸ ع مطابق

استاذِ بہیم نام تھا - نواب صاحب کے نام دُرسی میں عرضی بھی ہے جس میں انہوں نے آوردہ کے کتبِ حاتمہ کی جہیزت بھیجی ہے اور لکھا ہے کہ انہوں نے اپنی کتابوں کو عمر کے بعد دُراہم کیا تھا - نواب صاحب نے لادو بہیم کے دو سو روپے مقرر کر دیئے

ہمسد و سوم دفع الاول ۱۲۸۵ ہجری مہارامۃ متحدہ صدرالدین خان صدرالصدور
ساتھی دہلی

مہر | متحدہ صدرالدین خان

دارالانشاء سرکار رام پور معروضہ مستحقہ حاتمہ ۲۵۶ دولت آشائیاں -

۱۰ پر لکھا ہے بسیار ضرورت روہ نو پرست

حادثہ اٹھتا ہے کہ غالب نے آرزو کے انتقال کے بعد (جن سے زندگی لڑا ان کے
بڑے اچھے مراسم رہے اور جن کو انہوں نے مہر و معنوم مطالع اور والی و مولا سب
بھی کیچھا لکھا تھا) رواب صاحب مرصوب کو دنا لکھا ہے جس میں مرحوم دوست
کی بیوہ کے کام میں رکاوٹ پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے اور انہی ضرورت کو مہراہم
نامت کر کے اٹھا کا دکا لانا چاہا ہے - غالب کی سہرت کا یہ پہلو قابل اعتراض بھی
نہیں، عدالت (رکھیز ہی ہے - ہم وہ مہر مطبوعہ حقا نقل کرتے ہیں

”حضرت ولی زہد آیتہ رحمۃ اللہ علیہ صاحب ہمد مسامح معروض ہے - آج شہر
کرمیں شہرت ہے کہ حضرت امیرالمسلمین نے مفتی صدرالدین مرحوم کی زوجہ کو
پانسی روپیئے مفتی جی کی تحفہ دینے کے واسطے رام پور سے بھیجے تھے -
تہیز کو ہی وہی ہوائی کہ مہرا سودہ پہ گزر و کٹن لہ رہے گا جیسا کہ مرزا
خلال اسیر کھما بیخ حرۃ لطیف تر بہت از ما دیا حوالہ دہندہ - میں نے کل ایک
دنا رواب مرزا خان کو لکھا ہے - دنا جانے وہ حبوت کی نظر سے گزرے گا مگر
س حقا میں میں نے ررحہ مستحق حق کا حال یہ لکھا ہے کہ وہ اولاد ہے اور
ساتھ روپے کراہی کے مکان اس کے دستہ میں ہوں امین الرحمن اس کا بہانہ ہے
مفتی جی کا کوئی نہیں -

اب اپنی حقیقتا عرض کرتا ہوں - اگر عمر میں تین لکھاسوں ہے (کذا) آپ سے، ایک سو یہ کہ میں ہزار بارہ سو روپے کا فرض رکھتا ہوں - چاہتا ہوں کہ میری زندگی میں انداز ہو جائے دوسری لکھاس یہ کہ میں علی حاکم کی شادی آپ کی بخشش خاص سے ہو جائے اور یہ سو روپے مہرہ جو مجھے ملتا ہے نام : اس کے لئے حیات گزار جائے - یہ تو حواریوں حوالہ میری زندگی میں، حوالہ میرے بعد احرار جائیں

ہم سلامت رہو کھامت تک دولت و عرو حال در انزوں

در شنبہ ۵ ربیع الثانی ۱۲۷۰ھ لائی سال حال

عروداشت دوست حوالہ اسد اللہ

لکھنے پر ۱۲۷۰ھ جولائی ۱۸۶۸ء ہے

دارالارشاد، رام پور، رجسٹر معائنہ ۲۳۳۳ دوسرا آشنا لیاں

عالم کے بہادران میں زمانہ ہے - ۱۸۶۲ء میں انہوں نے آرزو کی آمدنی اسی روپے کے قریب لکھی ہے - ۱۸۶۸ء وہ دنگی ہو گئی - چھ برس پہلے وہ خوشحالی سے بسر نہیں کرتے تھے - اب کٹا ہوا وہ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ان کا حامدان آمدان کا مستحق نہیں ہے -

آرزو اور عالم کے یہ دونوں خطا غیر معلوم ہیں - اس کے بعد کا ایک خط مکانیہ عالم میں موجود ہے - چونکہ اُس کا تعلق پہلے خط سے ہے اس لئے چند خطے نقل کئے جاتے ہیں

تین لکھاسوں سابق (میں) پیش ہوئی تھیں - سو اب پہلے برحورار نواب مرزا خان کی تصریح سے اور پھر مظفر حسین خان بہادر کے خط سے ان حوالہوں کے منظور و مقبول ہونے کی توثیق پائی - اسلئے الکرام حسب ارشاد حمور اسی برس ۱۸۶۸ء میں آمد رستخان بدلی کوثر و دسمبر میں میرا فرض ہوئی

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumo of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chāṇḍ and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजसात श्रद्धा पत्नी एतद्धा अजरास्यमग्निहोत सत्र सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karmaṇ and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītayāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chāṇḍ* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

منشی امیر اللہ سلیم

(۱) بچپن کا نام احمد حسین منشی امیر اللہ کے نام سے مشہور ہوئے۔
 وطن بواج صاحب آباد - پیدائش ۱۸۲۰ء - اولیٰ والد عبدالصمد صاحب پٹن میں
 پندرہ روزہ ہوئے۔ ملازم تھے۔ والد کی ملازمت کے اس تعلق سے منشی صاحب کی
 ابتدائی زندگی لکھنؤ کی رہنمائی میں گزری تھی۔ عربی کی کتابیں والد اور بڑے بھائی
 عبدالطیف سے پڑھیں۔ حفاظی میں بھی کمال پیدا کیا۔ والد کے بڑھاپہ میں
 اور بھی حکمت خلق میں ملازم ہو گئے۔

(۲) سلیم نے طیف مورچوں دانی بھی بچپن ہی سے شعر گوئی کا
 شوق تھا ۱۳ سال کی عمر سے عربی کہی شروع کی۔ مگر کسی اوستاد سے اصلاح
 نہ لی۔ حسب مرزا اصغر علی خان سلیم دہلوی جو حکیم موسیٰ خان کے مناکر
 شاگردوں میں سے لکھنؤ آئے تو اور بھی حدیب میں حاضر ہوئے لکے۔ مرزا صاحب
 نے منشی صاحب کی طیف کا اندازہ کر کے ان سے کہا کہ تم بھی طبع آزمائی
 کیا کرو اس اخبار کے ملنے کے بعد تسلیم ان سے غزلیں اصلاح لینے لکے۔
 حدود میں فرماتے ہیں کہ مورچہ کا یہ عالم تھا کہ اندر مصرع خارج سنا اور
 راستہ چلیے چلے دس دس شعر کہہ ڈالے۔ مزاح میں بہ اضافے سن کر
 لائروائی بھی تھی۔ دو ہفتہ بعد مشاعرہ میں پورچہ بھال آیا کہ کچھ روز پہلے
 ملنے بھی عربی کہی تھی۔ پورچہ نقاش کر کے حبیب سے نکالا۔ اور بازی آئے پر
 بڑھنا شروع کر دیا۔ کہی اوستاد سے اصلاح لی۔ کہی نہ لی۔ ایک مرتبہ اسامی
 انعام ہوا کہ عربی کہی تھی مگر اصلاح لینے کی رویت نہ آئی تھی۔ دوستوں کے
 ساتھ مشاعرہ میں پورچہ گئے۔ لڑی آئے یہ دونوں ہی پڑھنا شروع کر دیا۔ مشاعرے اور
 وہ بھی اس زمانے کے جن میں نام نہاد۔ انہیں حس سے اوستاد اور اولیٰ شاکر
 سب ہی رومق متبادل ہوتے تھے کچھ معمولی نہ تھے۔ دہلی اور لکھنؤ کے اہل
 کمال میں تو ہمیشہ سے دوک جودک دیکھی چلی آئی تھی۔ اپنے شاگرد کو اس
 طرح بے اصلاح لکے عربی پڑھتے دیکھ کر سلیم حیران ہوئے مگر حیران نہ۔ غزل
 پڑھتے پڑھتے جب اس شعر پر پورچہ۔

پٹن خاک ہی صحت پر موزن کہ شہسہ نہ سار نہ پندارہ اپنا

نو ناسخ لے تعریف کی اور مکرر پڑھنے کی دہمائی کی اب تو تسلیم چوکنا
 ہوئے سولہچہا کہ شعر تو اس قابل نہیں کہ ناسخ جیسا اوستان اس طرح داند دے -
 معلوم ہوا کہ پہلے مصرع میں دو حرف کم پڑتے ہیں - واقعی شاعر کے لئے مشاعرہ
 بھی آڑے آستان کی جگہ ہے وعب مشکل سے آڑے آڑے لوگوں کی سنی گم
 ہو جاتی ہے - امانت جیسا اوستان ایک وقت ہو سر مشاعرہ پڑا گیا کہ -
 لبوں پر جان شیریں ہے اب اے درہان کیا کہہئے - بقیہ میں ایک الف دیتا ہوا -
 دار لوگوں نے مصححہ آڑا کہ اے درہان کیا کہہئے تو اسقدر شرمندہ ہوئے کہ پھر
 مشاعرے میں غزل پڑھنے کی قسم کھائی - مسلم کو دیکھئے دارا پندشاہ نے اپنے اب کی
 بار جو شعر پڑھا تو درست رہا -

یہیں خاک می صحت عجز میں ہم ہمہ شیشہ ہمہ ساقی ہم پیمارہ اندا

لوگوں کو حیرت ہوئی - ہمیں سمجھے کہ پہلی م بہہ بھول گئے تھے - ہمیں
 سمجھے کہ عذرا ایسی حرکت کی کہ پہلی بار لفظ چھوڑ کر پڑھا - ہمیں لے کہا کہ
 طبعیہ لے عین وقت پر روزیہ نکلتی - عرصہ اب رہ گئی مسلم یوک آئے
 مشاعرہ کے ہن کہنے لگے کہ مسلم پہلی مرتبہ تو نے شعر پڑھا تو اسقدر عصبہ آدا ہوا
 کہ پھر کبھی بھری صورت نہ دیکھوں - لیکن حسب دوبارہ شعر سنا ہوا تو جی چاہتا
 تھا کہ الٹ کر ملنے چوم لوں -

(۳) واحد علی شاہ نے مسٹر سلیم روزیت کی شکایت پر مدنی صاحب کی
 پلٹن ہر دے تو بھار ہو گئے - ان سال کی بے سود کوشش کے بعد ایک منظوم عرضی
 بادشاہ کی خدمت میں گزرائی جو مایوس ہوا - بادشاہ نے حوش ہو کر لٹام ہی
 میں حکم لکھوایا - حکم یہ تھا

بشرو اے حشوریس و اے حوش گو
 ہر دو دن میٹکی و ہر دو کو
 اسم تو ملدج بہ دگر شد
 ہست و نہ روپیہ مقرر شد

اس لٹام روپے پر واحد علی شاہ کے زمانے تک اچھی گزری اوسے زمانے کی مدحیہ
 قول کا ایک شعر ہے کہ

ملیر ہر شاخ پر پڑھتی ہے اپنی علی علیہ
 حجابی مدحیہ واحد علی شاہ جہان

عذر کے بعد حسب لکھاؤ کی حالت بکڑی تو پھر ملازمہ بھی گئی اور پڑھانے والوں میں
مبتلا ہو گئے۔ یہ عرل اوسی زمانے کی ہے۔ اوس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ تسلیم کو لکھاؤ سے
کسمندر مندرست بھی اوسکا چہرہ دیکھ کر شاک ہوا۔ زمانے میں

اوج زور ہے بے دشمن ہو کر بھی شاں لکھو
لامکاں کو دایع دیکھتے ہیں مکاں لکھو
وہاں رنگیں پہاں اورنگو وہ دکھلا سدر باغ
تہا کر دیکھ لکھتے حدت سادیاں لکھو
حقیقتے ہی کدو رنگ مری اوسکی حدائی ہو سکے
لکھو ہے روح میری - میں ہوں حیاں لکھو
سداے سلطے حلد کی معرفت ہی گھبرا گیا
ابتدا اے راجا سنا کچھ داستان لکھو
وہ لکھتے ہو کلام عہد کو کدو رنگ مصدب
رنگ روح آف کوہ ہے رہاں لکھو
دوسوں عالم سے الگ ہو رنگ میں پاتا ہوں میں
کیا زمین لکھو لکھا اسیاں لکھو
گر بھی گردش ہے اے تسلیم اپنے بھکت کی
اور ہیں دو چار دن ہم مہماں لکھو

(۴) اس مقطع سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ مصائب کی بات نہ لاکر حضرت تسلیم نے
ہمارے حالے کی تھاں لی تھی - عرض اوسکے بعد ہی (اسپور چلے گئے - اور کلب علی
حیاں کے دربار میں بھی لباس روپے پر ملزم ہوئے - اور اوسکی زندگی تک آسائش
سے بسر کی مگر اردکے استمال کے بعد تسلیم کو پشش دیکھی گئی تو پھر پڑھانے والوں
میں مبتلا ہو گئے - اوسی زمانے کی عرل ہے

دل مرا ہوا گر گھبرا گم ہو گیا چانا رہا
عم نہ ہوں گا ہے کا ہے حادا رہا حانا رہا
آج آنکھوں تک میں ملتی ہیں کل ہوتے تھے پاس
دو ہی دن میں استغیر پاس وہا حانا رہا
اس دل گم گشتہ کو اوسکی گلی سے عمر ہوا
پیشہ میں نہ ولت لایا ہارہا حانا رہا
اتھم گئے کلب علی حیاں کیا کریں لکر سکتیں
ابتدا اے تسلیم وہ معارف مرا چانا رہا

ایک دوسری منزل کے دو شمار ہیں

الوصاف کرو مکھڑے المٹاک ازل کو
بہانے پہلا صحبت احسان کہاں تک
کھیا بہتے ہو تسلیم چلو ملک عدم کو
دائستگی عالم اسلاف کہاں تک

(۵) نواب حامد علی خان نے اپنی نعت بشیولی کے بعد تسلیم کو دو بارہ
بہال کیا تیس دوہے ندرت اور دس کا اضافہ ایسے چالیس (۲۲) ملے لکے ۔
چشم دربار کے مرنے پر حمرب تسلیم نے ایک قصیدہ پڑھا جو سبقت دہلی میں ہے
دنیف گریبان آستین دامن - اور فادہ رے اور فادہ مادل دو شعر ملاحظہ ہوں -

بہار آئی بلے گھر گھر گریبان آستین دامن
سنگ ہیں گئے پھنگو گریبان آستین دامن
رہ حلیہ آج میں لونگا شہ حامد علی خان سے
سراسر حس کے ہوں یوزر گریبان آستین دامن

قصیدوں میں حمرب تسلیم کا رنگ خاص ہے مصرعوں کی بلندی اور بلاغت کو الفاظ
کی رنگینی اور تصاحب کے ساتھ ایسا نمایاں کرتے ہیں کہ اکثر موصوفین پر فزول کا
رنگ چھلکے لکھا ہے بعض اوقات ناآئی کی سی روای معلوم ہونے لگتی ہے -

(۶) اصناف سخن میں جو دنوب مثالیوں میں حمرب تسلیم کو
حاصل نفی وہ انکے معاصرین میں سے کسی کو ہی نہ ملے - مثالی نائے تسلیم -
دل و جان - صبح جلدان مشہور ہیں -

(۷) عزل گوئی میں رنگینی - شوخی - مقامیت - کمال درجہ تک
پہنچتی ہیں - نوب متعینہ - نوب مزہزہ نوبوں اعلیٰ درجہ کی عطا ہوئی ہیں -
مضمون کو اس صلائی اور سادگی سے قلمبند کرتے ہیں کہ تعریف میں ہو سکتی -
عمر میں ایک دیوان طائع ہولڈ کے ہاں تین دیوان چھوڑے - نظام ارجمند -
نظام دل انور - دیگر خیال - اس تہذیب میں نظام ارجمند کی عزلیں اپنی خصوصیتوں
اور گو ناگوں صفتوں کے اعتبار سے اولیٰ عمر کا بہترین سرمایہ ہیں - اولیٰ کلام کا

عام دوسرے بندوں کی دلام - رنگہائی والانا - دائرہ مری مضامین - چلتی ہوئی بعضوں اور
چوچلاں سے ان اوصاف کی وضاحت میں نابل کا انتخاب ملاحظہ ہو ۔

مانہ کھچا ہے - دل ہے حنا - شوق تھے اور اس
مہم کہا بدل گئے کہ زمانہ بدل گیا
انا تھا اوروں کے آئینے سے کیوں دل آہرزک گیا
اور رشہ ہو کسی نے پڑا کرئی چھک گیا

گوسو کی صحبت میں سنبھلا ہی نہیں جانا
اس رنج سے ادا نکالوں - مالا ہی نہیں جانا
دروازہ صحبت میں قویا ہوں کچھ ایسا میں
ہر چند اوروں میں - اوروں ہی نہیں جانا

چاہتا ہوں حنا یا معدول میں شامل ہو
بہتر ہو مددگار میرا دل گر کسی قابل ہو
ہم دتا تسلیم اپنی عالم العالم سے
انہا دیوان آئینہ دیدار حائل ہو

صداۓ ہمدی - لامب دہاں - صداۓ دہاں کی دوا میں جو امیر و نایب کے کلام کا طرہ
استوار ہیں - دہی دیوان یہاں ہی موجود ہیں ۔

توب کشہ کشم مہم جو دکھائی ہوئی
آہ لے کرہ کی رجحان ہوئی ہوئی
کہا بہت سے حسرت ارگشت حنائی ہوئی
دلاؤں پہنچا ہی تو وہ ہادیہ نہ آئی ہوئی
ساتی اک دن تو ہے سوج پلائی ہوئی
آگ سے آگ لگی دلی پہنچائی ہوئی
مار دالا لب اعجاز لہا لے دلا
آپ سے ہی ملک الدوب لے کھائی ہوئی

کیا کہہ کر عبد الوہاب چپیں سے، بدل گئی
 کٹھا پس اپنا گلوں نے کہ، رنگت بدل گئی
 ایسا کہاں رویت کہ دیکھا خلق میں ساتھ
 اگسٹاں بھی تو وقت پہ وہ بھی بدل گئی
 اے جان ہم حراق کے صدمے پہ پوچھوئے
 وہ حال تھا کہ موت بھی بالوں سے تل گئی
 گھبراہٹی تھی فرائی، میں لیکن ہزار شہر
 ہائیں وہ دل لے کہیں کہ طبعیت بدل گئی
 تسلیم آج تک ہے وہی شعر و شاعری
 بدھے ہوئے مگر وہ کہہ تھاری (تل گئی)

میر ہے مائیت مکتبہ نظام رکھے دیکھئے
 اُن (پنہ قائمہ) و پیغام رکھے دیکھئے
 وصل میں سلک گلے ملدے کے کہتے ہیں وہ
 آج (اکر) گردش اُٹام رکھے دیکھئے
 ہم نہیں کہتے کے اے تسلیم پیغام رسال
 یہ تمنا - یہ خیال - کام رکھے دیکھئے

وہ آئے ہیں آئی ہوئی تل جائے ہو اچھا
 مدورہ ملک امدوت سے اچھا کھائے تو اچھا

عرض چلتے ہوئے ردیف و قافیوں میں جس بیباکی اور روانی سے تسلیم لے
 کہا وہ چوٹی کے شعرا سے کسی طرح کم نہیں - چان اور مثالیں سن لیتے تھے -

ہاں بہتے ہیں درپر صفت نقش قدم ہم
 دعویٰ ہے تو اعتبار اُنہا کدوں لہوؤں دیکھ

اک وہ ہیں چاہیں اٹھتے وہ آئے نہیں جائے
 اک ہم ہیں کہ حواریں بھی ہلائے نہیں جائے
 یہ حسن حاداد نہیں ہے کسے محبوب
 تم کسی دغاہوں میں سناٹے نہیں جائے
 مشکل میں قربی، صورت تصویر بہالی
 جب دیکھو، کچھ چم کے اٹھائے نہیں جائے

ہاں سار ملک عدم دل سے لگی ہے
 ہر دم منجھو لو گور کی ملول سے لگی ہے
 مت خائے کہیں زندگی و مرگ کا کھمبہ
 اسے دھج چکا اہو نہی دل سے لگی ہے
 کیا کہتے ہو کیا ہوئے کیا میں دم رخصت
 اک یاں تہاڑی سو مرے دل سے لگی ہے
 اللہ کی وحشت کہ پس مرگ ہی تسلیم
 حیات میں طاعت مری مشکل سے لگی ہے

دشمن وفا نصیب ہیں میں ہوں بھلا نصیب
 اولکا خدا نصیب ہے میرا خدا نصیب
 اعیار تو عدو ہیں جو کہتے ہیں سب بے
 ہم دوست ہو کے کہتے ہو مجھ کو بلا نصیب
 کس سے مثال درن منم ہے مثال کو
 کسکو ہے یہ کرشمہ و شوحی ادا نصیب
 جب دیکھتا ہوں ملتے ہوئے اولکے ہار سے
 سودی لاک میں دیکھ کے کہتا ہوں یا نصیب

اسی ردیف نابہ میں امیر کا بھی ایک شعر سن لیتے - حرب کہا ہے -

سامی نے دے کے جام کف رعشہ ناو میں
 مجھ سے کہا کہ لے مگر آگے برا نصیب

(۸) مولانا متحد حسن آزاد جن شعرا کو پانچویں دور کے شاعر کہتے ہیں
 یعنی ناسخ - آہن - زور - رت - مومن - دون - غالب اس سہمی کو حضرت تسلیم
 نے دیکھا تھا چورنگہ ۹۱ سال طویل عمر پائی تھی - اسلئے کئی دور اولیٰ آنکھوں
 کے زور و گذر گئے - ناسخ و آہن کو طالب علمی میں دیکھا تھا - دوق و غالب
 کو جوانی میں - امیر و داع کو کمولت میں - اور اونکے شاگردوں کو کلام پڑھتے
 سنا - اکثر اوقات رامپور کے مشاعروں میں امیر و داع سے ایک ہی طرح کی غزلوں
 میں ساتھ بھڑھڑاؤی رہی - انکے کسی طرح ان سے کم بھی نہ رہا - امیر کی دلچسپی
 کلام مسئلہ ہے تو تسلیم کی حد و شوحی بھی قابل داد ہے - اوس طرح کے
 مشاعرے کہ کھونکر ہو گیا دلاکر ہو گیا - مشترک کی حلقی کا منظر امیر و تسلیم

دوسروں نے اپنے مطالعوں میں کھینچا ہے ۔ اس پر فرماتے ہیں کہ۔

آنکھیں انڈوں خفا حب وہ ستمگر ہو گئیں
پہر کے چکر مڑ کے دشتِ گولہ چمکے حاکم ہو گئے

اسلام کا مطالعہ ہے کہ۔

ہیں بڑی بے پردہ نظارہ مہر ہو گیا
ایک باب ایسی کہی حاتم سے باہر ہو گیا

حضرت امیر اس مشاعرے میں ہار دیتے ہیں کہ حب حضرت تسلیم نے یہ
مطالعہ پڑھا تو ہاسکر چمکے سے اسلام کے گل میں کہا کہ بڑی ہی کم دیا ہو گا۔

عالم کا وہ شعر نو یاد ہو گا کہ۔

جمع کرتے ہو کہوں رقیبوں کو یہ تماشا ہوا گلا نہ ہوا

تسلیم اُسی خاتمہ و ردیف میں فرماتے ہیں کہ۔

سائے سلیم وہ حال دل بڑے یہ تو قصہ ہوا گلا نہ ہوا

شا لب ایک دوسری فریل کے مقطع میں فرماتے ہیں کہ۔

ہے اب اس معجزے میں تحفظ ہم اُمتِ احمد
ہمیں یہ مارا کہ دہلی میں دھیں کھائیں گے

اسلام جواب میں فرماتے ہیں کہ۔

دیگا دلاں ازل تسلیم جو قسمت میں ہے
مثال عالم کہوں کہیں گھر میں دھیں کھائیں گے

بڑی بڑی حضرت تسلیم کی دیکھی طبع دہی باقی ہی فرماتے
ہیں کہ۔

پڑھوں پڑ ہے جواں نوق مزاحوالی ہلور
انصاف دیتی ہے مستہم مہر ستن دانی ہلور
تسلیم گو ہیں پڑ مگر دل جواں ہے
مڑے مہر حاتم انڈوں کے اب ہی 'سہار' پڑ

آوازِ حواسی کی اُدا اور ہی کچھ ہے

آپ کو وہ صاف نامِ خدا اور ہی کچھ ہے

اس عرل کے ایک شعر میں حضرت سلیم نے اپنے مساکِ رحمتِ الشہود کو
ظاہر فرمایا ہے کہلے ہیں۔

ہر ایک سمجھتا ہے مظاہر کو ہمہ اوست

کس کس سے کہوں نہیں کہ خدا اور ہی کچھ ہے

اے چادرِ کر دودِ سو ممت میں ہندام

یہاں وحدت کی دوا اور ہی کچھ ہے

م کہتے ہو تسلیم انوی تک ہیں سلامت

بدلتے گئی کچھ میں سنا اور ہی کچھ ہے

ایک مشاعرے میں جس کا نادیہ و دُلفِ بڑی ہے۔ لڑی ہم اُغاق سے اسد۔

داع اور تسلیم دونوں نے بڑی کا نادیہ مطاع' ہیں ہاندھا ہے سب، ہم مطاع' ملاحظہ
ہوں امیر کہتے ہیں۔

حبیبِ آدمیہ اوس شاہِ جوہاں پر بڑی ہے

دعہ بہ دیر بن بن کر لڑی ہے

بغار کہتے ہیں اوس سے پر بڑی ہے

کہاں خاکِ مریٰ قسمت لڑی ہے

لگا لطفِ ساقی جو بڑی ہے

دہی ہی ہے مگر نکلی کر ہی ہے

(۹) بحثگئی کلامِ تسلیم کا خاص چہرہ ہے۔ صائب کے ہمت آپ کو مشکل سے ایسا

شاعر ملے گا جو مسلمِ اللہوی میں آسازہ سے بہتر ہو۔ صائب کے وہ شعر آپ کو یاد ہوئے
جو مسلمِ اللہوی میں بے نظیر ہوں۔

و نظامِ دِ رواقعِ ہائی حصہِ امین مشرِ صائب

کمرِ حم گردنِ صباکِ آستِ سماستِ مرقاں را

ہر ترواضعِ ہائی دشمنِ مکیہ گردنِ اہلِی سمست

پایِ ہوسِ سؤل از پا اندکِ دیوارِ دا

مسکوم کی مسلم الثبوتی ملاحظہ ہو

سنگدل پیار کیا کرتے ہیں حوروں کو
 ماں' سیٹے سے لٹائیں ہے 'لوڑوں کو
 آپ مرے حوالے ہیں اور لکے لئے صاحب درد
 آپلے دینے ہیں سیٹے میں حکمے خاروں کو
 کیا ہوا وعدہ دوسرے ہے اگر اے واعظ
 کیا وہ دھمکی ہیں بدیں اپنے گنہ گاروں کو

دوسری عزل ملاحظہ ہو

سرسبز باغ دھر میں اہل رزم نہیں
 دیکھی ہری ہری کبھی شاخ نام نہیں
 مانند حمامہ قابل رفتار ہم نہیں
 جب تک نہ دستگیر ہو اٹھتے قدم نہیں
 گھر تک عدو کے دیکھ لئے نقش پا ترے
 حد ستم سے ایک بھی باہر قدم نہیں

مسلم الثبوتی کی دو ایک مثالیں اور سن لیتے -

زمانے سے نرالا ہے عروس مگر کا جویں
 جہان ہوتی ہے اے مسلم حب یہ پور ہوئی ہے

ایک عزل کے چار شعر سناتا ہوں مسلم الثبوتی آخری دو شعروں میں ہے -
 پہلے دو دہلف و دایہ کی رو میں آنے کو عرض کرتا ہوں -

میں معلوم کیا گزری گل و بلبل کو سکتے ہیں
 نہ سن سکتے ہیں گاموں سے کہ منہ سے بول سکتے ہیں -
 انہیں بھولی نہیں ہے ہانکیاں دستِ ہما کی
 کہ مہری خاک پر آتے ہوئے ایک جھٹکتے ہیں
 ہوا ہی عشق کامل ہے نہ سوز حسن پیدا کر
 نہر حورشہد کی گرمی سے شاخ در میں پڑتے ہیں
 دم پوری نہیں تسلیم اپنی یہ عزل حوالی
 اپنے ہر بے حیا بلبل حوالہ میں بھی چمکتے ہیں

(۱) طریقہ ادا کی دو ایک مثالیں اور سن لیتے - آپلے سدا ہو گا کہ
 حوا کی تعمیر الٹی ہوئی ہے - اوسے کے پیش نظر مسلم فرماتے ہیں -

ایک دن عالم دریا میں یہ دیکھا میں نے
 فرض حور، اندر حشاں میری چاکر میں ہے
 سر پہ بے راج مرے پیر میں گمشدہ ہیں
 سر سے مہر و رمانہ میری توقیر میں ہے
 اوسکی تعداد جو بوجہی تو نے نکلا تسلیم
 دریا حور، پہلی بڑی بڑی ناکہ میں ہے

۴۰۰ باب دہ رکب کے قابل ہے کہ اسے حور و ہی دیکھ سکتا ہے جس کی
 دہک دلاک اور حلال اور بچے سوئے -

ایک شخص نے رامپور میں تسلیم سے کہا جنک وہ شاگردوں میں شریف دریا
 ہے کہ ایک مصرع بے حسد گڑ لگائے سے دوسرے شاعر عاجز ہیں - آپ لگا دیکھئے -
 مگر شوق نہ ہے کہ حدی (ج) پہلے مصرع میں ہیں اولے ہی دوسرے مصرع میں
 ہی ہوں - مصرع نہ ہے -

۴۰۱ چار دنوں سے چوک میں چرچا چوری کا چوچند ہوا -

اس مصرع لگائے پر یاد آئے وہیں اولے مراحمہ طور پر اسے مصرع
 دیکھتا ہوں کہ اوپر مصرع لکھا ہوا مشمل ہو جاتا ہے - نہاراج کشن پرشاد کے
 زمانہ میں ایک مصنف لکھا ہوا کہ جو سب سے اچھا مصرع لکھا گیا وہ ایک اشرفی
 اہم پانڈا - مصرع یہ ہوا -

کئی ہول چوں - کئی ہولے چوں - کئی ہولے چوں ترے گھونگر -

حیدر آباد کے صاحب شہزاد نے طبع آزمائی کی ہو مگر جو صاحب الزعم اور
 داد لکھنے پر حضرت دہلوی نے حکا یہ مصرع تھا -

ج کئی گز - سن - ہوا کم ہوا سن - کہ لئے ہم سن ترے گھونگر

اور اب سمن ہم کہنے یہ جہان معارفہ تھا - میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ
 اوس شخص نے حضرت نسیم سے اپنے مصرع پر مصرع لگائے کی تمنا کی -
 اوسانک نے پہلے تو نہ کہا کہ اسے واقفیت مصرعوں پر طبع آزمائی کی
 فرصت نہیں مگر سائل نے کہا کہ اوسانک اس کے دو یہ معنی طورے کہ اس مصرع پر
 مصرع لگائے سے اوسانک ہوئی عاجز رہ گئے - شہر میں تو بڑی مشہور ہو گا -
 تو اوسانک اوسکی شوحی پر مسکرا کر درمائلے لئے پڑا کہ مصرع ہے اوسنے دہرا دیا کہ

۴۰۲ چار دنوں سے چوک میں چرچا چوری کا چوچند ہوا -

میرے دوست حبیب الدی صاحب جو حضرت سلیم کے شاگرد تھے اورنگ
پہاں تھے کہ اوسان لے کر حسرتہ کہا -

ع چہ چہ چوکی چوک میں بیٹھی چور نہ چنچل بند ہوا -

(۱۱) احقر زمانے میں داغ نے حیدرآباد سے لکھا تھا کہ تسلیم دکن آجائیں اور
تسلیم کی تعریف ان الفاظ میں کی تھی کہ جس ملک میں آنکھیں بہا رہا کر
دیکھنا ہوں تو طوطی تسلیم کے سوا کوئی چھٹکا نظر نہیں آتا - اب تو کوئی
نہیں رہا جو میرے سب سے دانا دے - عرض لی الفاظ میں تعریف کر کے
دکن آئے کی ترغیب دی تھی - اور امجد دلائی تھی کہ معلول ملحقہ
ہی ہو جائیگی - مگر تسلیم کی طبعیت غور تھی - اپنے ہم جن کا احسان لینا
گوارا نہیں دیتے تھے - بڑھاپے کا عذر کر دیا - حضرت امیر کا انتقال ہوئے زیادہ
عرصہ نہ گزرا تھا (حضرت امیر کا انتقال سن ۱۹۰۰ ع میں ہوا) اور حضرت داغ
کو دکن آئے بہت دور عرصہ گزرا تھا - وہ واپس بھی دکن میں نہ آیا تھا - اپنے
حلق کے احقر میں سب سے زیادہ شہر لکھا کہ -

میرے دل سے نمائے دکن کچھ اور کہتی تھے
مگر سرگ امیر بے دماغ کچھ اور کہتی تھے

اس شعر والی منزل کا طالع بھی دیکھتی تھی سے حالی ہو گا -

حیا کچھ اور کہتی تھے یہیں کچھ اور کہتی تھے
بہی ہر ہر اندازے حاسن کچھ اور کہتی تھے

تسلیم کا انتقال سن ۱۹۱۱ ع میں ہوا - ۹۱ برس کی عمر پائی - اس سے
بڑھے سن ۱۹۰۵ میں داغ انتقال فرما چکے تھے -

(۱۲) حضرت تسلیم کی زندگی ایک شمع ہدایہ ہے - ایک درس عبرت ہے
حضرت تسلیم ایک شہسوار حاندان میں پیدا ہوئے - عمر بھر دھنس درختوں سے زیادہ
نہ کیا سکے مگر ادب کی ہمت اور نظر اونچائی ان کی اولوالعزمی سے کام لیا - نہ
مصائب کی پروا کی اور نہ غریبی سے گھبراتے - ان کا اپنا احساس اس شعر سے
ظاہر ہے

دل شکستہ دکھتے ہیں ہر حال میں دیکھیں مزاج
مانع حادہ نہ گل کو چاک دامانی ہوئی

یہ اسیر سے سوال کیا اور یہ عرب کو دستکارا بڑے منکسر المراح اور بڑے
 حوش اخلق ہے۔ اچھی سے اچھی صنعتوں میں شریک رہے۔ امراء اہل علم -
 اہل کمال سب کی رفتاروں میں اونچے رہے۔ اپنا رفتار قائم رکھا اور ہاشمہ اور بے شامہ
 رہ کر گزریں۔ اگر *Plain living and high thinking* کی مثال لینا ہے تو
 حضرت مسالیم کو دیکھو اون کی زندگی سکھائی ہے کہ بلا ذرائع۔ بلا مال و دارا بھی
 انسان اپنی زندگی کو کھینک رہتا ہے۔ جس طبع میں حضرت مسالیم پیدا
 ہوئے اوس میں لاکھوں ائے اور چلے گئے حکمران کوئی حاشا ہے نہ پہنچا سکتا ہے۔ مگر
 مسالیم کا نام جب تک اردو ساعری ہے جب تک دیوں سخن ہے روز روشن کی طرح
 مشہور رہے گا نامت است پر حریده عالم درام او۔ آج ہی اویکے شاگرد موحث ہیں۔
 آج ہی عرب سے نام ایلے رائے احباب موحث ہیں۔ آج ہی اویکی معرفت ہوتی
 ہے حضرت عائشہ نے سچ کہا ہے۔۔

برقی بہ ادارہ ہمت ہے اہل سے
 آنکھوں میں ہے رخ فخر کہ گھر سے ہوا تھا

VI PART ANA BUDDHISM SECTION

(57) THE ADVENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF TANTRIC ELEMENTS IN BUDDHISM

by

REV SHANTI BHIKSHU

Tantric elements were given a place in Buddhism with its popularity in the lower strata of society in which these were in vogue in India before the advent of Buddha.

We can know a great deal about these Tantric faiths from the *Atharva Veda* and the *Kaushika Sūtra*. The application of various *mantras* in specific emergencies has been mentioned in the *Kaushika Sūtra*, while the miraculous effects of various drugs and *manis* has been described in the *mantras* of '*Atharva Veda*'. In the Indian *Yajurveda* system of medicine, where drugs have been prescribed for various diseases, the application of *mantras* has also been advocated. Generally, the application of drugs, *manis* and *mantras* was recommended for curing mental and physical diseases, and also for obtaining supernatural powers. The *mantras* and drugs endowed with divine power of *mantras* were also employed as a protection against the evil of *Bhūta*, *Preta* (ghosts), *Rākṣasa*, *Brahma-Rākṣasa*, *Asura* (Demons) *Nāga* (Snakes) etc. We find the description of the divine properties of these drugs, *manis* and *mantras* in the ancient literature at many places. It will suffice to see any sample of the *Atharva mantras*. Of the powers of *Iudramani* it has been observed that whosoever wore it could see the earth, the heaven and the skies could see everything on all sides¹. Similarly, about the influence of an other jewel *Jahgida Mani*, it has been described that this *Jahgida Mani* eliminates obstacles and keeps at bay those who devour us. It is a medicine for all (our ills). May it save us from sin. Given by the Gods, this *Jahgida Mani* gives happiness to us, and by the help of this we face obstructions and also the ghosts that cause them². The influence of other *manis* viz *Pratisara*, *Varana*, *Darbha*, *Ardumbara*, *Satapātra*, *Ātrita* and *Sakṣha* have been similarly described³.

Thus we see that in the pre-Buddhist age, *manis*, drugs, *mantras*, etc., were used to get divine powers to brave natural and super-natural obstructions. Buddha himself mentioned the uses of several medicines,

but only for curing diseases, not for obtaining divine powers. The *Dhanṣarjya-Sāmhuka* of the *Vmāya Piṭaka* describes various treatments of diseases together with the treatment of ghost troubles, but even by the use of medicines none has been suggested, and there is no mention of using any *mantra* or *tantra* or a magic formula. Only the *Itanāṣṭya Rakṣā*¹ has been mentioned by Buddha to get rid of supernatural troubles. It is difficult to say when Buddha preached this *Sūtra* but if we consider it to be an interpolation according to some scholars even then this was included in the *Tripiṭaka* during the regime of *Vaṣṭagāmin* when the *Piṭaka* was written. Thus, after the *Sthavira piṭaka* had been written, it was not possible to interpolate *Tantras* there but the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* whose number was not so limited by recitation or writing tended to make more room for the *Tantras*.

The *Mahāyāna Sūtras* describe the difficult practices of the *Bodhi Sattvas* and there was no room for interpolating all the types of *Tantrasādhana*, that is why *Tāntreic* treatises had to be written separately. But all those *Tantra* books were not believed in by the people unless they were the stamp of the sayings of Buddha, which was not difficult to manipulate in that age. The masses believed the priests blindly and whatever they said was accepted. We can know something of the tactics which were adopted to put Buddha's stamp on *Tantra* Books, from Tibetan tradition.

There is great difference between the dates of four very significant Buddhist festivals, celebrated under the Tibetan and Sthavira traditions respectively²

According to Sthavira-tradition *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā* is Buddha's Anniversary Day, but according to Tibetan tradition, Buddha preached *Tantra* in *Dhānyakotaka* on the same *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā*. So, in Tibetan Tradition the Anniversary of Buddha was transferred to *Jyestha* instead of *Vaiśākha* and consequently, other dates were also advanced by about a month.

In this sermon on *Tantra* in *Dhānyakotaka* Buddha said, "After *fourteen* years of my passing away, a man will be born, greater and nobler than myself"³ According to Tibetan Tradition, 1625 years after his birth this great personality, *Vajraguru*, went to Tibet. After living for 55 years in Tibet he also visited *Iakā* (Ceylon). Thus, the *Tāntreic* preaching certified on the one hand by Buddha in his sermon at *Dhānyakotaka*, and on the other by the prophecy made by him that a greater man would be born, reduced the importance of Buddha and his sayings. We therefore, see that in the face of this mythical Acharya of *Tantra Vajraguru* or *Vajrasattva*, all *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas* appear to be insignificant.

Why did the Tantric tendencies enter Buddhism? In order to give a correct reply, we shall have to take a bird's eyeview of the main tendencies of Buddhism. In the Hinayāna the three purifications have been emphasized for the development and salvation of beings. The first is the purification of *Śīla* (conduct) for which Buddha has advocated morality in body and speech. For the maintenance of physical morality, Buddha has greatly emphasized abstinence from sexual adultery. During Buddha's times and even before them sexual morality in India was very much at discount. Spiritualist Sages and seers also did not attach any sin to sexual relations. *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* are full of such examples in which the sexual exploits of sages and seers have been narrated and they were not considered degraded for such actions, whereas, if someone attempted promiscuity of that sort today, it would be impossible for him to live in society. In the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* we see the devotees of *Vānadeva-sāman* are not very particular about celibacy.⁷ How people were irresponsible in such matters is clear from the episode of the *Sadvargīya Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunis* in the *Vinayapitaka*.⁸ In Vedic age such lack of responsibility had gone beyond all limits, as we see in the dialogue of *Indra* with *Romaśā Brahmanavādī* in *Rgveda*.⁹ But from this, we do gather that in the Buddhist age and before, sexual relations were discussed openly, and religious people of the type of the devotees of *Vānadeva-sāman* existed in whose religion such relationships held an important position. One can, therefore, understand why Buddha laid so much stress on abstinence. Besides this, wine and meat were extensively used, cattle were sacrificed for *Yagas* and butchered for food. Wine had a place in religion too and it was openly used in *yajña* like *Sautrāmanya*.

Another purification advocated by Buddha is the purification of mind. For this Buddha preached the practice of *Samādhi* which was not new for his age. Before Buddha the *Śramanas* and *Brāhmanas* practised *Samādhi* for self-realization (*Ātma-Sāṅgati-Kara*). Besides, they practised *Samādhi* for obtaining various *Siddhis* (perfections). People heard the preachings of these *Śramanas* with reverence and offered worship. These penniless ascetics, *Zapasvins*, were respected more than wealthy princes and businessmen. The wealthy and the poor, the scholars and the uneducated, all worshipped them alike. In the *Tuṭṭhiya āraṇyaka Vāṭaraśana Śramanas* have been mentioned.¹⁰ In the time of Buddha there were many *Śramanas* who yielded a great influence on the people. In that age *Samādhi* was a common topic in *Kuru*. There is a mention in the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Saṁpaṭṭhāna Sutta*¹¹ that "even slaves and servants talk of *Smṛtyupasthāna*. While carrying water or spinning they do not talk of other useless things. If woman, on enquiry as to what *Smṛtyupasthāna* she practised did not reply, she is scolded that her life was in vain, even though she was alive. 'You are as good as dead.' And she is preached one of the *Smṛtyupasthāna*. It is, therefore, quite clear that in the age of Buddha

the practice of Śramana was discussed freely, not only among the Śramanas dwelling in the forests but also amidst the masses.

The third purification advocated by Buddha is the purification of vision (*dṛṣṭi*). For this purpose Buddha divided the world into five *Skandhas* and by the law of cause and effect, proved it to be not eternal but temporal. With the help of this doctrine, Buddhist philosophers preached that every existence was momentary, and on the basis of this doctrine *Nāgārjuna* advocated that there was no eternal existence of any matter whatsoever. It was afterwards influenced by this doctrine of *Nāgārjuna*, *Aśvagh* and *Pūṣpanthi* developed *Vijñānaveśda* which considers the external world unreal and false. We shall see later that these issues had to play a prominent part in supporting the Tāntic tendencies.

Accepting these three forms of purification the *mahāvīra* propounded certain other ideals also in regard to which *Śrāvasthis* were almost neutral. They adopted the *carvā* of *Bodhisattvas* as their ideal and announced clearly that the joy of relieving other people from sorrow was enough. To attain salvation for one's own self was useless, why should we care for it? Thus refusing salvation for one's own self and taking a vow to obtain salvation for all beings became a cult which warmed the heart of the people and urged them to give up their selves for the good of all beings. And it was only for this purpose that the self could be protected and improved and the purification of the self could be attained by the three purifications mentioned above. Protection and improvement are possible by means physical as well as spiritual. Thus, Mantras were accepted as the spiritual means and they entered the sayings of Buddha.

All mantras are connected with gods, whether they were Vedic or Tāntic. Of course, most of the Vedic gods have their material existence but the existence of Tāntic gods can be really found in *adhyātma*, i.e., spiritual self. They can be contacted by continued meditation. In fact, they are the developed images of our mental sentiments and emotions, due to the intensity of our feeling, we might assume their images and see them objectively, yet fundamentally they are subjective and have no material existence.

With the advent of the *Mantras*, these gods in the various forms and names brought their own elements of worship which were hitherto absent in Buddhism. Wine, women and meat were introduced in the form of means of worship and there was no room left for the purification of conduct of the devotees. The moral or ethical distinction between good and bad, proper and improper was lost for the devotees so far as food, drink and other material necessities were concerned.

How did this all happen? What was their true necessity? For a satisfactory answer it may be recalled that all these tendencies were already present before Buddha and were not considered sinful. The way of morality and good conduct as preached by Buddha was very difficult in practice for the masses, and though they adopted the same yet they did not prove easy for them to be put into action in their purer forms, with the result that other tendencies prevailed upon the code of morality and good conduct prescribed by Buddha. This strict code of morality prescribed by Buddha for the *Bhikkhus* could not be called an easy way of life, especially when there were temptations all around, and eventually it broke down. Buddhism was transformed into *Vajrayāna* and *Soṅgajyāna* by the impregnation of Tantric tendencies. The monks were *Vajrayānins* in spirit, *Mahāyānins* in form, and *Hinyānins* in their order and they were just like the Hindu Tantrics described as *Sākta* in spirit, *Śaiva* in form, and *Vaiṣṇava* in society (अन्तःशाक्ता बहिः शैवा सत्समाये च वैष्णवाः).

These Tantric tendencies did not enter Buddhism either in a short span of time or all at the same time. With the passage of years, the disciples who were not satisfied with the teachings of Buddhism, incorporated foreign elements of worship in the name of Buddha. We have seen that Sūtras like the *Āṣṭāṅgiyo Raksō* were amalgamated with Buddhism even before Christ. Many *Mahāyāna* Sūtras were translated into the Chinese Language in the second century A. D. which indicates that many *Mahāyāna* works were in vogue before that and because there were no proper checks on them, they were modified, amended and interpolated from time to time. Many forms of *Mudrās* and *Mandalas* were incorporated in these books together with Mantras and *Dhāraṇīs*. From the time of *Nāgārjuna* to Harsha the *Mahāyāna* was well developed and Tantric tendencies had fused themselves into it. In the time of Harsha *Śrī Parvata* in *Āndhra* was considered to be the centre of Tantric where they carried on their secret practices. It appears that treatises propounding this esoteric form of *Sādhana* had also been compiled by that time. After Harsha, from the 8th to the 12th century A. D., in the period of *Siddhas*, these practices were openly accepted and adopted. Acharya *Indrabhūti* who lived in the beginning of the 8th century explained in his work *Jñānasiddhi* many Tantric terms which had been taken from *Guhya-Samāja-tantra*. It is, therefore, quite clear that *Guhya-Samāja* was very popular in the 8th century A. D. It will be only proper to throw some light on the aims of the *Sādhana* inculcated in *Guhya-Samāja*.

The object of the *Guhya-Samāja-Sādhana* is to bring harmony into the functions of the body and mind and speech, that is, there should be no self-contradiction or conflict in the feelings of the mind, speech and the actions of the body. All should be integrated, unified. Such unification into one whole is the ultimate object of *Sādhana* resulting in absolute peace.¹⁴

Such a state could be attained by a process of self mortification and such other difficult methods according to some Brahmins and Brāhmanas. But Buddha prohibited all forms of pain to be inflicted on living beings. He could hardly endorse the idea of self mortification. The Buddhist Tantra, therefore, deprecated self mortification and opened the door for self enjoyment and self fulfilment in *Sādhana*¹⁵.

It was quite possible that devotees would be suffering from mental unrest caused by desire and the resultant psychological reactions disturbed their spirit. Repression of such feelings could never be a complete cure for the ailments of the spirit. Such repressed feelings, though dormant in active life, would disturb the spirit by arising when one became passive in sleep. In order to root them out, the devotees thought it proper to give vent to such feelings by gratification, though only in a modified form. A disturbed spirit could never attain to Perfection says *Anangavajra*, therefore, one should not allow such disturbance to grow up¹⁶. So long as desire exists, the mind is naturally disturbed. The way to avoid such disturbance is to keep desire as passive as 'roasted seeds'. Such passive state cannot be obtained by keeping oneself away from enjoyments. *Ati* says that peace comes to one who gets gratification for his desires in a natural way, just as the ocean receives the rivers without desire, but not to one who denies gratification and does not get it¹⁷. It was, therefore, agreed that gratification should be accepted to some extent. Just as a Yogi takes food to hold together the body and does not give himself away for the sake of food, in the same way the devotee accepted gratification of animal instincts for their ultimate new renunciation, but surely he was not to indulge in sensuous life. Whatever may be the fact, it is clear beyond cavil that though gratification of animal instincts was accepted in good faith later many people exploited it to satisfy the temptations offered by a sensuous life¹⁸ and used to lead a hypocritical life devoted to animal gratification as an end in itself.

Many yogic exercises were also compulsory in this *Sādhana* and if the devotees made mistakes, they suffered from many diseases. It was, therefore, necessary for a disciple to have a teacher who would help him. The teacher occupied a very respectable position. When Buddha was asked as to who was his teacher, he had replied 'I am my own teacher'. But in the *Grihya Sādhana* there can be no devotee or disciple without a teacher. One who has attained perfection must also have a teacher while those who are in the way of attaining perfection must absolutely have one. Therefore according to *Grihya-Sādhana* those who are the Buddhas i.e., the Perfect ones and *Bodhisattvas*, who are on the perfection, all worship a teacher¹⁹. So it is clear that the Acharya's position is superior to that of the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*.

The *śaktis* of *Toṭhāgata* also worship the *Acharya* in the form of *Vajrapāṇi Toṭhāgata* who is 'an embodiment of *Vajracārya*, for the fulfillment of their desires'. And he answers their prayers by *Somayacakra*. The effect of such acceptance by *Vajrapāṇi* of the desires of the *śaktis* was that all the living beings at that moment became *Samyak Sambuddha*, having knowledge of the three *Vajras* : i.e., *Śūnyatā* or absolute void.

The *Guhya-Sādhana* aims at the harmony of the mind, body and speech and *Tathāgatas* and their *śaktis* occupy a prominent position. It will, therefore, be opportune at this stage to consider their conception. According to Buddhist Philosophy the whole of this universe is said to have evolved out of the five *Skandhas*. In *Guhya-Sādhana* these *Skandhas* have been taken as five *Toṭhāgatas*. The *Skandha* of *Rūpa* (form) is called *Vairocana*, the *Skandha* of *Vedanā* (feeling) is *Ratna-sambhava*, the *Skandha* of *Samjñā* (conception) is *Amuṣṭha* the *Skandha* of *Saṃskāras* (mental states) is *Amogha-Siddhi* and the *Skandha* of *Viśāṇa* (consciousness) is *Akṣobhya*. The philosophy of this *Guhya-Sādhana* is *Śūnyatā* : i.e., the doctrine of the absolute void and according to this doctrine, the existence of the *Skandhas* is not independent. The absence of independent existence is called *Śūnyatā* : i.e., absolute void according to *Mādhyamikās*. This void is the nature of all things. The *Vajra* sarva is the embodiment of the absolute void, and so are the *Vajradhara*, *Vajrapāṇi Toṭhāgatas* etc. The *Acharya* is also the symbol of the same. The term *Vajra* indicates *Śūnyatā* or absolute void.

These five *Tathāgatas* have five families (*Kula*) : *Rūpaskandha* belongs to *Moha* (ignorance) *Kula*, *Vedanā-Skandha* to *Iryā* (envy) *Kula*, *Samjñā-Skandha* to *Rāga* (desire) *Kula*, *Saṃskāra-Skandha* to *Vajra* (void) *Kula*, *Viśāṇa-Skandha* to *Dveṣa* (hatred) *Kula*. Similarly, there are the following five *śaktis* in the same order — 1 *Moharati*, 2 *Iryārati*, 3 *Rāgarati*, 4 *Vajrorati* and 5 *Dvejarati*. The names of these *kulas* and *śaktis* are expressive of the nature of the *Skandhas*. For example, *Rūpa-Skandha* includes earth and other material elements and its nature is to cover or obstruct, so does *Moha* (ignorance) and therefore, *Rūpaskandha* belongs to *Mohakula*. This applies to all the rest respectively. *Śaktis* have also been named according to the five *Skandhas*. They are not only the symbols of the nature of the five different *Skandhas* but also representative of the four *Dhātus* or elements. *Moharati* is the symbol of Earth. Its another name is *Tārā Rāgarati* is the symbol of Fire (heat), its another name being *Pāṇḍaravāṇī*, *Dvejarati* is the symbol of water and its other name is *Māṇikī*. All these *Tathāgatas* and their *śaktis* have been described along with their different symbols and colors.

According to Buddhist doctrine, the mind, body and speech have all evolved from the five *Skandhas* as mentioned above, are void. The

doctrine of void has a great scope and significance in *Sādhana*. A devotee who wants to attain peace, should imperatively make himself free from all desires whatsoever, the doctrine of void helps in this renunciation, since desire cannot subsist for something which is itself nothing or, in other words, void. But it is not correct to say that void is only negation. *Acharya Nāgārjuna* has said that those who are entangled in eternity can be saved by the doctrine of void, but those who believe in the doctrine of negativism cannot be cured.⁴⁴

This doctrine of void, on the one hand, proved the non-existence of eternity, and on the other destroyed the whole edifice of social morality by its incorporation in the *tantras*. The code of social morality was not only described as false but also proved to be useless, which, however, did not result in any good later on. However, if they were proved to be useless, no one would have adopted the principles of *Śhiva-Sādhana*. This negligence of the code of social morality resulted in encouraging chaotic practices, in respect of food, drink and other gratifications in the period of the *Siddhas*.

As the five *śhandhas* were changed into five *Dehyānī* *Buddhas*, similarly other gods related to other doctrines changed their forms to some extent when they entered Buddhism. *Brahmā* was accepted as the void of the body, *Śiva* as the void of speech and *Viṣṇu* as the void of mind.⁴⁵ These gods entered Buddhism in the garb of Buddhist gods, but their fundamental character remained unaltered. Thus, the worship of *Śiva* as an emblem of creation, brought with it some of its sensuousness into Buddhism which was especially susceptible to such foreign influences at the moment.⁴⁶

Thus, the five *mahāvēdas* of the Tantrics entered Buddhism primarily to assist in yoga to obtain *Siddhi* of perfection. The desire to obtain a speedy perfection was mainly responsible for the entry of these alien elements in Buddhism. The masses who believed in supernatural powers were easily beguiled by such animal instincts. Though Buddhism did not grant any scope to miracles in his teachings for salvation, yet in the *Tripiṭaka* mention may be discovered of miracles and *siddhis* at many places. These earned prestige to the priests. It was natural for the priests to exploit mass imagination by obtaining *siddhis* in any means fair or foul. The lofty *siddhi* or perfection, which Buddhism held to be attainable only by self-sacrifice and self-renunciation began to be considered within easy reach of Tantric methods.

In such practices lower classes of society were supposed to occupy higher positions, which discloses that these practices were virtually of the same order. As a result of this, the lower strata of society produced a number of *Siddhas* at that time, who challenged the supremacy of the

upper classes in the field of religion and philosophy. There was a great upheaval amongst the lower classes, which gave rise to a new intellectual and religious consciousness, which, in its turn, after the decay of Tantric age, produced some of the best saints in India, namely, Kabir, Dādu, etc. This consciousness was alive till the time of Tulsidas, and he was compelled to mention it in the following couplets —

"The Śūdras challenge the Brahmins that they (Śūdras) are not inferior to them. Whosoever knows Brahman is a Brahmin"²⁷

- 1 Atharvaveda IV, 20, 1
- 2 Atharvaveda II, 4, 1,
- 3 Atharvaveda XIV, 34-35, VII, 5, X 3, XIX, 28-31 XXIX, 36, 46
- 4 Dighanikāya Sutta 12

5	Difference in days	Dates relating to the life of Buddha	Libet in translation	Sthavira translation
	23	Birth	Jyestha sukla 7	Varśakha 15
	10	Enlightenment	Jyestha sukla 15	do
	40	Turning the wheel of law	Śrāvana sukla 4	Āśādh 15
	10	Pāṇinavāsa	Jyestha 15	Vaśakha 15

- 6 ha na myāhan hdaḥ kogtu
lu m bzī hūis hdaḥ pan
ñā las lhaḡḡi skyebu hbyuñ
(—Hjans dpaḥsa rgyud)

- 7 na kāma upa pradhareḥ tad vi stam (Chāndogya Upaniṣad II
13.1)

(om of Śankarācārya "Kāmaḥ upa stuvam svātmatalpa-
prapñāṁ na pradhareḥ, samāg mātṛbhūṣm, vāmadevastāmopasa
māṅgatvena vidhānāt

- 8 Both the Mahāvagga and Culavagga
- 9 Rgyent 1 126, 7, Itih uttevatā IV, 1-3
- 10, Pāṇinavāsanika Prapāṭhaka 3, Anuvāka 7
- 11 Dighanikāya, sutta 22

- 12 Bodhicaryāvatāra VIII, 108
- 13 Bṛhaddevatā I, 61-69
- 14 Guhyasamāja P 11
- 15 सर्वकामो भोगैश्च सेव्यमानैर्यथेच्छुत ।
अनेन खलु योगेन जगु बुद्धत्वमाप्तुं यात् ॥
दुष्करैर्मियमैस्तीर्त्रै सेव्यमानो न सिद्धयति ।
सर्वकामो भोगैस्तु सेवयश्चाहुः सिद्धयति ॥ Guhyasamāja P 27
- 16 Prajñopāyābhiniscaya 5, 40
- 17 Citā II 70
- 18 Prāhmadhacandrodaya, Act
- 19 Guhyasamāja P 137-138
- 20 Guhyasamāja P 145
- 21 Guhyasamāja P 148
- 22 गुहे मधुरता चाग्नेरुष्णस्य प्रकृतिर्यथा ।
शून्यता सर्वधर्माणां तथा प्रकृतिरिच्छते ॥ Advaya-vajra Saṃgraha P 42

Skandhas	Tathagatas	Colour	Sign	Letter	Kulas	Saltis	Other names of Saltis	Elements	Colour	Sign
Rūpa	Vairocana	White (Sukla)	White Cakra (Wheel)	Kavarga	Moha	Moharati	Locanā	Earth	White	Cakra (Wheel)
Vedanā	Ratna Sambhava	Yellow (pīta)	Ratna	Ta varga	Irsyā	Irsyārati	Tārā	Wind		Blue lotus
Samāññā	Amitābha	Red (rakta)	Lotus	Ta varga	Rāga	Rāgarati	Pandara vāsini	Heat	Red	Lotus
Saamskāra	Amogha Siddhi	Dark (Syāma)	Vajra	La varga	Vajra	Vajra rati				
Vijñāna	Asobhya	Black (Kṛṣṇa)	Black vajra	Ca varga	Dvesa	Dve-sarati	Mamaki	Water	Black	Black vajra
Sunyatā	Vajra Sattva	White	Vajra ghaṇṭa	Antahṛtha	-		Prajñā Pāramitā			

24 शून्यता संबर्द्धना प्रोक्ता नि सरण्यं विनै । चेष्टा तु शून्यता इष्टितावसास्यान् बभौषिरे ॥ (Mādhvāmika Kārikā) ।

25 Guha, a Samāja P 129

26 त्रैषातुकस्थिता सर्वोत्तमा सुरलविह्वला । कामवेदिवेदेनैवै सत्य परमाद्भुत ॥ Guha Samāja P 120

27 वासर्दि सुं द्विजन्त मन हस मुमते कतु घाटि । जालह ब्रह्म सी विप्रवर भालि दुषाबहि घाटि ॥ Ratnacarita Mānasa
VI 99

B PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

by

DR G P MAHALAKSHERA

I am deeply conscious of the honour conferred upon me by the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference in having elected me to preside over this August gathering where there are so many others much more eminent than myself and, therefore, more worthy of occupying this Chair. I consider this honour not so much as a distinction conferred upon myself personally, but rather as a gesture of good will towards my country Sri Lanka where Pali and Buddhist Studies have in spite of numerous vicissitudes, gone on interrupted for more than two thousand years. I bring to you, therefore, the greetings of my people and their good-wishes for your continued success and prosperity.

I have been reading, in the last couple of weeks, reports of the proceedings of their annual conferences and I have noticed, with an increasing sense of awe, that it has been the custom among Presidents of these gatherings to contribute very learned and exhaustive Papers. I should like to say at the very outset that I do not propose to follow their example, both because of my inability to emulate them in this respect and also because I, very humbly of course, have a somewhat different conception of a Sectional President's duties. I feel that a Chairman's function is to be seen rather than to be heard, to so guide the activities of the gathering over which he has been selected to preside as to give members of that assembly every possible facility for presenting their own views. I also feel, if I may make a humble submission, that at these meetings and conferences, far too much time and energy are spent on the transaction of formal business, especially the reading of Papers, and, consequently, far too little time is left for personal contacts among those who attend these gatherings. It is my belief that these occasions provide a unique opportunity for us to get to know each other, to discuss our problems and our aspirations, to compare notes on the progress of our various activities and that these things can be done far more effectively informally rather than in these somewhat straight faced meetings. I should like very much, therefore, with your permission, to provide, at least in this Section, as much opportunity as possible for such intimate, personal and informal contacts.

I should not wish, however, to be regarded as a revolutionist, throwing overboard all the conventions observed at these conferences by my distinguished predecessors. That would be to do them dishonour. It has been their custom, among other things to say something about the work that has been and is being done in the field of Pali and Buddhist Studies in different parts of the world and I propose to take my cue from them in that respect. It would both provide me with a topic for the speech which I am in duty bound to make and also serve as a record for students and researchers in our section in the Oriental Conference.

It is gratifying to note that, with the advent of a certain measure of peace and tranquillity, after the devastations of the last World War, there are signs of renewed activity in numerous centres of learning in our branch of study, in common with other branches. Such activity is all for the good of the world, for our studies in particular are not and cannot be purely academic. They are associated with a religion which for twenty five centuries has provided a way of life for millions of human beings, a way of life which has brought them happiness and peace. The significance of its teaching is as vital today as it was when first promulgated by the Sakyammuni. To the present world, torn by strife and stress and anxiety regarding our destiny, it has a unique message of courage and hope, for it teaches that the welfare of humanity and the happiness of the world are entirely within the control of men and women themselves and are dependent not on some extraneous power which rules over our destinies. Workers in the field of Pali and Buddhist Studies, therefore, are directly or indirectly also missionaries of the teaching, torch bearers (nikkādhārā) in a world that awaits and needs enlightenment.

May I begin with what is happening in my own country of Ceylon, because I know what is being done there better than I do about other religions?

You will be glad to hear that the excellent editions of the Pali commentaries published by the Trustees of the Simon Hewavitarana Bequest has now been successfully completed and that a beginning had been made with the publication of the text of the Pali Canon. It is a pleasure to recall that in the formulation of the scheme for these publications, the late Dhammananda Kosambi, of revered memory, played an important part. As you probably know, in Ceylon, the temple schools, called *Puvenas*, are the chief centres of oriental learning and there are at present many of them in our ever increasing and flourishing condition of activity. In several of them, besides Sinhalese, Pali, Sanskrit & Prakrit provision is now being made for the study of English and also Hindi, thus enabling students to widen their horizons of knowledge, under the aegis of the Government Department of Education, annual examinations in these subjects are held by a semi official

body, called the Parachins Bhāsoṇākara Samiti (Oriental Studies Society) and many hundreds of students from all over the island sit these tests, which are in three different stages, Preliminary, Intermediate and Final. Those who are successful in the final examinations are expected to write a dissertation on the completion of which they are given the title of Pandit. There is also a post-graduate degree, that of Sāsira-visāṇada.

In one of the leading Pāṇinas, the Vidyāṇkāra Pāṇina, near Colombo, which some of you who have been in Ceylon, have probably visited, a modified Saṅgīti or recital of the Pāli Tripiṭaka was started last year. Manuscripts of the various texts have been obtained from temple monasteries and these are collated with the published versions in Roman, Burmese, Siamese and Sinhalese Scripts. The variant readings are noted for further consideration. The proposal is to publish a complete critical edition of the Tripiṭaka. It is expected that the recital will take two years to complete. Meanwhile, the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, of which I have the honour of being President, has inaugurated a scheme for the publication of the Pāli Tripiṭaka, with Sinhalese translation, text and translation being on opposite pages, similar to the plan adopted in Jack's edition of the classics. Three volumes have already appeared, of about 500 pages each, containing the first section of the Dīgha Nikāya, Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Culla Vagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka. I have been appointed General Editor of the Series and I am happy to state that the work proceeds apace. Eminent Scholars are giving their services for the translations. It is expected that the series can be completed in ten years. In the University of Ceylon, Buddhist Civilisation has now been added to the Curriculum as a separate subject. It is at present attached to Department of Pāli but it is expected that a separate Chair will be located sometime soon. The services of a Scholar from China have been obtained for teaching Chinese Buddhism. Very soon it is hoped that provision will be made for Tibetan Buddhism as well.

While I am in Ceylon, I must not omit to make mention of the great activity of the Dodanduwa Island Hermitage, presided over by the Ven. Nyāṇatilaka Maha Thera whose name in so well-known in connection with Buddhist Studies because of his numerous publications, the most recent being his Dictionary of Buddhist Philosophical Terms, which is an indispensable volume for students of Buddhist philosophy. His pupil, the Ven. Nyāṇpanika had published a valuable study of the Saṅgīti Sutta and bids fair to be a worthy follower of his teacher.

The very welcome news has arrived from Miss Isoline B. Horner, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Pāli Text Society of England that the Society's programme for the publication of the Pāli Canonical texts and commentaries is nearing completion and that the volumes now in the press are issued the part of the work would have been finished.

The Samantapāsāditṭhī is now complete and the paṭṭakopadeśa has been issued. Much progress has also been made with the Pihāta concordance, compiled almost single-handed by that veteran scholar, Mr P. L. Woodward, working in his lonely farm in Tasmania. Volume I of the concordance is now ready for the Printers and it is hoped that printing will start before the present year is out.

Miss Horner has also finished her translation of the Vinaya Pitaka, which is being published in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series, and thus added to our manifold obligations to her. But neither Miss Horner nor the Pali Text Society can rest on their laurels. Most of the volumes of both texts and translations are now out of print and await republication. It would be most desirable thing if these volumes could be re-edited before publication, especially the texts, because many of them were issued while Pali studies in Europe were yet young and there are, as was undoubtedly to be expected, shortcomings. These can now be remedied in the light of further advances in our knowledge. Unfortunately, however, while reprints may be possible at a reasonable price by means of photolith processes, new editions seem to be completely out of the question because of prohibitive costs. Several volumes of the Jātaka translation have been reprinted by the Cambridge University Press together, without volume containing a summary of several Jātaka stories. Here in India, it is a matter for great publication that Dr P. V. Balat has now completed the publication of his masterly translation of the Arihāvargiya Sūtras from the Chinese originals together with his fascinating study of these texts in comparison with the Pali Arihāvargiya. We all eagerly await the publication of his comparative study of the Pali Samītipāsādikā and its Chinese representations. All students of Pali and Buddhist Studies owe a deep debt of gratitude to men like Nagai and Nagai, B. C. Law, Nalinaksha Dutt, C. V. Joshi and N. B. Bhagavat for their unceasing labours, the results of which are made available for our benefit in various publications. I should also like to make reference to the continued work of the Sino-Indian Institution attached to the Visva-Bhārat at Shantiniketan and their very useful publications on Sino-Indian Studies issued under the editorship of Dr Nagai. These studies are of the utmost value to students of Buddhist culture and we most sincerely hope that they will not be interrupted for any reasons whatsoever.

Mention should also be made of the various editions of texts in Devanāgarī characters and translation into Indian languages, more particularly Hindi and Bengali of books which continue to be published by different organisations, some religious, some secular belonging to the Pali canon. While these publications serve a useful purpose no doubt it has to be said that not all editors or publishers can be congratulated on their achievement. Many of these publications leave great room for improvement and seem to have been undertaken without a due sense of responsibility. If I might offer a suggestion, I would ask that likely editors and publishers should take as their example the admirable

volume of the Suttanipāṭa edited by Dr Bapat and published by the Aryabhushana Press. The scholarly editions of Dhammasangani and Atthasālini issued in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series or the Devanagari Pali Texts of the University of Bombay, inaugurated by Professor N. K. Bhagavat. As regards translations I would suggest as models the Bengali translations of the Jātakas by Ishar Chandra Ghosh or the Marathi translations of the Suttanipāṭa by the late Professor Dhanuśmunda Kosambi.

This resume of recent work in the field of Buddhist studies would be incomplete if I failed to pay grateful homage to what has been done by French and other European savants. During the war the work of scholarly institutions in France had necessarily slowed down but once again, with peace restored, the activities of various scholars have risen to a high tempo and many studies have been published connected with Buddhism, linguistics philosophical, historical, archaeological and religious. A organization, known as "Les Amis du Bouddhisme", founded in Paris by two ladies, Miss Constant Lounsberry and Madame La Feunte, has done a great deal to popularise interest in Buddhism, as evidenced by the fact that all the better-known French booksellers now display publications on Buddhist subjects and various oriental museums give regular exhibitions of Buddhist Art and iconography which attract large crowds of interested people, while broadcast lectures on Buddhist subjects are also being given with increasing frequency. One museum, "The Musée de l'Homme" created in 1938 by Dr Rivets devotes special attention to Buddhist Ethnography. Technical and practical studies of Buddhist Art and Archaeology are carried on in the Ecole du Louvre and in various Oriental museums, chiefly the Musée Guimet and the Musée Cernuschi.

Among the French Scholarly institutions interested in Buddhist studies, special mention must be made of the Collège de France, a 16th Century foundation, which for now for more than one hundred years there has existed a Professorship in Buddhology. It was in this Institution that Henry Maspero, the famous sinologist who died in a German Concentration and Jean Przyluski who died during the War, taught and carried on their researches. Their places have been taken by Paul Demieville and Paul Mus whose works are well known to need specific description. In addition to these scholars, Jules Bloch, an in-law and colleague of Sylvan Levi still continues his lectures and publications, especially on the Mahāvastu and on Asoka and on the Milindapanha.

The Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, a middle 19th century foundation of the University of Paris, also has a Professorship devoted to the study of Buddhist literature and civilisation. Some of those here present will have a vivid recollection of the recent visit to India and Ceylon of Professor Renou from this Institution. Both Professors Renou and his colleague J. Pilirozat have many publications to their

credit and many more may be expected from them. Details of these and other literary documents are given in the excellent Buddhist Bibliography started in 1928 by Przyluski and after his death edited and published by Marcelle Lalou, herself a well known Tibetan Scholar. Mademoiselle Lalou has also published, for the more general reader, a summary of eleven years of work on Buddhism in Europe from 1936-1947 in the Indian Historical Quarterly of December, 1949.

Other names, worthy of special mention are those of Mason-Ossel, who devotes his attention to Japanese Buddhism, Paul Pelliot (died 1945) one-time President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Lucien Bacot author of a book on Buddha and Buddhism, mainly from Tibetan sources, M. A. Louchet whose works on Buddhist Art have won him an unimpaired fame and also recently wrote a book on 'The Old Indian track from Bactria to Taxila', L. Abbe Lamotte of Belgium, who has recently published a critical translation of Nagajuna's Mahaprajñāpāramitāśāstra with valuable explanatory notes, Et. Coedès, well-known for his studies on S. E. Asia, R. Grousset who has written on what Buddhism has meant for world civilisation, H. V. von Glasenapp whose work on Buddhistic Latteicism gives us much valuable information about its secret doctrines, rites and metaphysical interpretation, and last but by no means the least, Giuseppe Tucci of Rome whose Indo-Tibetan Studies have earned for him a unique reputation.

Portions of Buddhist Canonical texts and translations thereof continue to be published in various countries of Europe, e.g. Germany, Italy and Czechoslovakia but most of these are sporadic, except the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series, published in Paris. This list is very well edited and promises to make a valuable contribution to Buddhist Studies.

I should like, with your permission, to turn once again to Asia. This time to China, Japan and Tibet. It is well known that in spite of the fact that Pali Tripitaka, the Pali Commentaries were known to Chinese Scholars from very ancient times, no early attempts were made to have them translated into Chinese except for some portions of the canon and a very few works like the Samantapāsādhikā. Now, however, this great deficiency—for it was, indeed, such—has at last been supplied. The whole of the Pali Tripitaka has now been translated into Chinese. The work was completed in seven years, from 1938-1945, during the Japanese occupation and was undertaken by the Yün Hsin (Universal Wisdom) Great Pitaka Publication Society, whose headquarters were in the I-tsang Tse (the Dharmapitaka Temple) in Shanghai. The translation was done not directly from the Pali but from the Japanese version of the Pali Tripitaka. The translators were eminent Buddhist Scholars, well versed in Japanese and Buddhism, the Chief Editor being the Ven. Chi-Tung one of the principal disciples of the well-known Scholar the late Ven. Abbot Tai-Hsu. Although the work of translation is complete, owing to lack of funds, only two parts

of the Dighi Nikāya (containing the first 24 suttas), the first fifty suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya, a part of the Jātaka Commentary and the first part of the Paṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma have so far been published. The work has, from all accounts, been well done, with variant readings and where the Chinese texts differ to any great extent from the Pali, the relevant Chinese extracts have also been given. If funds are forthcoming the whole translation can be published without delay.

For the first time in Buddhist history, we now also have a complete Japanese translation of the Pali Tripiṭaka, or as it is called by the Japanese (An Chuan-Ta Tsing King) the Great Piṭaka of the southern school. Up till now the Japanese Buddhists have no canon of their own but they have used the Chinese texts from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan up to the present day. These have been published in Japan in the well known Taisho edition in 55 volumes with Professor Takakusu as chief editor. Now, there is available complete Japanese translation of the Pali Tripiṭaka as well. The work was begun in the 10th year of the present Chao-Ho dynasty took many years to complete. Fifty well known Japanese Scholars, with Mo-Tsan Sing Wu, as chief editor, were responsible for the translation, which was undertaken under the leadership of Professor Takakusu and the patronage of the Takakusu Commemorative Association who were desirous of showing their appreciation of the services rendered to Buddhist Scholarship by Professor Takakusu. In addition to the texts of the Pali Tripiṭaka itself, the Visuddhimagga, the Milindapañha, the Abhidhammatthasāṅgīhī, the Mahāvamsa, the Culavamsa, the Dipavamsa, the introductory chapter of the Samantapāsādikā and the inscriptions of Asoka have also been included in these translations, which have been published in 70 books consisting of 65 volumes by the Great Piṭaka Publications Company. Independent translations have also recently been made of Pali works into Chinese, e.g. the translations of the Abhidhammatthasāṅgīhī, the Dhammapadam and the Mahāvamsa by the Ven. Ta Hsueh. Mention has already been made of comparative studies of Pali and Chinese texts, the best-known being the two publications by Dr. Bapat, one on the Visuddhimagga and the Vimuttimaggā, and the other on the Ariyaratigaya suttas and the Aṭṭhaka Vagga of the Sutta Nipatti. His study of the Samantapāsādikā with its Chinese counterparts has now been completed but still awaits publication. Mr. Tn Chu, Lecturer in Chinese in Allahabad University, has added to these studies two publications, one on the Mahā Parimibhāṇa Sutta and the other on the Pāsimokkha.

Among the noteworthy achievements of Chinese Scholars in the recent past are their translations of Chinese works into Tibetan, the most important being a translation of the Mahāvaiśeṣāśātra of the Sarvastivādi school, which is a commentary on the Nauapiṇṣṭhana or Astagrantha of Kātyāyanīputra the first book of the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvastivādins. The Sanskrit originals of both these

texts are considered to be lost. There are two Chinese versions of both works. The first version of the Chinese *Abhidharmaśāstra* is *thāna* was made in 383 A. D. by Saṅghadeva and Buddhāsmita, and the second by Hsüwen Tsang in 656 A. D. The first Chinese version of the commentary, the *Mahāvāybhāṣā*, was made between 137 and 149 A. D. by Buddhavarman and the second, again by Hsüwen Tsang in (576-579).

The *Mahāvāybhāṣāśāstra* is a compendious work a kind of encyclopedia of Buddhism, consisting of 200 chapters in Hsüwen Tsang's version. Its authorship is attributed to 500 phits. Among other matters, it deals critically with the views of different schools both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, on various philosophical topics and in this respect, corresponds to the *Kātyāyāna* of the Theravādas. It has always been carefully studied by scholars in China and Japan but so far it had not been available to the Tibetans who follow the teachings of Saivastivādi. This great work has now been translated (1945-49) into Tibetan by the Ven. Pa Tsung, Principal of the Sino-Tibetan Institute, Peking, Chungking, and will make a noteworthy contribution to Buddhist studies not only in Tibet but elsewhere as well. Pa Tsung was in Tibet for many years before the war, and he has translated several works from Tibetan into Chinese, among them being the *Bodhimārga Mahāvastava* and *Sūlāsastra*, which are considered the most important of all Tibetan books on Mahayana. The author of these texts was the founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibet, Tsong-ka-pa. The *Bodhimārga Mahāvastava* is regarded by the Tibetans with as much veneration as the *Visuddhimagga* is by the Theravādins.

It includes an exposition of the teachings of *Yogācāra*, *Vijñāna-matratā* and *Mādhyamika* the last being considered by the author the best. To Pa Tsung also goes the credit of making for the first time the Chinese translations of several Tibetan works on Tantric Buddhism, the study of which in China has, as a result, been greatly stimulated recently.

The great awakening in the study of Buddhism in China has not, however, been confined to Tantricism. It is concerned with all the more important schools and I shall like here to pay tribute to the man, the late Ven. Abbot Tai Hsu, who, more than any other, has been responsible for the modern Buddhist revival in China. For a long period, before the revolutionary movement of 1911, Chinese Buddhists had neglected the study of Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan and, consequently, of Buddhism. The Revolution, which brought about many important changes, affected the Buddhists as well and Buddhist learning was greatly stimulated. Buddhist Institutes sprang up everywhere like bamboo shoots after the rains.

It was this revivalist movement that brought to the forefront Tai Hsu, who was a man of great enlightenment and remarkable energy. Among his activities was the organisation and despatch of several

missions to Buddhist Countries. For the study of Pali and Theravāda, he sent five young Bhikkhus to Siam in 1932 and another group of five to Ceylon in 1934. In 1941 he sent three monks to Burma, India and Ceylon to study Sanskrit and Pali. Earlier, in 1925, he had organised a mission of fifteen Bhikkhus to Tibet to study Tibetan Buddhism. The members of the mission were selected from the Buddhist College of Wu-Chang and its leaders were Tai Hsu's own disciples, Ta Yun and La Kiang, who were scholars of Vajrayāna. Two years earlier (in 1923) with the help of Buddhist laymen, Tai Hsu had opened at Lu Yin Lu (Maitreya-hetu Temple) in Peking, a Tibetan school to train members for this mission. Its Principal was the late Ta Run, who was a Tantric Scholar, who had also spent several years in Japan where he had studied Vajrayāna, which had been lost in China itself. Tai Hsu himself travelled widely in Europe and America as well, and in 1941 had a Goodwill Mission to India, Ceylon, Siam and Malaya, thus bringing together the Buddhists of the lands. Wherever he went he created great interest and he succeeded in instilling into the minds of the Buddhists the need for the propagation of Buddhism in the modern world. Many Buddhist Societies, especially in the West, owe their establishment to his inspiration.

The renewed awakening in the study of Buddhism in China encouraged scholars to specialise in various fields of Buddhist Philosophy. Thus the Mādhyamika philosophy (Sam Lum) found a new exponent in Yin Sung. I am told that in his youth he was a Christian but later on he was converted into Buddhism and ordained as a monk. Having acquired a knowledge of the various schools of Buddhism, in one of the institutions established by Tai Hsu, he became a lecturer in the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College in Chungking and, later, Principal of the Dharmarāja Buddhist Institute, near Chungking. During the Sino-Japanese War, he left Chungking and took up his residence in the Sio-In-Tse Temple, where he became the General Editor of the series of publications inaugurated by Tai Hsu. Yin Sun is a scholar deeply versed not only in Buddhism but also in history and philosophy. His chief interest, however, is in the teaching of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika philosophy, which had been neglected in China for several centuries. Yin Sun has written many books dealing with the history of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy and some of these have been published by the Chan Wen (Right Hearing) Society of Hongkong, the most important being entitled *Chun-Kuan Chiang Lun* (the Mādhyamika Philosophy). This work first appeared serially in the *Hai-Sheo Yin*, the oldest Chinese Buddhist magazine and it has now been published in book-form.

The *Vijnānamātratā* School of Vasubandhu has also found several distinguished adherents, among them being Tai Hsu himself. This school of Buddhist Idealism was first introduced into China in the 4th Century by Paramārtha and then again in the 6th Century by Huiwen Tsang. It found its greatest exponent in one of Huiwen Tsang's chief disciples Kueichi (632-682).

Numerous books were written by later scholars and, so great was their fame, that students came from Japan and Korea to learn under them. But, by the end of the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism had suffered great reversals and most of the books were lost. Although in later ages there were students of the Yogachara school the tradition of teaching was lost and the proper interpretation of vijñānamātrā doctrine was difficult to obtain. But fortunately for scholarship however, the books had been preserved in Japan and elsewhere and they have now once more been restored to China with the revival of learning which began with the inauguration of the Republic.

The chief exponent of the Vijñānamātrā School in modern times was the late Yan Jin Shan, friend and collaborator of Nan-yin, author of the famous catalogue. Yan Jin Shan and his distinguished pupil, Nan-yin chan, have published critical editions of many of the books of this school and written valuable commentaries upon them. Yan was one of the greatest Buddhist scholars of the 20th century, he died in Chungking during the war years at the age of 70. He counted among his pupil Tai Hsu himself, among whose numerous publications are several works on the Vijñānamātrā philosophy. Others who have worked in the same field are Han-Te Ching of Peking, Sheng Shih Li, Professor of Buddhism in Peking University and Wan-feng Yan of Szechwan, a pupil of Nan-yin chan.

It is unfortunately not yet possible to get much authentic information about the Buddhist studies in Japan. That country is still endeavouring to recover from the devastations of war but such news as is available is heartening. In spite of almost insuperable obstacles, Buddhist learning has gone on and it is a real delight to know that D. T. Suzuki, the dozen of zen scholars, fully maintain his active life. Recently, several English translations of his works on zen have been published by the Buddhist Society of England and these have contributed very largely to the great interest in zen Buddhism which is manifest in many parts of the world. Numerous Societies have been established for the study and propagation of Buddhism, among whose activities are the publication of Buddhist texts and their translations. There is every reason to believe that soon we shall see in Japan's great Buddhist revival.

I had the opportunity early this year of visiting Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Viet Nam. Here, too, the signs of a powerful Buddhist awakening are there for all to see. One of its chief aims is the promotion of Buddhist learning. In Burma, with the inauguration of freedom, the Government proposes to establish a special university for monks. The study of the Abhidhamma has been taken up everywhere, by men and women and there is a great interest in the study and practice of meditation. Numerous books are being published dealing chiefly with the Abhidhamma and some of these are indispensable for a proper interpretation of Buddhist psychology.

In Thailand, a special institution which is expected to acquire University status, has been established under the name of the Maha Makun Rāja Vidyālaya for Buddhist studies and its publications in the Thai language are already famous. The Director of the Vidyālaya is a young monk, the Ven. Sujivo, a man of great energy and enlightenment, and much may be expected of him.

In Cambodia, under auspices of the present Ruler, who is a great patron of Buddhism, and the Sangharaja, held in deep veneration both of his piety and his learning, the École Supérieure de Pāli has made rapid strides. The whole of the Pāli Tripiṭaka has been translated into Cambodian and many of the volumes already published. One recalls with gratitude the pioneer services of Mademoiselle S. Karpeles in this connection.

In Viet Nam too where the Mahayana prevails, there is great literary activity and a large body of literature has come into existence in Viet Namese, both of translations of Chinese text and original works by Viet Namese scholars themselves.

I hope I have said enough to convey to you some idea of the tremendous interest in Buddhism and Buddhist Studies which is to be seen in many parts of the world. Evidence of this, as for the English-speaking countries are concerned, was seen when it was announced that the volume on Buddhism published recently in the Pelican Series, had become a best-seller. This book, by Christmas Humphreys, President of the Buddhist Society of England, in the first attempt made to write a complete survey of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools. It has shortcomings, of course, (It is remarkable that it does not have many more) but the author deserves every credit for a difficult task courageously undertaken and completed. The defects, such as they are, can be remedied in future editions.

The crying need now is for many more reference works, like *Itiobogin*, the publication of which we most sincerely hope, will soon be reissued. The concordance of the Pāli Tripiṭaka will, when published, be a great boon. My own Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names has been well received. We need something like that, much better done of course, for Mahayana. I had hoped that a book like Keith and Macdonnell's Vedic Index would have been undertaken for Pāli by someone competent but the hope has not been fulfilled and I have, during the last two or three years, collected materials for such a volume. I hope I shall be able to find a publisher as some generous patron.

It is perfectly clear that Buddhist Studies can no longer be carried on in isolation. The labours of scholars everywhere working not only in Pāli, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese but also in

(1) VEDIC SECTION

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUSITAKIBRĀHMANOPANISAD (1.2.6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT

(PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, CALCUTTA)

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upanisads (including the Svetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disputes as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau Br Up*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryanlavidyā* the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, plunges us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2.6 of this chapter dealing on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Samhitās and the rigour of pāṇīyina exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholars like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminiyopanisadbṛāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau Br Up* and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau* as a mere repository of the age worn doctrines of the Chānd and the *Br Ār* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful cumio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār Up* तस्यैव विदुषो यज्ञस्वारसा यजमानं श्रद्धा पत्नी पतङ्गा अजरास्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्नदिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well defined parts of which the first (1.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karma and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pītṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Mundaka*, *Chānd* and *Br Ār*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

